AN AVNCIENT Historie and exquisite Chronicle *of the Romanes warres, both* Ciuile and Foren.

Written in Greeke by the noble Orator and Historiographer, *Appian* of *Alexandria*, one of the learned Counsell to the most mightie Emperoures, *Traiane* and *Adriane*.

In the which is declared:

Their greedy desire to conquere others.
Their mortall malice to destroy themselues.
Their seeking of matters to make warre abroade.
Their picking of quarels to fall out at home.
All the degrees of Sedition, and all the effects of Ambition.
A firme determination of Fate, thorowe all the changes of Fortune.
And finally, an euident demonstration, That peoples rule must giue place, and Princes power preuayle.

With a continuation, bicause that parte of *Appian* is not extant, from the death of *Sextus Pompeius*, second sonne to *Pompey* the Great, *till the ouerthrow of* Antonie *and* Cleopatra, after the vvhich time, *Octauianus Cæsar*, had the Lordship of all, alone.

Βασιλίδι χάτιν, δεσποτίδι τ' ἐπικρίσατε.

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Anno. 1578.



¶ TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his ſingular good Mayſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton, Knight*, Ca-pitaine of the Queenes Maieſties *Garde, Vicechamberlaine to hir Highneſſe, and one of hir Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſayle.*

WHAT care the almightie King of Heauen hathe, of the Princes and States of the earthe, though ſacred Scripture did not teache vs, Prophane doctrine might inſtruct vs. *Homer* ſhevveth, that God throvveth his ſhielde in the vvarre, to defende the Prince from harme, and that he appoynteth to euerye gouernour, a peculiar God for his protection.

Hovv God plagueth them that conſpire againſte theyr Prince, this Hiſtorie declareth at the full. For of all them, that coniured againſt *Caius Cæſar*, not one did eſcape violent death. The vvhich this Author hathe a pleaſure to declare, bycauſe he vvould affray all men from diſloyaltie tovvard their Soueraigne.

The greateſt ſeruice that men can doe, is to ſaue theyr Countrey from daunger. The *Romanes* gaue him a crovvne that ſaued one Citizen. Then hovv many crovvnes deſerueth he, that helpeth to ſaue a number?

They vſed to make a coyne for his commendation, vvith this inſcription: *The Senate and people of Rome for Citizen ſaued.*

Cicero vvas called, Father of the Countrey, bycauſe hee

kept it from decay. All they that in theyr consultations, do seeke the like benefite to their Countrey, doe deserue the like rewyard and prayse, and in the testimonie of good mēs hearts, they are sure to haue it.

Then seeyng this Authoures onely purpose is, to extoll the princely rule, and to procure the safetie of the people, I haue presumed to make a presente of hym to youre Honoure, that you being in case to do the like good, maye receyue the same triumph of your desert.

Hovv vvorthy the VVryter is to be redde, I referre it to the vvitnesse of one vvorthy *Prelate of this lāde, vvho (as he sayd of *Plato*) shal suffice for a multitude. Further, vvith the manner of the Authoures vvriting I doe not meane to trouble you, himselfe shall tell your Honour, that such as be in your case, may bring to passe that he desireth, to the glory of God, the honour of the Prince, the benefite of the Countrey, and renoume of your selfe.

*The reuerend father in God T.C. Bishop of Lincolne, in his booke entituled Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ & Britannicæ.

Your Honoures seruaunt
most duetifully bounden:

H. BINNIMAN.

THe Romaine people and the Senate, did many times contend, for makyng of Lawes, releasing of debts, deuision of landes, or electiō of officers, yet was there no tumult nor vproze, but onlye discorde and debates in ciuill maner, and that was done with great reuerence one to another. The people, on a time hauing bene at warre, and falling into like contention, did not abuse their armour presentlye, but kept aside vnto an hil, which therof was called Holy, where was no violence done, but a creation made of an officer of themselues, whom they called Tribune of the people, to be a restraint to the Consuls chosen by the Senate, that they shoulde not haue the only rule in the Common wealth. Of this great hatred and variance grew betwæne these officers: the Senate and the people being deuided for them, and styred by ambition, sought the one to ouer-rule the other. *Martius Coriolanus*, in such a contētion beyng vntustly banished, fled to the *Volscians*, and made warre against his countrey. This only feate of force, should a man finde among the old strikes, which neuertheless was the act of an outlawe. But in their common metings, was neuer weapon drawn, nor ciuill murder done, before *Tiberius Gracchus* Tribune of the people and a deuiser of the Lawes, did firste perishe in sedition, and many moe with him taken in the* Capitol, were slain about the Temple. Notwithstanding, discorde ceassed not by this disgrace, euery man being euidently bente against other, bringing many times their weapons, and now one officer, and then another (by this diuisiō) was dispatched, in the temples, in assemblies and in Courts, the Tribunes, Pretors or Consuls, eyther prouoking to it, or working this occasion of it. Uncomely contumely of

Foure causes of discorde among the Romaines.

Holy *Hil* dedicate to *Iupiter*, three myles beyond Rome, ouer the riuer *Aniene*, now *Tiberone*.

Creation of the Tribune of the people.

Volscians people betwene *Hostia* and *Circeie*.

M. Coriolanus, the first that rose against his countrey, his name was *C. Martius*, bycause the Citie of *Coriolie*, belonging to the *Volscians*, was wonne chiefly by his meane, he bare the name of the city The Romaines had their proper names, as *Caius*, *Quintus*, or *Marcus*, the name of their house, as *Martius Valerius*, *Tullius*, and of some fact or figure, as *Publicola*, *Coriolanus*, *Affricanus*

*Capitol an Hil where was the chiefe palace and temple, so called of a mans heade that was found. It was begunne of *Tarquinius Priscus*, & finished by *Tarquinius Superbus*, but not dedicated. In the foundation *Tarquinius* spente xl. M. li. waight of siluer. *M Horatius* the secōde consul in *Brutus* place did dedicate it. It was burned in *Sylla* his time, and builded againe, and dedicated by *Catullus*, *Sylla* being deade. Then was it burned in *Vitellius* time and restored by *Vespasian*: and also after his death it was burned againe and his sonne *Domitiane* builded it, and dedicated it, and made it so sumptuous in guilding and trimming of it, as he spente aboue xij. M. talentes vpon it, nor for no great holynesse, but for his pleasure, for his Galleries and his banquetting houses passed thys.

euery trifle, and foule contempt of law and right, did euer play a part. This euil growing great, manifeſt inſurrections wer made againſt the ſtate, mightie and fierce armyes were rayſed againſt the countrey, baniſhed mẽ ſtriuing for reſtitutiõ, or magiſtrates contending among themſelues, for offices at home, or army abroade. Some there were, in power like princes, and as Monarkes, made leaders of ſeditious armies: ſome would not leaue the army that was deliuered them of the people: ſome without authoritie, would leuie ſtraunge ſouldiers againſt their enimies, ſtriuing whether of thẽ ſhould firſt get the Citie, in word againſt the cõtrary factiõ, but in dẽde againſt ẏ countrey: for they inuaded it, as an enemy. Cruell murders were vſed in ſome, in others proſcriptions to deathe, baniſhments, confiſcations, & torments intollerable, ſo as no kinde of crueltie was left vndone, till *Cornelius Sylla*, one of the mightie Captaines of rebellion, fifty yeares after *Gracchus* healing euil with euil, made himſelfe a Monarke for a time: the which kinde of officers, they called *Dictators*, vſed in moſt daungerous times, and commonly giuen ouer after ſixe monethes were ended. But *Sylla*, being in dẽde *Dictator* by force, perpetuall, yet in ſpeach pretending to be elected, when he had his fill of that rule alone, was the firſt man, (as I thinke) that durſt freely giue ouer a Tiranicall power, affirming he woulde aunſwere for his doings, if any woulde accuſe him: and in the ſighte of all ſortes, as a priuate man, many times he went to the common place, and returned home againe without hurte. Suche a feare was there yet of his authoritie, in them that behelde hym, or an aſtoniſhmente, of the reſigning of it, or a reuerence, that hee offered to aunſweare for hys doyngs, or ſome other curteſie and conſideration, acknowledging his Tyranny to haue bene profitable to the countrey.

Dictator, vvas he that ruled alone, yet at the barrell he might not be on horſes backe.

Thus a while ſedition ceaſſed with *Sylla*, and there was a remedie of the euils that *Sylla* had done: but after hym it began againe, til *Caius Caſar*, by election ſent to gouerne *Fraunce*, & after a long time being cõmaũded by the Senate to giue ouer, he aunſwered, that it was *Pompey* his enimie, leading an army in *Italy*, &

Cæſar, conquered Fraunce, paſſed the floud *Rene*, and ſayled into England.

repining

repining at his authoritie in *Fraunce*, that sought to remoue him, & not the Senate. Yet notwithstãding, he propounded cõditions.

That eyther both of them shoulde reteyne their armyes, to auoyde suspition of perill:

Or that *Pompey* also, should leaue his power, and liue a priuate life according to the lawes.

Cæsar offreth conditions.

Obteyning neyther of these, he marched out of *Fraunce* against *Pompey* and his countrey, the which he inuaded, and hym, being fledde, he pursued into *Thessalie*, and ouercame him verye victoriously in a valiant battayle, whom fleeing from thence, hee followed into *Egipt*, where he was slaine of that countrey men. And when he hadde tarried and set a stay among the princes of *Egipt*, and ouerthrown his greatest enemy, who for his worthynesse in the warres, was surnamed Great, no man nowe being bolde to do any thing against him, he returned to *Rome*, and was chosen the second *Dictator* perpetuall after *Sylla*. Then al sedition ceassed out of hande, tyll *Brutus* and *Cassius*, eyther for enuye of his greatnesse, or for zeale of their countrey, kylled him in the Senate house, being most accepted to the people, and most expert in gouernement. The people, of all other, most lamented him, & required his strykers to be punished: they burned his body in the common place, where they erected a temple, and sacrifised vnto him as to a God. Then discord renued and increased so farre, as slaughter, bannishmente, attendures, both of Senate men and Gentlemen followed confusedlye, the seditious of both sides seeking to sequester his enemye, he cared not howe, not sparing friendes nor brethren. So muche did deadly desire of debate, & ouerwhelme al natural friendshipp and alliaunce. Yea they wente so farre, as three men, that is to say, *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and he that first was called *Octauius*, (who being of *Cæsars* bloud, and his son by adoption, toke of him the name of *Cæsar*) did deuide the Romaine Empire, as a priuate possession, after the whiche deuision, falling sone out, as was neare other lyke, *Octauius Cæsar* exceeding them both in wysedome and experience, fyrste bereft *Lepidus* of *Lisbie*, which fell vnto him by lotte, and then ouerthrew *Antonie* at * *Actio*, and toke frõ him al y rule he had

The place vvas called *Pharsalia*, from the vvhich *Pompey* fled into *Egypt*, vvhere he vvas killed of the yong Kings Counsellers.

Pompey, for his valiantnesse, had the name of *Magnus*, that is Great, giuen vnto him.

Brutus, *Cassius*.

These attendures the *Romanes* called proscriptions, vvhen a decree vvas vvritten to cõdemne a man vvithout answere, and kill him vvithout layv.

Lepidus.
Antonius.
Octauius.

* *Actio* a place in *Epire*. The Gulfe of *Ionie* is from *Brundusia* to *Mont Gargonie*, the rest is called the Gulfe of *Venice*.

from *Syna* to the Duke of *Loma*: after these most mightie actes, wherewith all men were amased, with hys nauy he wanne *Egipt*, the greteſt kingdome and of longeſt continuance, after *Alexanders* reigne, and only lefte to make the Romaine ſtate as it is, by the which, being yet aliue, he was of the people of Rome called *Auguſtus*, and the firſte that ſo had that title. He ſhewed himſelfe to be an other *Cæſar*, yea more mightie than *Cæſar* was, as wel touching the ſubiection of his owne countrey, as of all other nations, not needing any election, or forme of creation, to be a pretence to his doings. In continuaunce of time, being ſetled in his ſtate, and in all things happy and beloued, he left behind him a ſucceſſion, and a lynage to raigne likewiſe after him. Thus the Common welth of the Romaines, after diuerſe debates, came to vnitie, and the rule of one. How theſe things were done, I haue written, gathering the moſt notable matter, that they that lyſte, may ſée the vnſatiable ambition of men in grædy deſire of kingdome, ioyned with intollerable paynes, and innumerable kindes of calamities. The which I haue the rather take in hand, becauſe dealing with the Hiſtorie of *Egipt*, and al theſe things going before and ending there, I was compelled to make reherſal of the. For by this occaſion was *Egipte* alſo conquered, when *Cleopatra* toke parte with *Antony*. Now bycauſe of the multitude of matters, I haue deuided them thus. The firſt ſhall ſhewe the thyngs done from *Sempronius Gracchus*, to *Cornelius Sylla*. The ſeconde ſhall conteine al the actes from that time vnto the death of *Cæſar*. The reſt ſhall declare all the diſſention that was betweene the three men, one againſt an other, and the Citizens of Rome and them, vntill the laſt and greateſt feate of Ciuill force, in the whyche *Auguſtus* ouercame *Antonie* and *Cleopatra* at *Actio*, from the which time the Chronicle of *Egipt* ſhal take his beginning.

Egipt.

Auguſtus is a name, by the vvhich the Romaines did cal their holy things as *Auguſta templa & Auguria*, and vvhatſoeuer *Iupiter* encreaſeth by hys mighte powver.

The Senate did conſult to cal him *Romulus*, but this name ſemed more holy and reuerent, that vvhiles hee vvas aliue, hee might be conſecrated as a god.

The order of the ſtory, vvhiche is left out in the *Italian* tranſlation.

VVhen *Cæſar Octauian* had ouercome *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, & made *Egipt* a prouince to the Empire of Rome, he made one *Cornelius Gallus* lieftenant there, and in token of the Conquering of that countrey firſte by him, hee coyned a money, in the vvhiche vvas the picture of a Crocodile, vvhich is there only to be ſeene in the floud *Nilus*, chayned to a palme tree, & trees of Palmes laide ouer him, vvith an inſcription *Col. Nem.* that is, *Colligant Nemo*, ſignifyng that hee triumphed of *Egipt*, ſprinkling it vvith deavv in ſtead of rayne, of vvhich there is none.

The

¶ The Historie of *Appianus Alexandrinus of the Ciuil dissentions of the* Romaines.

The first booke.



When the Romaines first conquered *Italy*, whych they did by little & little, they toke part of the land, and buylded new Cities, or sent of their owne people to inhabite the old, that by this meane, they might be sure of the countrey. The grounde that was tilled, eyther they distributed, or sold it, or let it to ferme to the inhabitants. The walt, which by reason of the warre was very much, not hauing euer leysure to make diuision of it, they proclaymed in this sort, to them that would manure it.

It vvas 300. yeares before the Romaines could conquere Italy.

This manner of inhabitants they called Colonies, vvhich vvere taken by lot, as the Greeke vvorde expresseth, vvhich is κλήρουχίαι.

For the yearely increase of séede grounde, they required the tenth part.

The Romaines order for inhabiting the grouñd

For the places planted with trées and woode, they would haue a fifth part.

For Cattel eyther great or small, they appointed a tribute accordingly.

Thys they did, for the maintenaunce of the *Italian* nation, whom they accounted to be men of best seruice, that they might always, in the wars, haue the vse of that were their owne: but it came sone otherwise to passe, for ỳ rich mẽ, hauing got ỳ greater part of the vndeuided lande, presumed vpon long prescription of time, that no man would molest them, and the poore mens small portions, lying nygh them, either they boughte for a little by persuasion, or they encroched to them by very violence and oppression, so as now, in steade of Manour places, they had as it were whole countries: & bycause they would not haue their husbandemen called anye time awaye to the warres, they bought theyr

The Romaines make account of the Italian nation.

Hynes and Herdes, to laboure the grounds, and would not sette their countrymen to any worke at all: by reason whereof, their gaine was incredible, as well for the yearely profit of their possessions, as for the multitude of encrease of those slaues, whyche were neuer called to ỹ warre. Thus the great mẽ grew exceeding riche, and euery place was ful of seruile generation: but the *Italians* fel into decaye and wante of men, and were also oppressed with pouerty, by occasion of their continuall pressing to the war, and dayly exactions put vpon them. And if at any time they were eased of these, they felt a further incõueniẽce, for where they had no land of their owne, the rich mẽ being Lords of al, and they vsing the labour of bondmen in steade of frée men, the *Italians* were vtterly corrupted with rest & ydlenes. The people of Rome was much offended herewith, bicause they could not haue such seruice of the *Italians*, as they had before, and whensoeuer they made any erpedition abroade, they were not without daunger, for the great multitude of bondemen at home: they could not tel how to remedy this matter, for it was not easy, nor altogither equal, to thrust them out of possession, that had had so long continuance in their landes and houses, which they had so wel planted and prouided. At length wyth much adoe, the Tribunes toke the matter in hand and ordeyned,

Increase of slaues.

Decay of *Italians*.

This vvas called *Lex Licinia*.

That no man shoulde kéepe aboue fiue hundred Acres of lande.

An Acre vvas so much ground as a payre of Oxen could arte in a day, the measure vvherof 240. foote in length & a120. in breadth. The measure of a foote vvas 4. handes, and one hand vvas foure fingers, and the measure of a finger, according to Geometry, three barely cornes. This is added in the *Italian* translation.

That no man shoulde féede aboue one hundered greate cattel.

That no man should féede aboue fiue hundred little cattel.

And for the better obseruation hereof, they appointed a number of frémen, to marke what was done, and to make declaration of the same from time to time.

The law was allowed, the penaltie assigned, and the commissioners were sworne, supposing that by this meane, some lande would be lefte, that for a small price, might be awarded to the poore. But regarde was there none, neyther of Lawe nor of the othe, and if some did séeme for manners sake, to obey the lawe, and make a counterfeyte deuision to theyr neyghbours, the moste parte dyd vtterly contemne the lawe, tyll *Tiberius Sempronius*

pronius Gracchus a goodlye noble man, honourable and eloquente, wherby he was more notable than al the other Tribunes, made a solemne oration, in the prayse of the *Italian* people, lamentyng that so warlike a nation, and of the Romaines alliaunce, shoulde shortly be dispeopled and brought to penurie without all hope of remedy. He inueyed againste the race of Slaues, as vnfitte for the warre, and vntrustye to their Lordes: he called to remembraunce, a fresh affliction in *Cicelie*, by slauish seruauntes against their maisters, the which had their increase also, by being vsed in countrie businesse, whom the Romaines could not subdue, without long and sharpe warre, full of variable and daungerous successe: and hauing spoken to this effecte, hee renewed the law.

That no manne shoulde haue more than fiue hundered Acres.

That their children should haue halfe so muche: which he added to the old lawe.

That three men chosen and changeable euerye yeare, shoulde make diuision to the poore.

The riche men toke this matter verye grieuously. For nowe they coulde not illude the Lawe, as they dyd before, bycause of them that were appointed for the deuision, nor purchase theyr Landes, that hadde theyr partes assigned, for *Gracchus* hadde prouided for that, forbydding all manner of sale. They assembled togyther in seuerall companies, fyndyng faulte wyth the Lawe. They were in a marueylous disdaine and griefe, that the poore shoulde possesse theyr auntient inheritaunce, their plantings & buildings, and that they shold forgoe the purchase of the lands that they had payd for to some of their neyghbours. Others reppyned at the losse of their forefathers * Sepultures, conteyned within their groundes, and the partitions of theyr portions, lefte of theyr parentes.

Some obiected theyr wyues marriage money, and

Thys *Gracchus* vvas sent *Prætor* to *Numantia*, vvhere the Cõsul *Mancinus* vvas ouerthrovvne, and seking for peace the *Numantines* vvould graunt none, excepte *Gracchus* vvere sent to thẽ, vvhiche being done, a peace vvas made, the vvhiche the Senate did not approue, though xx. M. Citizens vvere saued thereby, beside the slaues and rascals, in so much as the consul vvas sent thither againe naked & bounde, but *Gracchus*, the people praysed that had saued so many Citizẽs vpon vvhich occasion he became an enemye to the Senate, and a friend to the people.

* A Syrian slaue in *Sicelie* after a mad sorte raging vvith a desire to make rebellion, pretended a religion of doing honor to the goddesse of *Syria*, and called hondement to libertie and armes, and that he might seeme to do that by the vvil of God, he held a nutte in his mouth stuffed vvyth Sulphure, and fire, the vvhich vvhen he spake, did cast forth flames.

* The olde Romaines did bury in their possesiõs and it vvas long after Christ, ere mẽ vvere buried in sacred places.

consumed vppon the same, or the lande of inheritaunce to theyr children: and some declared what debt they were fallen into, by reason of interest, so as there was great disorder, quarelling, and indignation among them.

The poore offended.

The poore men on the contrary side, complaine that they were brought from good wealth, to extreme want, and thereby to decay of continuaunce, not being able to bring vp their children. They shewed how many tymes they had bin a warfare to winne thys land, and myght not beare to be bereft their publike portiõ. They rayled on the riche, that in the steade of free men, Citizens, and souldiers, they had chosen bonde seruauntes, a generation euer vnfaithfull and stubborne, therfore not fitte for the warre. Thus the one reuiling and vpbrayding the other, the multitude, that either were of the Romaine foundation, or of their owne gouernement, and al other, that any wayes were partakers of the lande, fearing the losse therof, resorted togither, and were deuided wyth the one or the other, and so being enbolded by number, they waxed fierce, stirring rebellion, and abiding til the law should be discussed: the one by no mean to suffer it to preuaile: the other, that it might take place to the vttermost. Both sides were ambitiously bent for the sequele of it, and against the appointed day prepared themselues. *Gracchus* minde stode vppon a resolution, not to further aboundance of riches, but the encrease of men, in procuryng of the which commoditie, he muche magnifyed himselfe, as in a trauell that to *Italie* could not be of more honor nor importance, the difficultye wherof he did not conceiue. When the day of making Lawes was come, he made a long plausible Preface, and asked of them, If it wer right ỹ publike things shold be deuided in common: and if a citizen were to be preferred before a seruant: and if a souldier were more profitable, than he that was vnapt for the war, and a partaker of publike profit more wel willing: Not tarying lõg in this comparison, as needefull, he streight turned his tale to vtter the hopes and feares of his countrey, that where they had by the warre wonne so muche lande of their enemies, and had good hope to get the rest of the earth, they woulde nowe put al in hazarde, whether to conquer al that remayned, by

The Latin translation of *P. Candidus* and the *Italian* differeth from the Greeke.

Gracchus talke.

encrease

encreaſe of fytte mē, or to loſe this through want of their owne, and enuie of their enimies. He ſet forth the glory and wealth of the one, and the daunger and doubt of the other. He exhorted the rich to regard, if it were not more for their profite to gratifie the people with land to bring vp their childrē, in hope of the wealth to come, than to ſtriue for trifling matters, and to neglect the greater things, they hauing ſufficient recompence of their charges beſtowed, by poſſeſſion of fiue hundred acres of choyce, free and certen land, and to euery of their children (if they had anye) halfe ſo much. After this ſort *Gracchus* ſpeaking much, kindling the poore, and other to, that ſtoode vpon reaſon, rather than deſire of poſſeſſion, he commaunded the Clearke to pronounce the law. But *Marcus Octauius* the other Tribune, whome the poſſeſſioners had made to reſiſt, and with the *Romaines* being euer more able to forbidde, commaunded the Clearke to ſilence. Then *Gracchus* greatly blaming him, deferred the Court till the next day, when, hauing prepared a ſufficient force to compell *Octauius*, commaunded the Clearke with threates to propound the lawe to the people: but *Octauius* forbadde him againe, and put him to ſilēce. Then the Tribunes fell to chafing one with an other, ſo as the lawe could take no place for the tumult, wherefore the great men required to committe their difference to the Senate. *Gracchus* toke holde of that offer, thinking euery reaſonable man to be wylling with the lawe, & ranne into ỹ Senate houſe, where being repro-ued of the rich, as among the few chiefe men in * a ſtraight, hee ranne againe into the commō place, and ſayd he woulde deferre the tryall, till this next dayes aſſemblie, both for the law, and for the authoritie of *Octauius*, and whether by order, a Tribune reſiſting the law, might reteyne his office: and ſo he did, at whyche time *Octauius* nothing abaſhed, made reſiſtance againe. Wherefore *Gracchus* put the matter firſte to the voyces, and when one company had giuen againſt *Octauius*, *Gracchus* turned to him, and prayed him to leaue his purpoſe, but he cared not for it, and ſo they proceeded. There was fiue and thirtie companies, whereof ſeauentéene had giuen againſt him with greate furie, and where ỹ eyghtenth ſhould haue determined the matter, *Gracchus* againe

M. *Octauius* reſiſteth the lawe.

Gracchus to the Senate.

* The word ſignifyeth the great men, or a ſtreight.

Fiue and thirtie companies in Rome.

in the sighte of the people, lamentably desired him, that being in that daunger, he woulde not hynder so profitable and honorable an acte to all *Italy*: nor to withstande so greate desire of the people whyche he ought to further, beyng a Tribune: nor to sucker the disgrace of losing hys office. Thus hée spake, and called God to witnesse, that agaynste hys wyll hys fellowe was deposed. But when no persuasion woulde serue, hée made the decrée: *Octauius* beyng deprined, he secretely conueyed hymselfe away, *Quintus Mummius* was chosen Tribune in his place. The lawe of landes was pronounced, and the firste officers appoynted to sée it executed, was *Gracchus* hymselfe the lawmaker, and a brother of hys name, and *Appius Claudius* hys father in lawe. So muche dyd the people feare, that all the laboure of the lawe shoulde bée lost, vnlesse *Gracchus* and all hys familie hadde the execution of it. *Gracchus* was maruellously magnifyed for thys lawe, and accompanyed of the people to his house as a preserner, not of one Citie or Countrey, but of all the nations of *Italy*. Thys beyng done, they that had the day, returned to the landes in the Countrey from whence they came for that purpose, but they that lost the day, remayned discontented, and talked that *Gracchus* shoulde not escape blame when he shoulde bée out of office, that durst violate a Magistrate of so greate authoritie, and gyue occasion of so manifest sedition in *Italy*. Nowe was it Sommer, and the tyme of chosing Tribunes at hande. It seemed that the ryche woulde so laboure, as the office should bée gyuen to some of *Gracchus* greatest enimies. The tryall beeyng at hande, and hée afrayde that hée shoulde not bée elected Tribune for the yeare to come, called people out of the Countrey, to gyue voyce in the election, but they beeyng occuppyed in Sommer businesse, and the daye drawyng nygh, hée was compelled to make the people of the Citie hys refuge, and wente aboute to euery one aparte, to desire them to make hym Tribune agayne, beeyng in daunger for theyr sakes. When the daye was come, the two firste companyes chose *Gracchus*, but the ryche men cryed, that it was not lawfull for one to bée Tribune twyce togyther. *Rubrio* a Tribune, to whose turne it came

Gracchus excuseth himselfe of the depriuation of his fellowe.

Octauius deprined.

Q. Mummius chosen.

Lawe of landes.

Officers for the lawe.

Appius Claudius.

Gracchus labours the people.

came to bée chiefe of the election, doubted of the matter. *Mummius* succeſſor to *Octauius*, prayed hys fellowe to committe the order of the election to hym, whyche hée dyd, but the other Tribunes affyrmed, that thys muſt be tryed by lotte, for where *Rubrio* hadde hys turne, the appoyntmente dyd apperteyne to them all. Doubt in the election.

The contention béeyng greate, and *Gracchus* hauyng the worſe, he deferred the diſcuſſing tyll the nexte daye, and béeyng vtterlye diſcouraged, although yet in office, he remayned the reſt of the whole daye in the common place, beſéechyng euerye man to bée hys helpe, as though he ſhoulde ſtreyghte haue bin deſtroyed of hys enimies. The poore men were moued wyth compaſſion, and conſideryng that they were not vſed indifferently as Citizens, but rather as ſlaues to the luſt of the ryche, and fearyng for *Gracchus* ſtate, who ſuffered for theyr ſake with lamentation, they all broughte hym to hys houſe at nyghte, and bade hym bée of good chéere againſte the nexte daye. *Gracchus* béeyng thus encouraged, aſſembled hys parte in the nyghte, and gaue them a watchworde to fyghte it out if néede required. Then hée went to the Temple of the Capitoll, where the election ſhoulde bée, and when the aſſemblie was come togyther, and hée in the myddeſt of them, ſome of the Tribunes and the ryche men woulde not ſuffer the election to proceéde for hym: wherefore hée gaue hys watche worde, they that were priuie to it made a greate ſhoute, and begannie the fray, ſome ſtode aboute *Gracchus* to guarde hys perſon, ſome tore the ſeates, ſome wrang the roddes and maces out of the Sergeantes handes, ſome rente aſunder euerye thyng, and bet the ryche menne out of the place, wyth ſuche a tumulte and terroure, as all the Tribunes ranne awaye, and the Prieſtes ſhutte the Temple dores. The flying and running was confuſed, and the ſpéeche not well vnderſtanded. Some thoughte that *Gracchus* hadde depoſed an other Tribune, for ſpying none of them there, it was lyke to bée ſo. Some thoughte hée hadde made hym ſelfe Tribune againe wythoute anye Election. Tumult by *Gracchus*.

In the meane time the Senate assembled in the Temple of Faith. Surely I marueil, that where the office of one ruler had many times before preserued the state in like troubles, that now they dyd not chose a *Dictator*. In former times it was founde most necessarie, but nowe neyther in memorie, nor after cared for. When the Senate, as wel as they could, had resolued what was to be done, they went vp to the Capitoll, and *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, by the name of chiefe Bishop led the way, and spake with a loude voice that they should follow him that would haue their Countrey safe. Then he pulled the skirte of his gowne ouer hys head, eyther to giue a token by his garmēt, that the more might followe him, or for a signe to them that sawe it, that he would fight, or for that he would as it were hide from the Gods what he meant to do. Being come to the Temple, and thrusting in among *Gracchus* route, they gaue place vnto him, as to a most worthy man, whome they sawe all the Senate follow: then dyd his company wring the weapons out of the others handes, and gathered the pæces of the broken seates, with any other things that they could get in the place, and bet *Gracchus* part so violently, as they droue them to the brinke of the hill, in the whyche tumulte *Gracchus* was slayne, and many with him at the Temple dores, before the Images of the Kings. Thus *Gracchus*, beeyng sonne of that *Gracchus* that had bin twice Consull, whose mother was *Cornelia* daughter to *Scipio* that conquered *Affrica*, meaning well to his Countrey, but going aboute it vnsiscretely, was slayne in the Capitoll, being yet Tribune.

Temple of Fayth.

Dictator.

Chiefe Bishop. *Scipio Nasica.*

Superstition.

The fray.

Gracchus slayne, who was a gentle curteous man, sober and eloquent, with modestie.

As this was the firste mischiefe that was done in the place of election, so did it not ceasse till many more were done from tyme to time. The Citie was deuided into wo and ioy for *Gracchus* death, some lamented for themselues as well as for him, that the present state was no more a common wealth, but rather a Cōquest and crueltie. Other reioyced at that was done, whereby they had obteyned their purpose. This was done, whē * *Aristonicus* contended with the *Romaines* for the Lordship of *Asia*. *Gracchus* being

First Sedition.

* *Aristonicus* was a base sonne to *Eumenes*, by a wench of *Ephesus*, that was a Minstrels daughter. *Attalus* sonne to *Eumenes*, made his Testament after this sorte, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres esto.* The *Romaines* stayed the prouince of *Pergamo*. *Aristonicus* as heyre to his father inuaded it, and killed *Licinius Gracchus* that was sent against him. Then M. *Perpenna* ouerthrew him at *Stratonice*, and was killed in prison by the Senates commaundement.

being thus slayne, and *Appius Claudius* dead, straight way *Fuluius Flaccus*, *Paperius Carbo*, and *Gracchus* the yonger, toke vppon them the defence of the law, and where the possessioners denyed their lands to be surueyed, they made Proclamation, that the ouerseers should acuse them, of the whiche grewe a multitude of difficult matter, for all the lande adioyning togither, whither it was solde or deuided to their companions in warre, came to bee examined how it was sold, and how it was diuided. Euery man had not his conueyance, nor the portions appoynted them, and they that had, were found doubtfull. And where lande should bee diuided agayne according to the order, some of the owners must be put from their groundes and manors, to barren seede, and from frutefull and well planted places, to Fennes and marrish groundes. And where at the beginning of the lands conquered, there was no great certentie kept, & now that by decree all land diuisible must be laboured, many had entred vpō their neighbors boundes, whereby the forme of the places were confounded, and time hadde so altered the rest, as it was hard to find the wrong that the rich had done, although it were great: so was there nothing but confusion, euery one changing & chopping into others right. The *Italians* were very much greeued at this sharpe dealing of the commissioners, and made sute to *Cornelius Scipio* that ouercame *Carthage*, to be their defence againste these iniuries, who for that he had had there good seruice in the warres, was much greeued they shoulde be misused, wherefore he came into the Senate house, where he did not directlye speake agaynste *Gracchus* lawe, but shewed the difficultie of the matter, and wished it should not be determined of them that had the dealing of it, bycause of suspition, but of some other that might be thought indifferent, the which he quickly obteined as a thing reasonable. *Tuditanus* the Consull was appointed to be the iudge, but he entring into the cause, and finding it so intricate, toke in hande a voyage againste the *Illirians*, seeking that occasion to be ridde of this. They that were first appointed for the diuision, bycause no man required iustice of them, did nothing in the same. Hereof an hatred and grudge of the people did growe againste *Scipio*,

F. Flaccus P. Carbo.

Proclamation.

The *Italians* sueth to *Scipio*.

Scipio.

Tuditanus.

The *Illirians*, now *Slauonians*.

that he woulde haue more care of the nations of *Italie*, than of the people of *Rome*, whyche for hys sake had dyuers tymes gotten the displeasure of the greate men, and twice made him Consull before he might so be by the lawe. This beyng knowen, his enimies spake manifestly agaynst hym, affyrming that he went aboute vtterlye to breake *Gracchus* lawe by force and violence, whyche when the people hearde, they were afrayde, tyll *Scipio* in an euening, takyng a payre of Tables to note what hée woulde say the next day, was founde dead without any wound, eyther by the practise of *Cornelia* mother to *Gracchus*, that hys lawe shoulde not be fordone, and by the helpe of *Sempronia* hys daughter, who was married vnto *Scipio*, whome she loued not, nor he hir, for that she was foule and barren, or rather (as some thynke) that hée kylled hymselfe, bycause he could not fulfill hys promise. Some saye, that hys seruauntes bèeyng racked, confessed, that certayne straunge men vnknowen to them, were lette in at the backe dore, and that they did choke their maister, and bycause they sawe the people angry with him, and to bée glad of his deathe, they durst not bewray it. Thus dyed *Scipio*, and was not thoughte worthy a publike funerall, although he had done so great seruice to his Countrey. So muche could presente displeasure preuayle ouer benefytes passed. This happe gaue courage to *Gracchus* faction, although the diuision of landes was diuerslie deferred by the possessioners, wherof some thought good that all companions in warre shoulde be called to the frèedome of the Citie, to make the benefyte the more common, and so leaue the contention for land. The *Italians* accepted this very gladly, and preferred the frèedome of the Citie, before the lande in the Countrey. *Fuluius Flaccus* being Consull, and a diuider of land, was a great doer in this matter, but the Senate did not allowe, that they that were their inferiours, shoulde now become their fellowes: so this deuice toke no place, and the people that was in hope of the diuision, was vtterly discouraged, till *Caius Gracchus*, brother to him that made the lawe of landes, was thoughte the most mèete man to be a Tribune, who since hys brothers deathe had liued in rest: and though many of the Senate

The people of *Rome* against *Scipio*.

Sempronia and *Cornelia* suspected of *Scipios* death.

This vvas *Scipio Iunior Africanus*, nephevv to *Scipio Affricanus* that ouerthrevv *Annibal*.

Seruauntes confession.

Ingratitude.

Freedome of the Citie.

Fuluius Flaccus.

Caius Gracchus the seconde Tribune.

nate enuyed hym, ye he stode for the office, and obteyned it with great glory. He deuised to deceyue the Senate, by makyng a lawe that the people should haue a distribution of a monethes Corne of the common store, whiche thing was neuer seene before, whereby streight he wanne the peoples heartes, and *Fului-us* beyng his friende, he was declared Tribune for the yeare to come: for now there was a lawe made, that if a Tribune hadde nede of furtherance to performe his promise, the people afore all other should make choyce of hym, and so *Caius Gracchus* was chosen Tribune the second time. Hauing thus allured the people by his largesse, he wanne also the Gentlemen by an other deuice. They being in dignitie next the Senatours, in the middest betweene them and the people, he turned the iudgementes diffamed by corruption from the Senatoures to the Gentlemen, obiecting against them things lately committed, that *Cornelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *Manius Acilius*, who subdued *Asia*, being openly condemned of bribery, were releassed by the Iudges, when the Embassadours were present, goyng about, and crying out vpon them with great slaunder, wherof the Senate beeyng ashamed, gaue place to the lawe, the people proclaymed it. Thus were these iudgements translated from the Senatoures to the Gētlemen. When this law was made, *Gracchus* (as they report) sayd, he would dispatch the Senate quickly, which saying was found true by that followed thereof, for where the Gentlemen had the iudgements of corruption, banishment and diffamation, whyche they vsed extreamely ouer the *Romaines* and the *Italians*, yea the Senatours themselues, all the Gentlemē were like Princes extolled, and the Senatoures like slaues deiected, beside forth the Gentlemen ioyning with the Tribunes in elections, to gratifye them againe in euery thing they would. The Senatours were fallen into so great a feare, as though the state should streyghte haue bin changed, they only hauing the name, and the Gentlemē the authoritie, who in processe of time, did not only ouerrule the Senatours, but did them open spight against all lawe. They dealte with matters of corruption, and felte so of continuall gayne, as they vsed theyr authoritie more rigorously

Distribution.

A lavv for the Tribunes benefite.

Gentlemen, *Equites*, The next degree to the Senators after the order of the *Athenians*, vvhen they vvere able to find an horse.

Iudgements of corruption.

Cornelius Cotta, *Salinator* made the toll of salt.

Manius Acilius ouercame *Antiochus*.

Corruption. Translation of Iudgements.

Crueltie of the Gentlemen.

and moderately. They brought in priuie accusours against the rich, and by their faction and force ouerthrew the lawes of corruption, so as the custome of triall of iudgementes was vtterly ouerthrowne, and a new disturbance concerning lawes of Iudges stirred vp, as like so long to continue as the former. Nowe was *Gracchus* making of long high wayes in *Italy*, seeking thereby to help the multitudes of the labouring men, to haue them ready in any enterprise at his commaundement. He also placed diuers newe inhabitances, and furthermore stirred the Latine nation to require the freedome of the *Romaines*, as a thing to procure hate to the Senate, if they should denie it to that natiõ that was so nigh allied vnto them. He also gaue authoritie to other confederates of *Rome*, to giue voyces in elections, whiche might not so do by auntient manner, that he might haue the more helpe to procure lawes at his pleasure, for the which the Senate was much troubled, and commaunded the Consuls to make proclamation, that no man, vnlesse he had a right in elections, should resort into the Citie, or approch within fiue miles of the same, during the time of assemble for the lawes. They perswaded *Liuius Drusus* the other Tribune, to resist *Gracchus* lawes, not making the people acquainted with it, and it was graunted, that who so would resist, should not neede to shew cause thereof. And to win the commons heartes, they decreed twelue new inhabitancies to be made, wherewith the people was so wonne, as they cared not for the lawes. *Gracchus* being thus deceyued of the peoples fauour, sayled into *Afrike* with *Fuluius Flaccus*, who was Tribune with *Gracchus* after he had bin Consull, where an inhabitance was appoynted, bycause of the plentie of the soyle, whych was done of purpose, that by the absence of the people, the Senate might haue some rest from these sturres. Thys inhabitance was appoynted where *Carthage* was, little regarding that *Scipio* the winner of it, did bowe it for euer to be a place of pasture. Syx thousand was assigned, which by law ought to haue bin lesse, that they might the rather please the people. They returned to *Rome*, and gathered the syx thousand out of al *Italie*, but when it was written out of *Africa*, that the Wolues had de-

Gracchus maketh newy wayes.

Gracchus giueth voyce in elections.

Liuius Drusus.

The Senates deuice to ouerthrowy the lawes.

Gracchus sayleth into *Afrike*.

Colonie.

An inhabitance vvhere *Carthage* vvas.

stroyed

stroyed the plat of the citie, which *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* had layd, the Southsayers affirmed, that the inhabitantes should be vnlucky, wherefore the Senate called a counsell, that the lawe of inhabitance might be reuoked. *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* being deceyued of this hope also, like mad men, sayd the Senate did lye, touching the token of the Wolues. The vnruly sorte of the cõmons fauouring them, came with their weapõs to the Capitoll, where the assemblie shoulde be for this inhabitance. Whẽ the people was assembled, and *Fuluius* beganne to speake, *Gracchus* came vp to the Capitoll, garded with them that were priuie of his purpose, but being resisted of them that vnderstode he woulde make newe businesse, he lefte the way to the Capitoll, and toke a lowe Gallerie, there wayting to deceyue his aduersaries. One *Attilius*, a man of the commõ sort, seeyng him in these turmoyles, and making sacrifice in that gallerie, came and toke hym by the hand, eyther to persuade him, or suspecting him, or otherwise to talke with him, prayed him he woulde spare his Countrey: he was ỹ more troubled, as fearing to be apprehended, & loked angerly vpõ him, whereat one of his people, without any commandement or token giuen, but only by cõiecture of *Gracchus* grimme loke, thought it now to be time to please his Captayne, if he began the fray, drew his sword, & ranne *Attilius* through. A greate shoute being made, and the dead body seene among them, euery man fledde out of the Temple with feare of lyke displeasure. *Gracchus* wente to the common place, minding to say somewhat to the people touching this facte, but no man woulde harken to him, euery mã detesting it as a wicked fact. *Gracchus* and *Flaccus* were out of hope, hauing lost this occasion, which they thoughte to haue preuented, and ranne home to their houses, accompanyed with their companions. The rest of the people, as in time of daunger, about midnight toke the common place, and by breake of day, *Opimius* the Consull had appoynted men in armoure to keepe the Capitoll, and called the Senate togither by publike officers, himselfe in the meane time abiding in the Temple of *Iupiters* children, to prouide for the necessitie. This being thus ordeyned, the Senate sent for *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* to aunswere for

Inhabitance reuoked.

Attilius.

Attilius killed.

Gracchus acte detested.

L. Opimius.

themselues in the Counsell house, but they in armoure wente to the hill called *Auentine*, hoping by the strength of the place to bring the Senate to some composition, and offered libertie to bondmen that would repayre vnto them: but no man made anye accompt of them, wherefore they toke the Temple of *Diana*, and fortifyed it. Then they sent *Quintus*, sonne to *Flaccus* vnto the Senate, requesting a pause with a truce of concord. The Senate willed them to leaue their armoure, and come to say what they could for themselues, or else to sende no more: neuertheles he came agayne, and *Opimius* the Consull not taking him for a messenger bycause of their disobedience, caused him to be deteyned, and sent souldiours against *Gracchus*, and he fledde ouer the wodden bridge, vnto the other side of the floude into a groue, wyth one man, to whome when he saw he shoulde be taken, he offered his throte to be cutte. *Flaccus* fledde into a shoppe of one of hys acquaintance. They that followed him, threatned to burne the whole stréete, vnlesse they deliuered him. His friend being ashamed to betray him in his calamitie, bade an other do it, and so was *Flaccus* taken and killed, and both their heads were brought to the Consull *Opimius*, who gaue the waight of gold for reward, and the people spoyled their houses. The Consull toke their cõpanions, & committed them, till they were executed. To *Quintus* he granted to chose what maner of death he would: then he purged the Citie of bloudshed, & by the Senates sentence, erected the Tẽple of concord in ẏ cõmon place. This was ẏ ende of *Gracchus* ẏ second his seditiõ. Not long after a lawe was made, that anye man might sel the land ẏ was in controuersie, the which the former *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the riche men agayne dyd buy the poore mens parts, or thrust them out by violence, til *Spurius Borius* the Tribune did deuise a law, ẏ land shuld be no more denided, but remaine with the owners, & a tribute to be rayled of it for the people, the money whereof should be distributed, whereby the poore had some relefe, but to the increase of mẽ it was no help at al. Thus was *Gracchus* law abrogated by a sleight, which might haue bin very good and profitable, if it had bin vsed accordingly. Not lõg after, by an other Tribune, the distribution also was

Auent ne vvas one of the seauen hils of *Rome*.

Second seditiõ.

The vvoodden bridge vvas at that part of *Tiber* that goeth to the hill *Ianiculo*.

Gracchus and *Fuluius* slayne. This *Gracchus* vvas very eloquent, but so vehement, as he vvould moue vp and dovvne, and cast his Govvne off hys shoulders.

Purgation of the Citie.

Temple of Concorde.

Lavv to sell lande.

Diuision by money.

Sp. Borius.

was take away, so as the people was vtterly destitute of al help, whereof followed wante of Citizens and souldyers, reuenelwe of lande, of stipende, and of lawes, the space of fifténe yeares after *Gracchus* lawe, with a more quietnesse. In this meane tyme *Scipio* the Consull threw downe a Theatre that *Lucius Cassius* had begun and almost ended, eyther as an occasion of new sedition, or for that he woulde not haue the *Romaine* people acquainted with the *Greekes* pastimes. *Q. Metellus* a maister of maners, minded to haue remoued *Glaucias* that had bin Consul, and *Apuleius* hauing bin Tribune, from their dignitie, for their euill life, but he coulde not do it, bycause his fellowe was againste it. A little while after to be reuenged of *Metellus*, *Apuleius* laboured to bee Tribune againe, bycause *Glaucias* was Pretor, & should be chiefe in the election: but *Nonius* a noble mã, vsing frée speech agaynste him, & reprouing *Glaucias*, was chosen Tribune. They fearyng that he being in authoritie, would punish them, sent a band of busie fellowes as he went from the election, and killed him, entring into a shoppe to saue himselfe. This murther being committed, they of *Glaucias* faction, before the people could assemble agayne, chose *Apuleius* Tribune earely in the morning, & by this meane was the deathe of *Nonius* not followed, men being afraide of the Tribune. *Metellus* was banished by ỹ help of *C. Marius* now fiue times Consull, who bearing secrete hate againste him, conspired with his enimies. *Apuleius* did make a lawe to deuide certayne landes of the *Frenche*, wonne by the *Cymbrianes*, whome *Marius* hadde driuen away, as nowe no longer of the *Frenche*, but belongyng to the *Romaines*, and therefore might be deuided. It was promised that if the people woulde allow the lawe, the Senate should confirme it the fifth day by an oth, and he that refused to sweare to it, should be remoued frõ the Senate, and be cõdemned to the people in twenty Talents. This was a deuice to be reuenged of *Metellus*, who for his graultie woulde not sweare vnto it. The law being in this forwardnesse, *Apuleius* appointed ỹ day, and in the meane time sent into ỹ Countrey for such as had serued *Marius* in ỹ warres, to haue their help, but bycause ỹ *Italians* shoulde be more aduaunced by this lawe than the *Romaines*,

A Theatre vvas a place of Playes to bee seene of the people, and it vvas round sauing in one place. An Amphitheatre vvas round euerye vvhere. Sometime the Theatres serued for the people to learne Oratiõs.

Q. Metellus Censor.

This *Nonius*, of other is called *Memmius* and *Munius*.

Nonius killed. In this matter this Author seemeth to varie from other.

Metellus.

C. Marius vvas an enimie to the nobilitie, and a laborers sonne, voyde of learning, and rude in manners, yet so good a Souldiour, as vvhen *Scipio* vnder vvhome he serued in *Spayne*, vvas asked vvhome hee thought meete to be generall after him, hee clapped *Marius* on the shoulder and sayd, peraduenture this mã

the people was not content with it. So discord arose in the time of the meeting. *Apuleius* did put backe from the higher place all that were against the law. The people of the Citie cryed that it thundered, which when it hapned, it was not lawfull for the *Romaines* to conclude any thing in their consultations. Neuertheless *Apuleius* bande vsed violence still, wherefore the Citizens girded their gownes, and toke such weapons of woodde as they coulde get, and resisted the Countreymen. They agayne being encouraged by *Apuleius*, stucke to it, and with their staues and battes beate the Citizens so, as the lawe was wonne. *Marius* the Consull forthwith propoũded the oth, and bycause he knew *Metellus* a constant and sound man in his purposes, he firste shewed his owne opinion, affirming he would not sweare, and all to deceyue *Metellus* who sayd the same, wherefore both of them beyng commended of others, *Marius* brake vp the house. The fifth daye after, which was the time appoynted for the oth, the Consull assembled the Senate on a suddaine about tenne of the clocke, and sayde, he was afrayd of the people that fauored the lawe so feruently, yet he had deuised a shift and a subtiltie for it, and that was this, that a man might sweare to the words of the lawe so farre forthe as it was lawfull, and so for the time the Countrey people mighte be sente home, and after it might be well proued that it was no law, which by violence and by the thundering of *Iupiter* was made contrary to the order of the Countrey. Whē he had sayd thus, euery man was silent for feare of entrapping, and the suddaynesse of the time: wherefore he arose and went to the Temple of *Saturne*, where the common treasourers shoulde sweare. Himselfe sware first, & so did his frieds: other Senators did the like for feare. Only *Metellus* would not sweare, continuing in his former sentence without dread. *Apuleius* the nexte day sent a Sergeant to pull him out of the Courte, but the Tribunes defended him. Then *Apuleius* and *Claudius* ranne to the Countrey multitude, affirming that they neither could haue lād, nor law take place, vnlesse *Metellus* were banished: wherefore a decrée of his banishmente was made, and a Proclamation from the Consull, that no man should succoure *Metellus*, neyther wyth fyre

Obiection against the lavv.

Thunder stopperth any proceeding in elections and assemblies.

The Citizens against the Countreymen.

The lavve vvonne by force.

Marius dissembleth.

A deuice of *Marius* to illude the lavve.

The vvords be, Μηχάνημα and σοφισμα *commentum & subtilitas.*

Metellus refuseth the oth.

fyre nor water: and one only day was giuen him for deliberation of the matter. The people of the Citie were offended, and went aboute *Metellus* with their weapons: he thanked them for their good will, but said, his Countrey should not be brought into trouble for him. So *Apuleius* pronounced the decree of his exile, and *Marius* confirmed it. Thus was the most worthy man of the Citie banished, after the which *Apuleius* was Tribune the third time, and for his fellow, one *Gracchus* a runnagate was appointed, reporting that he was sonne to olde *Gracchus*, the people fauouring him for the names sake. The election of the Consuls being at hand, *Marcus Antonius* was chosen for the one, without any sticking: for the other, *Glaucias* and *Memmius* contended. *Memmius* was of more estimation in the Citie. *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* feared themselues, and sente certayne men with wasters into the assemblie, whiche layde vpon *Memmius*, and kylled him. Thus was the solemne assemblie disturbed, no regarde being had now of law or iustice, nor reuerẽce of God or man. The people was greeued at it, and the nexte day gathered togither to dispatche *Apuleius*, but he got the company of his new multitude of Countreymẽ, with *Glaucias* and *C. Sapheius* a treasourer, and toke the Capitoll. The Senate commaunded they shoulde be taken and dispatched, but *Marius* vnwilling to it, did for a shew arme men very slowly. Some there were that did cutte away the water that wente into the Temple, wherefore *Sapheius* that could not abide the lacke of water, persuaded thẽ to set the Temple a fyre, but *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* yeelded themselues first, and after so did *Sapheius*. And where euery man called vpon their execution, *Marius* shutte them in the Senate house, as to deale with them more according to lawe. But the people perceiuing this to be a delay, pulled the staues of ẏ roofe of the Tẽple, and neuer left throwing vpon them, till they had killed all three, whereof one was a Questor, an other a Tribune, and the third a Pretor, and all at that time clad with the robes of their office. With them also was slayne a greate number of the people, entangled with their sedition, and in it the other Tribune, that was thought to be sonne to *Gracchus*, the first day of the entring

The moderatiõ of *Metellus*.

Metellus banished.

Gracchus the runnagate, who was aduanced by *Marius*.

Memmius killed.

Sapheius, *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* killed.

into his Tribuneship, for now neyther libertie nor dignitie, neyther law nor office was able to releeue any mã, whẽ as the Tribunes office, created for the repressing of wrongs, and defence of the people, as a sanctuary and holy thing, was waxen a worker of iniuries, and had iniurie done against it selfe. After *Apuleius* and the rest were killed, the Senate and the people decreede to call home *Metellus*, but *P. Furius* Tribune, not borne of a free man to his father, but made free of a bond man, boldly did resist them, and reiected his sonne *Metellus*, beseeching him with teares vpon his knees in the sight of all the people, which yong man for that pitifull acte, was euer after called *Metellus* the dutifull. *Caius Canuleius* Tribune the next yeare, did accuse *Furius*, and the people that would not tarrie to haue him tried by iudgement, did teare him in peeces. Thus euer one mischiefe or other was committed in the common place. *Metellus* was called home, and (as they say) a daye did not suffice for them that came to welcome hym home at the gates of the Citie. Thus the thirde sedition, after the two former, made of the two *Gracchi*, begunne by *Apuleius*, and working muche trouble to the *Romaynes*, was ended. In the meane tyme kyndled a stirre called the fellowes warre, whiche as it was sodayne, so it shortlye grewe verye great, and caused dissention to ceasse at home, for feare of trouble abrode, and when it was ended, it raysed newe turmoyles and workers of discorde, not for makyng of Cities, or creating of officers among the people, but wyth myghtye armyes seekyng one anothers destruction, the whyche I thought good to ioyne with thys Hystorie, bycause it proceeded of ciuill dissention, and increased to a farre greater tumulte, the begynnyng whereof was thys. *Fuluius Flaccus* beeyng Consull, was the fyrste that openly encouraged the *Italians* to aske the freedome of *Rome*, that of subiectes they myghte bee coequall in authoritie. And bycause hee was so earnest in the cause, the Senatoures sente hym to a forrayne warre, where hee laboured to bee Tribune. When hys office shoulde ende, and brought to passe that hee was chosen Tribune wyth *Gracchus* the yonger, both the whyche going aboute to make lawes in the fauoure of the *Italians*, were slayne

Furius.

Metellus the dutifull.

Furius torne in peeces.

Metellus reuoked.

The thirde sedition.

Fellowes warr, and the cause of it.

Flaccus sent into *Liberia*.

(as

(as yée haue heard,) whereby the *Italians* were the more sharplye sette, takyng it greuouslye, that they were rather vsed lyke vnderlyngs than fellowes, and that *Fuluius* and *Gracchus* for theyr lakes were so destroyed, after whome, *Liuius Drusus* a noble man and Tribune, hadde promised the *Italians* to make a lawe in theyr fauoure, touchyng the freedome of the Citie, whereof they were verye desirous, as the onely meane, of Seruauntes to bée made Superioures. To gratifye the people of *Rome*, the Tribune ledde newe inhabitances, as well into *Italie* as *Sicelie*, determined before, but tyll that tyme deferred. Hée also toke in hande to make pacification betweene the Senatoures and the Gentlemen whyche were fallen out for authoritie of iudiciall matters, and when hée sawe hée coulde not directlye restore the Senate to theyr former iurisdiction, he vsed a policie wyth them both, for where the Senate by reason of sedition, were scarcely the number of thrée hundred, hée deuised that so many more shoulde bée chosen of the Gentlemen, and of them all, Iudges to bée chosen in tyme to come, to heare matters of corruption, whyche was nowe no more regarded, for men were waxen so shameleſſe, as it was thoughte no faulte: but thys policie hadde contrarie succeſſe, for the Senate was grieued that so many Gentlemen shoulde so suddaynely bée made theyr fellowes, beeyng vnlyke that they in lyke authoritie would agrée with them. The Gentlemen were afrayde that the whole order of iudgementes shoulde be in the Senate, the which thing, now hauing tasted of great gaine, with much authoritie they began, (not without cause) to suspect: beſideforth an emulation grew among themselues, which of thē shoulde be thought worthier than other, to be chosen to the thrée C. and he that was, was sure to be enuied: but nothing did more trouble them, than that the triall of corruption shoulde be called agayne to the ordinary court, the which was now out of vse, and in this, the Senate and the Gentlemen, though they agréed not among themselues, yet they both conspired agaynſte *Druſus*. The people was pleased wyth theyr newe habitations. But the *Italians*, for whose sakes the Tribune hadde begunne

Liuius Druſus.

Encreaſe of Senators.

Druſus said there vvas nothing novv left to be deuided, but earth or ayre.

all

It should seeme by some that he vvould haue reuoked certayne inhabitancies.

all these things, could not away with the placing of newe habitacions, for if the diuision of common land should ceasse, the rich men, some by force and some by fraude woulde winne it, and streight get it from them, and be euill neyghbours to them that would withholde them. The *Tuscanes* and the *Vmbrians* hauing the like affection, were brought of the Consull in pretence to dispatche *Drusus*, but in very dæde to resist the lawe, againste the which they openly cryed and expected the day of determination. When the Tribune hearde of this, he came not abroade, but gaue audience at home in a darke gallerie, and in an euening dismissing the people, it hapned so that he cryed, I am hurt, and with ẏ word he fell downe dead, & it was found ẏ he was stricke with a Shomakers knife in ẏ flanke. Thus *Drusus* ẏ Tribune was slayne. The Gentlemen of this determination toke occasion to picke quarels againſt their enimies, and induced *Q. Valerius* the Tribune to take vppon him to accuse all them that eyther priuily or apertly had furthered the *Italians* in the publique matters, hoping thereby the great men should haue bin brought into slaunders and diffamation, and they be their Iudges, whych being ridde away, they shoulde yet haue greater power in the common wealth. And whereas other Tribunes did refuse to propound the lawe, the Gentlemen with swords in hand, did compasse the place, and caused the law to be made, which as sone as they had obteyned, they brought in accusers againſte the Sengtours, whereof one *Bestius* woulde not obey, but wente into voluntarie banishment, as he that would not giue himselfe into the hands of his enimies. *Cotta* appeared in iudgement, and when hee had very boldly declared his seruice for the common wealth, and reprehended the Gentlemen, before he shoulde be cast out by decrée, he wente away willingly. *Mummius* that ouercame *Greece*, being promised of the Gentlemen to be released, was deceyued, and forced with shame to flée iudgement, and to leade his lyfe in the Ile of *Delos*. The people began to be grœued at this disorder increasing dayly againſt the best men, lamenting that so many and so good Citizẽs should be so suddainely taken from them. The *Italians* hearing of *Drusus* death, and the cause of so many

Drusus slayne.

Q. Valerius.

L. Bestius exiles himselfe.

Cotta vvillingly exiled.

Mummius exiled vvho ouerthrevv *Cornelius* and thereof vvas called *Achaicus*, bycause it stoode in *Achaia*.

mens

mens exile, thinking no longer to be suffered, that such a sort of their chiefe patrones should be thus vsed, and not hoping any other way to obteyne the frædome of the Citie, determined to leaue the *Romaines*, and to make warre vpon them. At the beginning of this confederacie, they secretely gaue hostages for assurance of their faith, which thing was long hidde to the *Romaines*, bycause of their dissention and iudiciall causes, but when it was perceyued, they sente diuers abroade to vnderstand the thyng closely, one of the whiche, marking that a yong man of the Citie of * *Asculi* was deliuered to an other citie as pledge, he did vtter it to *Seruilius* the President of that prouince: for at that time, it should seeme, that the *Romaines* had presidents in diuers partes of *Italy*, whiche manner *Hadriane* when he was Emperoure desired to renue, but it cõtinued not lõg after his time. *Seruilius* came in great anger to *Asculi* at a feast, and sharply rebuked them, wherevpon they killed him, bycause they were discouered by hym. They killed also *Fonteius* ẏ was his legate. They had ẏ name of Legates among the *Romaines*, that were sent in commission to the Presidents of the Countrey. After these two were slayne, there was as little courtesie shewed to the rest of the *Romaines*, for they were al killed, and their goodes set to spoyle. The conspiracie being now opened, all the neighboures about *Asculi* wente to armes. The *Marsians*, the *Malinians*, the *Vestinians*, the *Marucians*, and beside them the *Picentines*, the *Ferentines*, the *Hirsians*, the *Pompeyans*, the *Venusians*, the *Iapigianes*, and the *Samnites*, whiche people before had euer bin enimies, and hurtfull to the *Romaines*. All other nations from the floud * *Lario*, which floweth, as I take it at * *Linterno*, to ẏ Gulfe of *Ionia*, did send theyr Embassadors to the *Romaines*, complayning, that where the Senate had vsed their seruice and trauell, alwayes in getting theyr great Empire, they made no regard of it, nor for all their paines thought them worthy to be partaker of their Citie. To whome the Senate sharply answered, that if they repented theyr former doings, they shoulde send Embassadors, if not they shoulde sende none. They as men desperate, prepared for the warre, and made a common army of all the Cities, one of fortemen, and an other

* *Ascolo*, Thys Citie is in that part that is called *Abruzzo*, neere to the territorie of *Ancona*, appertayning to the Pope. There is another of thys name in *Apulia*, called *Asculi di Satriano* for a difference.
Presidents. *Hadriane* the Emperoure.
Proconsulles. *Seruilius* killed at *Asculi*. *Fonteius* killed.
Marsians in Campania di Roma.
Malniãs in Campania felici.
Vestinians in *Abruzzo*.
Marusians *Abruzzo*.
Picentines Campanites di Lauoro.
Ferentines in Catio.
Hirsians *Abruzzo*.
Pompeyans in terra di Lauoro.
Venusians in *Apulia*.
Iapigianes otrãto.
Samnites *Abruzzo*.
All these natiõs be beyõd *Rome*.
* The floud *Liris* *Lario*, now *Glariano* in *Campania*.
* *Linterno* was a Citie in *Campania*, where *Scipio* chose to ende his life, after he had found the people of *Rome* vnthankefull.

of horsemen, to the number of one hundred thousande. The *Romaines* made power as greate againste them, partly of their owne, and partlye of the Confederate Cities that yet remayned in league. *Sextus Iulius Cæsar*, and *Publius Rutilius Lupus*, then Consulles, were leaders both, as in a warre at hande, and daungerous. The rest remayned at home to defende the gates and the walles, and bycause mens mindes were entangled thys waye and that waye, by reason of the newe lawe, they appoynted assistantes to the Consulles, whome they called Legates, menne of the best sorte. To *Rutilius*, was ioyned *Cneus Pompeyus*, father to *Pompey* that was surnamed Greate, *Quintus Cæpio*, *Caius Perpenna*, and *Valerius Messala*. To *Sextus Cæsar P. Lentulus*, brother of the sayde *Cæsar*, *Titus Didius*, *Licinius Crassus*, and *Cornelius Sylla*. And beside these, *Marcus Marcellus*. These many appoynted to the Consuls, serued as Lieutenantes in seuerall places, and the Consuls wente ouer all, to whome and to the other the *Romaines* sente euer newe supplyes, as in a trouble of greate danger.

The army of the *Italians*.

Sex. Iulius Cæsar. P. Rutilius Consulles.

Assistantes to the Consulles.

The *Italians* hadde theyr Captaynes out of euerye Citie, besyde the whyche, as in a generall cause, these were the Generalles, *T. Afranius*, *C. Poncilius*, *Marius Ignatius*, *Quintus Pompedius*, *C. Papius*, *M. Lampronius*, *C. Iudacilius*, *Hirius Asinius*, and *Vetius Cato*. These deuidyng theyr armyes togyther, wente agaynste the Romayne Captaynes many tymes with the aduantage, and many tymes wyth the losse, the chiefe of both the whyche briefly to declare, were these: *Vetius Cato* putte to flighte, *Sextus Iulius* kylled two thousande of hys menne, and droue him to *Asernia*, a Citie of the Romayne deuotion, where standyng to theyr defence, *L. Scipio* and *L. Acilius* in slaues apparell fledde awaye, and the enimies wyth tyme and hunger consumed them. *Marius Ignatius* toke *Venafro* by treason, and kylled two companies of the *Romaines*.

Generalles of the *Italians*.

Sextus Iulius ouerthrowyne.

Venafro lost.

P. Præsenteius dyd ouerthrowe *Perpenna* a leader of tenne thousande, kylled foure thousande, and toke the armoure from the

It is neere the flouy *Vulturno*.

Perpenna ouerthrowyne and discharged.

most

moste parte of the reſt. Wherefore *Rutilius* the Conſull diſcharged *Perpenna* of hys leading, and commytted the remnaunte of the Armye to *C. Marius*. *M. Lamponius* ſlewe eyghte hundred of them that were with *Licinius Craſſus*, and chaſed the other to the Citie of *Grumento*. *C. Papius* gote *Nola* bytreacherie, and made Proclamation to two thouſande *Romaines* that were there, to come and ſerue, whyche they dyd, and hée accepted them: but the Captaynes that refuſed to obey hys Proclamation, hée toke, and famiſhed them to deathe. He wanne alſo *Caſtabuli*, *Minturnio*, and *Salerno*, that were habitations of *Rome*, and cauſed all the priſoners and Captyues to ſerue in hys Campe. He burned all aboute the compaſſe of *Nuceria*, whyche cauſed the nexte Cities to yéelde for feare. Hée requyryng an armye of them, they ſente hym tenne thouſande menne, and one thouſande Horſe, wyth the whyche hée beſæged *Acerre*. *Sextus Cæſar* wyth tenne thouſande Frenche fotemen, and manye *Numidian* Horſemenne, approched to *Acerre*.

Grumento.
Li. Craſſus loſt.
Nola vvonne, a Citie not farre from *Naples*.
Caſtabuli in *Campania*, *Minturna* in *Campania*, vvher *Marius* hidde himſelfe.
Salerno beyonde *Naples*.
Nuceria beſeeged, thirtie miles from *Naples*.
Acerre a Citie in *Campania*, vvhiche *Anniball* burned, the people beeyng eſcaped.

Papius broughte out of *Venuſio*, *Oxintha*, ſonne to *Iugurthe* ſometyme kyng of *Numidia*, where hée was kepte of the *Romaines*, and claddyng hym wyth Purple, ſhewed hym manye tymes to the *Numidianes* that were wyth *Cæſar*, of the whyche manye fledde thycke vnto hym as to theyr kyng. Wherefore *Cæſar* ſente awaye the reſt as ſuſpected into theyr Countrey, after the whiche, *Papius* came vppon hym wyth contempte, and bette downe parte of hys trenche. Hée ſente hys Horſemenne aboute, whyche kylled fyre thouſande of *Papius* Souldyoures, whiche done, *Cæſar* remoued the Campe from *Acerre*.

Oxintha ſonne to *Iugurth*.
Venuſio in *Apulia*.
Numidians.
Papius loſeth.

To *Iudacilius* in *Iapigia*, the *Canuſians*, *Venuſians*, and manye other Cyties dyd yéelde, ſome that woulde not hée ouercame, and as manye noble menne of the *Romaynes* as he founde, hée ſlewe, the Commons and the ſlaues hée vſed in hys Hoſt.

Rutilius the Conſull, and *C. Marius* made Brydges, not farre aſunder, to paſſe ouer the Riuer of *Liris*. *Vetius Cato* camped

nigh the bridge of *Marius* and layde an ambushe ouer agaynste the Consuls bridge. In the morning he suffered him to passe ouer, and set vpon him with that sleyght, and many of his people he killed on the lande, many also he drowned in the floud. The Consull in this conflict was hurt in the head, and dyed shortlye after. *Marius* being at the other bridge, and perceyuing ỹ chance by the bodyes that were brought by the streame, passed the floud with great spæde, and set vppon *Catos* Camp, kept off a few, and made him lodge the nighte where he had wonne the day, from whence for lacke of victuall he was compelled to depart. *Futilius* corpse, and many other Gentlemen, being sent to *Rome* to be burned, it was an heauie sight to sée the Consull and so many other destroyed, and cause of many daies mourning: wherfore the Senate decrée̊de, that they that dyed in the warre should be buryed there, least the other by the sight should be made afraide to goe to the fielde. No successor was made to *Rutilius* that yeare, because *Sextus Cæsar* had no leysure to goe to the election, but hys host, the Senate appointed *Caius Marius* and *Q. Capio* to rule. *Q. Pompedius* lying against *Capio*, fledde as a rũnagate, and brought two slaues as pledges, cladde in purple as his sonnes: and to haue the more credite, he broughte certayne wedges of leade, layde ouer with siluer and golde. He exhorted him to set vpon his men being without a Captayne easie to be ouerthrowen. *Capio* was so light of beliefe, as he wente with him. When *Pompedius* was nigh the place of embushment, he ranne vp to an hill as to espie the enimie, to whome when he had giuen his token, they appeared, and ouerthrew *Capio*, and many moe with him. The Senate committed the rest of his army to *Marius*. *Sextus Cæsar* marching with thirtie thousand fotemen, and fiue thousand horses, among hilles and rocky streyghtes, *Marius Ignatius* fell suddaynely vpon him, and compassed him in the same. He fledde away in a litter (because he was sicke) to a riuer, where was but one bridge to passe, there he lost the greater part of his armye, the other threw away their armoure, with whome he hardly escaped to *Theano*, them he armed agayne as well as he could, and with an other multitude that came vnto him hand ouer head, he approched

The Consull killed. *Marius*.

Heauinesse at *Rome* for the death of the Consull.

Pompedius deceyueth *Capio*.

Capio slayne.

Sextus Cæsar beeth.

Theano in the end of *Apulia*.

approched to *Atherre*, which *Papio* had besieged. Their Campes lay hard togither, yet for feare durst not prouoke one the other. *Cornelius Sylla*, and *C. Marius* did followe valiantly the *Marsians* that lay against them, vnto the hedges of the Vineyardes. The *Marsians* with much adoe gote through the hedges, in the whiche *Marius* and *Sylla* thought not good to pursue them, but *Sylla* wayting with his Camp on the other side of the Vineyards, encountred them as they would haue escaped out, and killed manye of them, so as the slaughter of that day was aboue fiue thousande, and the harneste that the *Romaines* toke, was a great deale more. By this chaunce the *Marsians* like madde men were the more fierce, and armed themselues againe, and went on to prouoke the *Romaines*, who durst not come to hand with them, nor begin the fight, for they be a nation most warlike, and through this chance this only triumph was made of them, where before (as the saying is) neyther was there triumph of them, nor without them. About the mount of *Falerno*, *Iudacilius*, *Titus Afranius*, and *P. Vetidius* togither, did ouerthrowe *C. Pompeyus*, and droue him to the Citie of *Firmo*. They wente their way, and lefte *Afranius* to besiege *Pompey*, who armed his men speedely; but woulde not come to fighte, yet by the comming of an other army, he sente *Sulpitius* about to be on the backe of *Afranius*, and he came forthe on the face. The fight being doubtfull on both sides, *Sulpitius* set the enimies Camp on fire, which when they sawe, they fledde to *Ascoli* without order or obedience, where *Afranius* was killed continuing in the fight. *Pompeyus* proceeded to the winning of *Ascoli*. *Iudacilius* was borne at *Ascoli*, and fearing the losse thereof, hee toke eyght companies and went toward it, sending to the *Asculians* before, that as sone as they saw him a farre off, they should yssue vppon the enimies, that they might be assayled on both sides: but they would none of it. Notwithstanding *Iudacilius* entred through the Camp with as many as he could, and reproued his Countreymen for vnfaithfulnesse, and cowardlinesse, but hauing no hope to saue the Citie, firste he killed all his auntient enimies, then those that of late had caused the multitude to disobey him at this instant. That done, he prepared a fyre in the

Marsi a valiant people in *Latio*, now *Campania*.

Falerio in *Campania* where the good wine is prayed.

Firmo a towne in the march of *Ancona*.

Afranius killed.

Iudacilius.

Crueltie of *Iudacilius*.

Temple, and sette a bedde vppon it, then he did banquet with hys friendes, and after he hadde made merrie with them, he dranke off hys poyson, and layde hym downe on the strawe, and bade them sette it on fyre. Thus *Iudacilius* desyrous to dye honourablie for hys Countrey, made hys ende. *Iudacilius* death.

Sextius Cæsar, the tyme of hys office beyng expyred, was made Vicecõsull of the Senate. He sette vppon twentie thousande as they remoued theyr Campe, and kylled eyghte thousande of them, and vnarmed many more, lying long at the sæge at *Ascoli*, he dyed of a disease, and appoynted *C. Bebius* to serue in his place. These were the things done in *Italy*, aboute the *Ionian* sea. *S. Cæsar* dyeth.

The *Hetrurians* and *Vmbrianes* on the other syde of *Rome* hearyng of this, they and other Countreys theyr neyghboures were disposed to rebell. The Senate bëeing afrayde, leaste the enimie being rounde aboute them, they shoulde bee vndefended, sente garrisons of frée made menne to all the coaste betwéene the Citie and *Cuma*. This was the firste tyme that they were admytted to serue in Warre for wante of frée menne. Those *Italians* that remayned in good faith, they made frée of the Citie, of the whyche all were desirous. Thys benefyte they sente also to the *Hetrurianes*, who receyued that frædome verye friendelye. The Senate by thys curtesie made theyr welwyllers the more wyllyng, putte them oute of doubte that were in feare, and caused the enimie (for hope of the lyke) to bee the more remisse. The *Romaines* dyd not receyue these newe Citizens into the fyue and thirtie companyes (for so manye they were) leaste that they bëeyng more than the olde, shoulde preuayle in elections, but broughte them into newe companyes, deuided by tennes, whereby they were laste in the elections, and manye tymes theyr voyces were in vayne, bycause the olde fyue and thirtie were firste called, and more than halfe. Whether thys was not knowen at the firste, or that the *Italians* were contente wyth it, afterwarde it was cause of newe contention. They aboute the *Ionian* *Cuma in Campania felici.* Freemade men sent to vvarre. *Hetrurians* novv *Tuscanes.* The *Italians* made Citizens of *Rome.*

nian Sea, not hearyng of the *Hetrurianes* repentaunce, sente fiftæne thousande menne in ayde to *Hetruria*, with long and laborious iourneys. *C. Pompeius* nowe Consull, mette wyth them, and kylled fyue thousande of them, the rest returnyng home by wayleſſe places, sharpe season of Wynter, and by eatyng of Acornes, were the halfe destroyed.

That same Wynter, *Cato*, *Pompeius* fellowe, made warre vppon the *Marsianes*, and was slayne. *Sylla* laye in Campe at Mount *Pompey*. *L. Ignatius* wyth greate despyghte, encamped wythin halfe a myle of hym. *Sylla* coulde not abyde thys contumelie, but sette vppon hym, not tarrying for hys forragiers, and was dryuen to flée, but when hys forragiers were come, he sette vppon hym agayne and putte hym to flyghte. Hæ then Camped farther off, hauing a supplye of Frenchmen. He agayne placed hys Campe nére to *Sylla*. The armyes bæyng thus nygh togither, a Frenchman of mightye stature came forthe alone, and challenged anye of the Romaynes to fyghte wyth hym: a little *Marusian* aunswered hym, and kylled hym, wyth the whyche, the Frenchmenne were so discouraged, as they fledde theyr way, whereby the Campe bæyng troubled, no companye of *Cluentius* woulde tarrie, but wyth confusion fledde to *Nola*. *Sylla* pursued, and kylled thirtie thousande in the chase. And whereas the *Nolanes* receyued them but at one gate, for feare the enimie shoulde also enter, he slewe aboute the walles twentye thousande, among whome *Cluentius* manfullye fyghting, was also slayne.

Cato slayne.

Sylla fleeth.

Sylla putteth to flight.

A Combate.

A *Numidian*.

Cluentius slayne.

Sylla wente agaynſte the *Hirpinianes*, and besæged *Aequilano*. They loking for the *Lucanes* ayde that daye, desired respite to consider: hée perceyuing theyr crafte, gaue them one houre, and in the meane tyme sette Ladders to the walles, whyche were made of woodde, and at the ende of the houre sette them on fyre. They bæyng afrayde yéeloed, yet he spoyled it, bycause they yéeloed not of

Hirpini in the *Erutians*.

Lucanes be they that nowe be of *Basilicata*.

Aquilano taken Citie in *Eruty*.

good

good will, but of necessitie. Other that yéelded he receyued, till he had subdued all the *Hirpian* nation. Then he wente againste the *Samnites*, not that way which *Mutilus* their Captaine kepte, but an other vnknowen by a compasse, and came vppon them suddainely, and killed many of them, and the other ranne hither and thither, and *Mutilus* was hurt, and with a fewe fleede to *Asernia*. *Sylla* went against the *Brianes*, where the common counsell of the factions were kept. This Citie had three fortresses, and whyles the *Brianes* came wholly against *Sylla*, he sente aboute certayne, whome he willed to take any of the fortresses that they coulde, and to signifye it by a smoke, whiche being done, he gaue a hote assault on the front three houres togither, and gote the Towne. These things that Sommer were happily done of *Sylla*, and toward winter he went to *Rome* to stand for the Consulship. *C. Pompeius* subdued the *Marsians*, *Marusians*, and the *Venusians*. *C. Cossonius* a Lieutenant did burne *Salapia*, and toke *Canue*. By the comming of the *Samnites*, with whome he fought valiantly, till many dyed on both sides. He was fayne to leaue the seege of *Canutio*, and goe to *Canue*. *Trebatius* the Captayne of the *Samnites*, sente vnto *Gossonius*, that eyther he should come ouer the riuer that deuided their armies, to fight, or goe backe, that he might come to him: he wēt backe, and when *Trebatius* was comming ouer, *Cossonius* set vppon him, and had the better in the fight, and as he woulde haue fledde ouer againe, he killed fiftéene thousande of *Trebatius* men, who with them that were left, fledde to *Canusio*. *Cossonius* hauing spoyled the landes of the *Larineans*, *Venutians*, and *Asculans*, inuaded the *Podiceans*, whome he wanne in two dayes. *Cecilius Metellus* became his successor to his army, who went against the *Iapigians*, and ouerthrew them by battayle, in the which *Pompedius* one of the Generalles of the reuolted people was killed, the rest fled by heapes to *Cæcilius*. This was the sharpe contention in *Italy*, called the fellowes warre, till all the same were receyued into the ciuilitie of *Rome*. Except the *Lucanes* and *Samnites*, the whyche (as it should séeme) were after receyued also, and were appointed to their seuerall companies as the former, least beyng ioyned with the olde, they should, being more in number, haue the vpper hand

Mutulus ouerthrowen.

Asernia in *Brutij*.

Brianes nowe *Boiano* in *Abruzzo*.

Salapia a Citie of *Apulia*, where *Annibal* was caught in loue.

Canue nowe *Berletta*.

Canutio a citie in *Apulia*, where is the best wooll in *Italy*, nowe *Canossa*.

The floud *Anfido*.

Trebatius is discomfited by *Cossonius*.

Larinates &c. people of *Apulia*.

Pediculi in *Calabria*.

Pōpedius killed.

Italians receiued to the freedome of *Rome*.

hand in elections.

Now beganne the Vsurers to contende one against an other in the Citie, bycause some had bought debtes with the interest, beyng forbidden to take vsurie vpon vsuries by an olde law, and a payne appointed to him that so woulde vse his vsuries. It should seeme that the olde *Romaines* detested vsurie as muche as the *Greekes*, as a matter intollerable to the poore, and cause of debate and euill will. The *Persians* also by like reason did accompte it full of fraude and leasing, but vsurie being confirmed by custome and time, they required it accordingly. The other alleadged cause of delay through war and sedition, and some threatned the vsurers with the statute. *Asellio* a Judge, to whome that inrisdiction belonged, sought to agree them, but coulde not, wherefore he gaue them leaue to trie the controuersie by lawe, putting the Judges in remembrance, as well of the custome, as of the law, as a thing doubtfull. When the Vsurers hearde *Asellius* make mention of the olde law, they were greeued, and kylled him after this manner: It was his turne to make oblation in the common place to *Iupiters* children, the multitude standing about the sacrifice, one of the former threw a stone at him, and hit him, wherefore he slong downe the vessell of sacrifice, and ranne toward the Temple of *Vesta*, where being preuented and excluded, he fledde into a shoppe, and there they slew him. Many that went after him thinking he had bin fledde among the *Virgines*, ranne into places where it was not lawfull for men to come. Thus *Asellio* a Judge, sacrificing and cladde with an holy vesture of golde, as in such solemnities is wont, was killed the second houre among the Temples in the midst of the common place. The Senate made Proclamation, that who so euer woulde bewray the killer, if he were a freeman, he should haue siluer: if he were bond, he shoulde haue freedome: if he were priuie to it, he shoulde haue pardon: but no man would do it, for the Vsurers kept it secrete. These murthers and ciuill dissentions hapned yet now and then, but afterward Captaynes of sedition with great armies contended togither by law of warre, their Countrey standing as a pray to them that could catch it, the beginning & proceeding whereof

Vsurie.

Romaines, Grecians, and Persians, hate Vsurie.

Asellio.

Sacrifice to *Iupiters* children.

Vesta the Goddesse of Virginitie.

Disorder.

Asilius killed.

after the fellowes warre was this.

Beginning of Ciuill vvaries.

When *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and other nations hadde inuaded *Bithinia*, *Phrigia*, and *Asia*, confining to the same (as I haue shewed in my Booke of that matter,) it was by lotte assigned to *Sylla* the Consull, beeyng yet in *Rome*, to gouerne the armye in *Asia*, in that warre of *Mithridates*. But

Marius.

Marius, who thoughte thys warre woulde be easie to dispatch, and very muche worth, desirous also of the Generalles roome, attempted *P. Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, with manye promises, to be hys friende. And he putte the newe Citizens of *Italy* in good hope, that were inferioure in elections, to be distributed thorough all the Companies, not shewing that hee wente aboute any matter of his owne, that hee myghte vse them as faithfull ministers in all assayes. *Sulpitius* straightway propounded a law for it, which if it had taken place, *Marius* and *Sulpitius* should haue had their willes in all, bycause the new Citizens did so farre excéede the olde, which thing the auntients perceiuing, did stoutely resist the new, and both sides vsed stones and staues in their defence. This euill growing still greater, and the Consuls fearing the passing of the law that was at hãd, did proclayme a vacation for many dayes, as in festiuall tymes was wont to be done, that some intermission might be hadde of this lawe and inconuenience. *Sulpitius* coulde not abyde thys vacation, and therefore willed hys faction to come to the common place with weapons hidde, and do as should fall out, not sparing the very Consuls if néede were. Thys done, he spake agaynste the vacation, as a thing contrarye to the lawe, and bad the Consulles, *Sylla*, and *Q. Pompey* forthwyth to reuoke it, that he might proceéde to the approbation of the lawe. A tumulte began, and they beeyng prepared, drewe their daggers, and threatned to kyll the Consulles if they spake agaynste them: wherefore *Pompey* secretely fledde, and *Sylla* went aside, as to take aduice: But *Pompeys* sonne, beeyng sonne in lawe to *Sylla*, was kylled of *Sulpitius* faction, bycause hée spake somewhat liberally agaynste them. Then *Sylla* returned, and reuoked the vacation, and wente to *Capua*, to the army which was to passe into *Asia*, for the war

Sulpitius.

Vacation.

Sulpitius against the vacation.

Vacation reuoked.

of

of *Mithridates*, not knowing any thing yet what was meante agaynste hym. The vacation beeyng dissolued, and *Sylla* gone out of the Citie, *Sulpitius* propounded the lawe, and to *C. Marius* for whome he had done all this, he assigned the rule of the warre agaynste *Mithridates* in *Sylla* hys place. *Sylla* hearing of it, and determining to trye it by fight, called hys Souldyoures togyther, whyche were desirous to goe thys iourney for the gayne thereof, and knewe that *Marius* woulde vse other Souldyoures in it, and declared vnto them what spyghte *Sulpitius* and *Marius* hadde done hym, not shewyng playnely hys meaning, for hee durst not yet make mention of any suche warre, but only exhorted them to bee readye, as occasion shoulde requyre. They vnderstanding hys intente, and afrayde to be preuented of thys warfare, opened *Syllas* cogitation, and badde hym boldly leade them to *Rome*. Hee beyng gladde thereof, marched wyth fyre Legions. All the officers of hys Campe, but one Tresourer, posted to *Rome*, and coulde not abyde to goe agaynste theyr Countrey.

Capua the chiefe Citie of *Campania*.

The warre of *Mithridates* appoynted to *Marius*.

Sylla to hys Souldyers.

Sylla returneth to *Rome* in Armes.

Officers of good cõscience.

Embassadoures came to hym by the way, and asked hym why wyth armes hee dyd inuade hys Countrey: he aunswered, to delyuer it from Tyraunnes. Hee made thys aunswere twice or thrice to seuerall Embassadors, and wythall required, that the Senate wyth *Marius* and *Sulpitius* myghte meete hym in the fielde of *Mars*, and there hee woulde doe, as by counsell shoulde seeme good.

Aunswere of *Sylla*.

When hee was come nygh, *Pompeyus* hys fellowe resorted to hym, allowing and praysing hys doyngs, and ioynyng wyth hym in all thynges. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* not prepared for so shorte a distaunce, sente other Embassadoures, as directed from the Senate, wyllyng hym not to come nygher than fyue myles to the Citie, tyll they hadde consulted of the presente state. *Sylla* and *Pompey* well vnderstandyng theyr meaning, promised so to doe, yet followed as soone as they were gone. Then *Sylla* toke the gate called *Celimontana*, and the wall nexte it, with one Legion, and *Pompey* toke *Collina* Gate wyth an other. The thyrde hee placed

Celimontana Gate.

Collina Gate.

at the bridge of wodde, the fourth he left as a warde vnder the walles, with the rest he entred the Citie with enimies mind and deede: wherefore the dwellers aboute did stoppe him, by castyng vpon him from aboue. He threatned to burne their houses, and then they ceassed. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* came against him in the playne of *Esquily*, with as manye, as of the suddayne they coulde bring armed. This was the first fight that euer was in *Rome* of suche enimies, not nowe for anye pretence of dissention, but by playne force, with Trumpet and ensignes, as in lawe of warre. To such inconueniences were they now come by nourishing of dissentions. *Sylla* hys souldyoures gaue backe, wherefore he toke the standerd, and stode to it with daunger, so as the reuerence of their Generall, and the feare of dishonor that come to them that forsake their ensigne, did stay them straighte from fleeyng. *Sylla* called freshe Souldyers from the Campe without, and sente others to the streete called *Suburra*, to compasse the enimies on the backehalfe. *Marius* company made but faint resistãce against these new men, and fearing to be compassed on euery side, called to the Citizens that fought yet in their houses, and proclaymed libertie to seruauntes if they would come to help: but none comming forthe, and they in vtter despayre, fledde out of the Citie, and so did euery noble man that was of their faction. *Sylla* passed to the way called *Holy*, and such as made any spoyle, he punished in the sight of all men. He also set garrisons in the Citie, and both he and *Pompey* watched, going aboute euery where, that no hurt should be done, eyther of them that had lost, or of them that had wonne. Day being come, they called the people to a counsel, they lamented that the state was betrayed of certayne troublesome men, and that they were constreyned by necessitie to dos that they had done. Further they affirmed, that nothing of importance should be propounded to the people, but that were before debated of the Senate, renuing an auntient lawe, nowe of long time out of vse, and that the elections shoulde not be of the ordinarie companies of wardes, but of the generall assemblie by the rate of substance, according to the institution of Kyng *Tullus*, supposing by these two things, that no lawe were propounded

Sylla entreth the Citie vvith armes.

Esquilia vvas the hill in *Rome*, vppon the vvhich *Tullus Hostilius* kept his Souldioures.

First fight of the armies in *Rome*.

The boldnesse of *Sylla*.

Suburra, in the old vvriting *Succurra*, a streete in *Rome*, vvhere Souldyers vvere placed, to releeue them of *Esquilia*.

Marius fleeth.

Holy vvay in *Rome* so named of the peace that *Romulus* made vvith *Tatius*.

Sylla renueth olde lavves.

Comicia Cẽturiata vvhere the best men gaue voyces.

King *Tullus*.

pounded to the people before the Senate, and that elections should not consist in the power and bolde sorte, in steede of the wise and substantiall men, there shoulde not be suche occasion of sedition. Many other things they spake of the Tribunes, in writing against that power as Tyrannicall, whereby the Senate was growen into contempt by so vnfytmen: therefore they chose together three hundred of the best sorte, and whatsoeuer had bin done by *Sulpitius* after the vacation of the Consuls, they reuoked it as vnlawfull. Thus sedition from strife and contention, dyd growe to murther, and from murthers to very warre, and thys was the first army of Citizens that inuaded the Countrey as enimies. Yet sedition ceassed not by this trial of armes, for continuall inuasions were made against *Rome*, the walles were beaten downe, and all other extremities of warre done, no reuerence eyther of lawe, common wealthe, or Countrey, being able to refrayne the violent mindes. Then was banished *Sulpitius* the Tribune, and with him *Marius*, fiue times Consul, and his sonne *P. Cethegus, Iunius Brutus, C. & Q Granius, P. Albinouanus, M. Lectorius*, and other, to the number of twelue Senators, as stirrers of tumult, rebellious to the Consuls, prouokers of slaues to reuolt, by offering them libertie, for the whiche they were proclaymed enimies to the Romaine state; and that it should be lawfull to kil them without punishment, or bring them to the Consuls. Their goodes were confiscate, and serchers ranne aboute to catch the, who founde *Sulpitius*, and slew him. *Marius* alone without seruant or fellow fledde to *Minturna*, the rulers of that Citie for feare of the Proclamation, keeping him in a close house, that hadde bin fiue times Consull, and done so many notable feates, would not be authours of his death, but sente a Frenchman that was there by chance, with a sword to kill him. The Frenchman (as they say) wente in to him lying on the strawe in the darke house, and was afrayde, for he thoughte that his eyes dyd cast forthe beames and flames of fire, and that he did rise from hys couch, and cryed with a loude voyce, dareste thou kil *Caius Marius*. The Frenchman fledde as fast as he could out of the house like a madde man, crying, I can not kyl *Marius*, whereby the Rulers

Marius &c. proclaymed Traytors.

Sulpitius slayne.

Mynturna in *Campania* betwene *Formiæ* and *Sinnessæ*.

Marius fleeth to *Minturna*.

A Frenchman appointed to kil *Marius*, can not do it.

Marius escapeth.

that doubtfully hadde determined this, were stricken with a diuine feare, and a fame spoken from his childhoode, that the man shoulde be seauen times Consull, for they say, when he was a childe, seuen yong Eagles fell into his lappe, whiche the Southsayers did shewe, that he shoulde seauen times haue the greatest honor. The Magistrates of *Minturna* remembring this, and thinking the Frenchman was feared by Gods operation, they conueyd *Marius* out of their Citie, to saue himselfe as well as he could. He knowing that he was sought for of *Sylla*, and followed of the Horsemen, went toward the Sea by vnbeatē wayes, and chansing vpon a Cotage, stayed there, and couered hys body with leaues, he hearde a noyse, and lay still couered wyth hys leaues, but hearing it more and more, he lept into an old Fishermans bote, and toke it away spight of his tæth: a tempest arose, and he cutte the Cable, and hoysted the saile, and committed himselfe to fortune, and so he came to an Iland, where he founde a Shippe of his friendes, with whome he sayled into *Lybia*, but bēing reiected from thence by *Sextus* the Presidente, as an enimie, he liued all that Winter in the Sea, vnder the Mountaynes of *Numidia*. Being thus againe a seabord and knowen, of hys friends, there sayled to him *Cithegus*, *Granius*, *Albenonanus*, *Lecterius*, and others, and his sonne, all the whiche being valiant men, fledde from *Rome* to a *Numidian* Prince, and being afrayde of Treason, departed from thence. These had good will to set vpon *Sylla*, whome they thought violently to vse their Countrey, but lacking army, they tarried till occasion might serue. *Sylla* bēyng the first that euer entred the Citie with armes, and able to haue made himselfe in *Rome* equall with a Monarch, after he was auenged of his enimie, he did willingly refrayne from violēce. He sent his army to *Capua*, and ruled agayne as a Consull. The faction of the banished, chiefly the riche menne and women that were full of money, being deliuered of feare of the army, were earnest for the returne of their men, and omitted neyther cars nor cost, laying wayte for the Consulles bodyes, bycause if they were well, their matter were dashed. Nowe when *Sylla* shoulde leaue his office, the army that was appoynted him against *Mithridates*

Token of *Marius* honor.

Hard happe of *Marius* in escaping.

thridates should be his defence. *Pompey* the other Consull, the people pitying his case, appoynted him the gouernemente of *Italy*, with the army that was vnder *C. Pompeius*. When *Cneus* heard of this, he toke it euill, yet he receyued *Quintus* into the Campe, who the next day doing his office, *Cneus* wente aside as a priuate man, till a number pretending to heare the Consull, encloseth him and killed him, other fleeing away. *Cneus* returned as though he had bin maruellous angry that the Consul should be so vnlawfully slayne, but angry as he was, he straight toke the rule vpon him agayne. When the newes of the Consuls deathe was brought to the Citie, *Sylla* was afrayd of himselfe, and straygbt carried his frendes with him whereseoeuer he wente, and in the night had them about him also, and so not tarrying lõg, he went to *Capua* to his army, and frõ thence sayled into *Asia*. The friẽds of the fledde men had great confidence in *Cinna* that was Consul after *Sylla*, and stirred the new Citizens to the deuises of *Marius*, and thought it méete that they shoulde be mixt with the olde companies, least being last of all, their romes shoulde be lost. This was the plat, for *Marius* and his friends returne. The olde Citizens stode stiffely against it. *Cinna* stode with the newe Citizens, corrupted (as it is thought) with three hundred Talentes. *Octauius* the other Consull defended the olde, *Cinna* his companie, closely armed, toke the cõmon place, & cryed to be mixed with ẏ cõpanies. The other multitude better minded, resorted to *Octauius* with their weapons also, to whome tarrying at home to take aduisement, worde was brought, ẏ the most part of ẏ Tribunes did resist these doings, & that there was a tumult of the new Citizẽs, with weapons drawne in the way againste the Tribunes of ẏ contrary side, rushing into the cõmon place. When *Octauius* heard of this, he wẽt the way called *Holy*, with a great cõpany, & throging through ẏ middest of ẏ cõtrary side, gote ẏ cõmon place & stayed thẽ. When he had thus afraide thẽ, he went into ẏ Tẽple of *Iupiters* childrẽ to aueide *Cinna*, but they that were with him, without any commaundement, ranne vppon the newe Citizens, and killed manye of them, and chaced the other fleeyng to the Gates. *Cinna* hauyng hys trust in the newe Citizens,

Pompey the Consull killed.

Cinna.

Octauius.

VVay Holy.

Tumult in the which the newe Citizens are killed.

and

and thinking to haue done all by force, and now contrarie to his opinion, seeing the boldnesse of a few to haue ouercome, he went aboute the Citie, and called slaues to libertie, but when none came, he ranne to the nexte Cities, whiche not long before were made free of *Rome*, that is, *Tibur*, *Preneste*, and other as farre as *Nola*, and stirred them to sedition, and gathered money for the warre. *Cinna* being thus occupyed and deuising, some Senators of his minde fledde vnto him, as *C. Melonius*, *Quintus Sertorius*, and the other *C. Marius*. The Senate did decree, that *Cinna* should no more be taken as Consull nor Citizen, bycause being Consull, he left the Citie in tumulte, and called bondmen to libertie, and in his place they appointed *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Priest. They saye that this holye Priest only mighte euer weare the wand of his hatte alway, where as other might not do it, but in sacrifices only. *Cinna* went to *Capua*, where was an other armye of the *Romaines*. He did make sute to the Rulers of it, and to as many Senators as were there. He went in the middest as Consull. He threwe away his maces, and like a priuate man wepte, and sayde. Of you (O Citizens) receyued I this dignitie, the people gaue it me, and the Senate haue taken it from me without you, and as I suffer in mine owne cause, so am I greeued for your sakes: why should we now desire fauoure at the companies in our elections? What neede haue we of you? how shal you be any longer Lords of elections, of assemblies, or of chiefe officers, if you cannot mainteyne that you haue giuen, and take away when you see cause? When he had spoken thus to stirre them, and lamenting muche his owne cause, he rente his garment, and ranne from the Chaire, and fell flatte among the, and still lay downe, till they for pities sake toke him vp, and set him againe in his Chaire, and toke him the bundelles of authoritie, and bade him hope well, as became a Consull, and to vse them as occasion should require. The officers of the Campe by this meane did relent, and sware to *Cinna* the oth of a Souldiour, and so did all the rest. This done, he wente boldly to the confederate Cities, and stirred them, as for whole sakes he suffered this calamitie. They relieued him with money, & many of the other great

Tibur nowe *Tiuole* fifteene miles from *Rome*, *Preneste* nowe *Pilastrina* in *Champaine* of *Rome*.
Nola nine miles from *Naples*.
Cinna deposed.

The thing was called *Apex*, which was a wand wound about with wooll in the heigth of his hatte.
Iupiters Priest.
Cinna to the Souldiers.

Cinna restored to his dignitie.

great men of the Citie came vnto him, whiche did not like the quiet state of the common wealth. Thus *Cinna* did. *Octauius* and *Merula* the Consuls, fortifyed the Citie with rampiers, and preparation of engines of warre. They sente for Souldyers to the Cities that remayned obediente, and into *Fraunce* their next neyghboure. They also called home *Cneus Pompeius* the Proconsull, leading an armye at the coast of the *Ionian* Sea, to come with all spéede to serue hys Countrey. He so dyd, and planted hys host at the Gate called *Collina*. *Cinna* came also, and encamped by him.

The Consuls prepare for defence.

Collina a gate in *Rome*, nowe *Salaria*.

Caius Marius hearing of thys, passed the Sea to *Hetruria* with his fellowes banished, and Seruauntes, and there came to him aboute fyue hundred of hys friendes of *Rome*: he with vile apparell and long heare to moue pitie wente to the Cities, shewing his victories and honoures agaynste the *Germanes*, and hys fyre tymes Consulshippe, and (that whyche pleased them best) promised to doe for them in the lawe of elections: and so hée gathered fyre thousande *Toscanes*, and came wyth them to *Cinna*, who gladly receyued hym into the societie of his doynges.

Marius returneth.

The *Germanes* were called *Cimbranes*, nowe thought to be *Danes*.

Beyng mette togyther, they ordered theyr army at the floude *Tiber*, and deuided it into thrée partes, *Cinna* and *Carbo* ouer agaynste the Citie, *Sertorius* aboue it, and *Marius* towarde the Sea.

Ostia spoyled, being at the mouth of *Tiber*, about twelue miles from *Rome*.

They made Bridges ouer the Riuer, that they myghte kéepe victuals from the Citie. *Marius* toke *Ostia* and spoyled it. *Cinna* sente to take *Arimeno*, that no army shoulde come out of nyghe *Fraunce*. The Consuls were afrayde, hauyng néede of an other army, and bycause they coulde not call home *Sylla* béeyng entred into *Asia*, they commaunded *Cecilius Metellus* that was aboute the remnaunt of the fellowes warre againste the *Samnites*, that he shoulde dispatche it as honestly as he coulde, and come to helpe hys Countrey that was inuaded. He stode too muche vpon termes wyth the *Samnites*, whyche when *Marius* hearde, he graunted them all theyr demaundes, and so the *Samnites* ioyned with *Marius*. *Appius Claudius* a Captayne, and

Arimino is in that part that nowe is called *Romania*, next to *Lombardie*, and was the diuision of olde *Italy* at the floud *Rubicon*.

Cecilius Metellus is too precise, and giueth occasion of aduantage to his enimie.

Marius entreth *Rome*.

Appius Claudius receyueth *Marius* into the Citie.

kæper of the hylt *Janiculo*, and the walles there, hauing receyued a good turne, and myndfull of the benefyte, opened the gate by breake of day, and so *Marius* entred, and *Cinna* followed, but they were sone repulsed by *Octauius* and *Pompey*, that came agaynste them.

Marius repulsed.

It chaunced so, that there was greate lyghtnings that fell vpon *Pompeys* armye, whereby he and manye noble menne were destroyed. *Marius* kepte all victuals from the Citie that came from the Sea, or aboue from the freshe water, and hée rode to the nigh Cities, where anye Corne was layde for the *Romayne* store, and by suddayne comming to *Antio*, *Aritia*, and *Lanuuio*, hée toke them all, and some other Cities by Treason. And thus kæping awaye victuals by lande also, hée approched towarde *Rome* boldly, by the way called *Appia*, before any victualles coulde bée brought from anye other place, and wyth *Cinna*, *Carbo*, and *Sertorius*, Camped twelue myles from *Rome*, *Octauius*, *Crassus*, and *Metellus* dyd lye agaynste them at Mount *Albano*, and considering for the tyme to come, although they were superioure in strength and number, yet hadde they a compassion to putte theyr Countrey in hazarde by one battayle.

Pompey destroyed by lightning.

Antium, novv *Neptuno*.
Aritia tenne mile from *Rome*.
Lanuuium novv *Indonina*.
Marius keepeth victuals from *Rome*.
The vvay called *Appia* vvent from *Porta Capena* to *Brundusi*, paued vvith foure square stone.
Mount *Albano* nigh *Rome*, vvith a lake, of the vvhich a prophecie vvent of the *Romaines* victorie.

Cinna sente Trumpettes aboute the Citie, proclayming libertie to Seruauntes, whereby a multitude of fugitiues came vnto hym. The Senate was afrayde thereby, and doubtyng of the people, bycause of the want of thyngs in the Citie, chaunged theyr mynde, and sente Embassadoures to *Cinna* for reconciliation. Hée asked them firste, whether they came to hym as a Consull, or as a priuate person. They doubted what to answere, and returned to *Rome*.

Resorte to *Cinna*.

Nowe many of the frémen came vnto him, some for faction, and some for feare of famine, and to sée the sequeale of it: and nowe proudely he approched the walles, and Camped within an arrowe shotte. They that were with *Octauius* were in feare and doubte, and slowe to fighte, bycause of the runnawayes, and ofte sendyng betwéene, the Senate was greately amazed.

They

They thoughte it vniuſt to depoſe *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Prieſte, that was choſen in *Cinnas* place, and hadde not offended, but beeyng oppreſſed wyth the greate myſeries, they ſente to *Cinna* as Conſull, and as they loked for no greate good thereby, ſo they requyred *Cinna* to ſweare, that hée woulde commytte no murther. Hée refuſed to ſweare, but promiſed that willinglye hée woulde bee no cauſe of manſlaughter. Hée wylled alſo, that *Octauius* that came in at the other gates, ſhoulde gette hym away, leaſt ſome diſpleaſure mighte be done hym agaynſte hys wyll. Thys he aunſwered from an hygh Throne as Conſull, to the Embaſſadoures of the Citie. *Marius* ſtandyng nexte the Senate, was ſilente, but by hys cruell countenaunce, it was perceyued that he was bente to murther.

The Senate ſendeth to *Cinna* as Conſull.

Doubtfull aunſwere.

Marius.

The Senate accepted thys, and willed *Cinna* and *Marius* to enter, well knowyng that *Marius* dyd all, and *Cinna* aſſented to it. *Marius* ſpake in ieſtyng wyſe, that it was not lawfull for a baniſhed manne to enter, wherefore the Tribunes dyd reuoke the baniſhmente, and diſſolue the decrée made againſte hym by *Sylla*. Then they entred the Citie wyth the feare of all that receyued them. They made ſpoyle of the contrarye parte, wythoute ſtoppe. *Cinna* and *Marius* ſente theyr othes to *Octauius*, but the Southſayers and Diuiners badde hym not truſt them, and hys friendes counſelled hym to flée, but hée proteſting neuer to leaue the Citie, whyles hée was Conſull, wente among them to *Ianiculo*, with the noble men, and parte of the armye, where hée remayned, and ſate downe in the ſeate, cladde with his robe of rule, being wayted vpon wyth the roddes and axes, as Conſulles were wont. *Cenſorinus* came agaynſte hym with certayne Horſemenne, hys friendes perſwadyng hym to flée with hys armye, and bringing hym an Horſe, he woulde not allowe of it, nor once ryſe, but abode the deathe. *Cenſorinus* cutte off hys heade, and broughte it to *Cinna*, and was the fyrſte Conſulles head that was ſette vppe in the common place: but after him, the heads of the other that were ſlayne were ſet vp alſo, and this miſchiefe

Marius ſcorneth

The baniſhment of *Marius* reuoked.

Marius and *Cinna* giue their oth for *Octauius*.

He is counſelled to flee.

The conſtancie of *Octauius*.

Cenſorinus commeth to kill *Octauius* contrary to the oth.

Octauius Conſull headed.

beginning with *Octauius*, continued still in such murthers of them that were counted enimies. Searchers ranne straighte aboute for to fynde their foes, and there was no regarde of Senator or Gentleman, nor no difference made. All the heads of the Senators were put vp in the common place. There was neyther reuerence of the Gods, nor respect of men, or anye matter made of murther, but all bent to cruell actes, and from actes to horrible sightes, killing, crueltie, and cuttyng off the heads of them that were kylled, to the feare & astonishmēt of the beholders, making thereof most miserable shewe. *C. & Lucius, Iulius*, Brethren, *Antilius, Eranius, P. Lentulus, G. Numitorius*, and *M. Bebius* were slayne, beeyng mette in the way. *Crassus* fledde wyth his sonne, and preuented them in killing him, then himselfe was killed of the pursuers. *Marcus Antonius* an orator fledde into a Ferme house, the keeper whereof receyued him gentlye, and hydde hym, and sendyng a Seruaunte for Wyne to a Tauerne oftner than hee was wonte, the Tauerner asked hym why hee boughte Wyne so ofte, he tolde hym secretely in his eare, then the Vintner sente one straighte to *Marius*, and opened the matter, whereof hee was so glad, as he mynded to haue gone and kylled hym hymselfe, but beeyng stayed of his friendes, a Captayne of a bande was appoynted to it, who sente hys Souldyoures into the house, whome *Antonius*, beeyng so singulare an Orator, dyd deteyne wyth sweete speeches, dyuers wayes mouyng them to pitie. The Captayne maruellyng at the matter, wente into the house, and founde them attentiuely hearkenyng to hys tale, wherefore hymselfe kylled hym, as he was yet eloquente in speakyng, and sente hys head to *Marius*. *Cornutus* lying hydde in a Cotage, hys meme carefullye kepte hym. They founde a dead bodye, whyche they threwe into a fyre that they hadde made, and when the searchers came, they sayde it was theyr maisters bodye, whome they hadde fyrste strangled. Thus was hee saued by hys Seruauntes.

Confusion.

Noble men killed.

Crassus killed.

M. Antonius Orator, bewrayd by a Vintner.

Marius glad to haue *Antonius* killed.

Eloquence.

Cornutus saued by his Seruauntes.

Q *Ancharius* wayted when *Marius* shoulde make Sacrifice in the Capitoll, trustyng in the tyme of Sacrifice to fynde hym the more mercifull. When he hadde begunne the Sacrifice,

crifice, and saiue *Anchurius* commyng vnto him, he commaunded hym to be killed there, so hys head, *Antonius*, and other Consulles and Senatours were sette vp in the common place. None of theyr bodies thus slayne, were thoughte worthye to bee buried, but the carcasses of so many noble men, were throwne downe to be deuoured of Dogges and Foule. Many other horrible actes were done vpon them, expulsion from their possessions, publication of their goodes, depriuatiō of their dignities, & reuocation of all things that *Sylla* had done, whose friends and kinsfolke were killed, his house pulled downe, his goods confiscate, and he proclaymed enemie to his countrie, his wife and his daughter with great daunger escaped: finally, there was all sortes of mi'eries and mischiefe that could be inuented, and for a shewe of law and authoritie, after so many murders without law, accusings were broughte in againste *Merula Iupiters* priest, for anger of his office, whiche he toke without any displeasure to *Cinna*, and against *Catulus Luctatius* who was felow with *Marius*, in the warre agaynst the *Cimbrians*, and once saued by *Marius*, but now thought vnthankfull, for that he was sore agaynst him after he was banished. They were kept in close prison till the court day, and then called to iudgement, & where they must be foure times cited by certen distaunce of houres, *Merula* in the meane time cut hys vaynes, and by a writing made by him, did testifie, that he had layde of his priestly attyre when he cut his vaynes, for it was not lawfull for a Priest to die with that vpon him. *Catulus* choked himselfe in a chamber new made and moysty with a smoke, and thus they two died. The bondmen that came to *Cinna* by proclamation were al made frée, and seruyng him as Soldiours they did not onely runne aboute and spoyle euery house, but also slew whome soeuer they mette, not sparyng their olde maysters. *Cinna* many times did monishe thē, but they were neuer the better, wherefore in the night when they were at rest, he sent ỹ French bandes, and killed them euery one. Thus these slaues receyued worthy punishment, for theyr vnfaithfulnesse agaynst their maysters. The yeare folowyng, *Cinna*, the seconde tyme, and *Marius* the vij. tyme were chosen Consuls, to whom

Anchurius killed in the Temple.

Sylla proclaymed rebell.

Accusers.

Merula.

Catulus Luctatius.

Merula dieth.

Catulus dieth.

Cinna killeth the free made.

after his banishment, and proclamation that any man might kill him, the token of seuen Egles appeared agayne vnto him. He being bent to all extremitie agaynst *Sylla*, died the firste moneth of his seuēth Cōsulship. *Cinna* toke *Valerius Flaccus* in hys place, and sente him into *Asia*, who beyng dead also, he chose *Carbo* to be his felow in office.

Marius dyeth.

Flaccus in *Marius* place, dyeth in *Asia*.

Sylla thynkyng long to returne agaynst hys enimies, made shorte ende with *Mithridates*, and, as wee haue sayde before, in three yeares, and them not complete, he destroyed one hundred and threescore thousande menne. He restored to the Romaine Empyre, *Græcia*, *Macedonia*, *Asia* and *Ionia*, with other nations that *Mithridates* had oppressed. Hée toke from hym hys nauie, & shutte hym within the compasse of his Fathers kyngdome: hée returned with an armie mightie, obedient, experte, and corageous in theyr doyngs passe, he brought also a multitude of shippes, money and furniture of all thyngs fitte, whereby hée was feared of hys enimies. *Cinna* and *Carbo* beyng perplexed, sente diuerse ouer all *Italie* to prouide money, menne and victuall, the ryche menne with theyr substaunce they made sure, the Citties they stayred, especially the newe made Citizens, as for whose sake they were now in daunger. They prepared a nauy with great spéede, they called home the shippes of *Cicelie*, they kepte the coaste sure, & omitted nothing that might be done, with spéedy care and diligence. *Sylla* with haughty harte wrote to the Senate of himselfe, shewyng what hée had done in *Lybia*, when he was Treasourer, agaynst *Iugurth* kyng of *Numidia*, what agaynst the *Cimbrians*, what in *Cicelie*, when he was Admirall, and what in the felowes warre, when he was Consull: but the late affayres done agaynst *Mithridates*, he chiefly extolled, rehearsing at large the infinite sorte of nations that he had taken from hym and made subiecte to the *Romaynes*, notwithstandyng all the whiche, bycause hée had receyued certayne afflicted Gentlemen of *Rome* banished by *Cinna*, and comforted them in calamitie, hée was of hys enimies proclaymed rebell to hys countrey, hys house was pulled downe, hys frendes were slayne, his wyfe and chyldren coulde scarcely saue themselues

Acts of *Sylla* in *Asia*.

Sylla vvrighteth to the Senate.

and

and flée vnto hym. But nowe he woulde come and be auenged of them and the whole Cittie for theyr doynges, as for the other Citizens, and them that were newe made he woulde not blame any of them. These letters being redde, euery man was afrayd, they sent Embassadours, to treate of attonement with his aduersaries, and if he requyred any assuraunce, that the Senate woulde fulfill it, and commaunded *Cinnas* his officers to leaue gathering of mẽ, till *Syllas* aunswere were heard. They promised so to do, but when the Embassadors were gone, they made themselues Consuls for the nexte yeare, bycause they woulde not returne of the suddayne, for the elections, and wente abonte *Italy*, gathering men, whiche they sente into *Lyburnia*, as they were ready, there intending to sette vpon *Sylla*. The firste that wente had prosperous iourney, the nexte were beaten with tempest, so as when they came to lande, they returned euery man to theyr Countrey, as though they woulde not willingly serue agaynste the Citizens. The other hearing of thys, refused to sayle into *Lyburnia*. *Cinna* was displeased, and warned them to assemble, mynding to compell them: they with anger wente, thynking to be reuenged. One of the Sergeantes makyng way for *Cinna*, and hitting one of the Souldyers ouer the legges, an other of the army stroke the Sergeant agayne. *Cinna* commaunding him to be taken, they all made a great shoute, and fell to throwing of stones. They that were next him drew their swordes, and kylled him. Thus *Cinna* being Consul, was murthered. *Carbo* called frõ *Lyburnia* them ẏ sayled thither, and being afraid of these doings, woulde not returne to *Rome*, albeit ẏ Tribunes did earnestly require him to come to ẏ election of a newe fellow in office, at lẽgth threatning him ẏ they would make him priuate, he came & propounded ẏ electiõ of a new Consul. The day being vnlucky, hée appointed an other. That daye also lightnings falling vpon the Temple of the Mone, & Goddesse of Corne, ẏ maisters of Ceremonies did differre ẏ election, til after ẏ standing high of ẏ Sommer Sunne, & so *Carbo* was Cõsul alone. In the meane time *Sylla* made this answere to thẽ that came to him frõ the Senate, that he could not be friend to them, that had dealte so outragiously by

Dalmatia is nowe part of *Slauonia*.

The Souldyers refused to goe against their Countreymen.

Cinna killed, *Carbo* afrayde to goe to *Rome*.

Lightnings vpon the Tẽple of the Moone and *Ceres*.

The aunswere of *Sylla*.

by him, but with the Citie, that desired his preseruation, he had no quarrell: yet he said they should be most sure, that would trust to him, whome to defend, he had a wel willing armye. By thys worde it was chiefly vnderstanded, that he woulde not dissolue his army, but intended to play the Tyrante. He requyred hys dignitie, hys substance, his Priesthode, and anye other office he had, to be restored vnto him without exception, and with the Embassadoures he sente certayne of his, to require the same, the whiche hearing that *Cinna* was slayne, and the Citie troubled, returned from *Brunduse* to *Sylla*, doing nothing: then *Sylla* with fiue Legiones of *Italyans*, syxe thousand Horse, and certaine other of *Peloponeso* and *Macedonia*, marched, hauing in the whole fortie thousande, from *Pireo* to *Patra*, and from *Patra* to *Brunduse*, with cc. hundreth Shippes. The *Brundusianes* receyued him willingly, wherfore he gaue them priuiledges which they yet holde. From thence he remoued his army and went forward. *Metellus* surnamed the duetifull, that was leste to finishe the fellowes warre, and for *Cinna* and *Marius* came not into the citie, but remayned in *Liguria* to see what would happe, came vnto him vncalled, as fellow in the warre, and he accepted his seruice as yet Proconsull, for they that be once chosen, do continue till they returne to *Rome*. After *Metellus*, *Cn. Pompeius*, that not long after was called greate, sonne to him that was killed with the lightenyng, as we sayde before, came vnto him with a legion of the *Picenes*, who for the glory of his father, mighte doe muche with that people, and to auoyde suspition, not thought to be *Syllas* friende, and shortly after brought two legions more, and was the moste forwarde man in the auauncement of *Sylla*, wherfore *Sylla* had him in greate honour, and as they say, would onely rise to him when he came, though he was but very yong: and this warre ceasing, he sente him into *Lybia* to breake *Carbos* friendes there, and to restore *Hiempsall*, whome the *Numidians* had expulsed, for the whiche *Sylla* graunted him to triumph of the *Numidians* beyng yet yong, and but a gentleman. By this meane, *Pompey* growyng greate, he was sente into *Spayne* agaynste *Sertorius*, and after into *Pontus* agaynst *Methridates*. *Cethegus* also came

Peloponeso now *Morea*.

Pireo was the porte of *Athens* now *Porto leone*.

Patra in *Achaia*.

Sylla giueth priuileges to *Brunduse*.

Metellus the duetifull commeth to *Sylla*.

Pompeius commeth.

Pompey honored of *Sylla*.

Hiempsall restored by *Pompey*.

Cethegus.

came to *Sylla*, that was his most earnest enimie, with *Cinna* and *Marius*, and with them put out of the Citie. He humbled himselfe vnto him, and promised to do what seruice he woulde haue hym. Thus hauing a very greate army, and many noble friendes, hee vsed them as Lieutenants, but he and *Metellus* were yet Proconsuls, and had the highest place: for it was thought that *Sylla* being Proconsul in the warre against *Mithridates*, was not yet discharged of it, though he were iudged a Rebell of *Marius*. The hate he bare to his enimies, was grieuous and close, who being in the Citie, and well coniecturing of his nature by his last inuasion thereof, hauing the taking of the same yet in their eyes, and their decrées made against him still in memorie, his house ouerthrowē in their sight, his goodes confiscated, his friends killed, and his familie hardly escaped, were in maruellous feare, and thinking no meane to be betweene victorie and vtter destruction, did with feare conspire with the Consuls against him. They sente aboute *Italy*, they gathered men and money, leauing off nothing in thys extremitie, eyther of foresight or diligence. *Caius Norbanus*, *Lucius Scipio*, both Consuls, and with them *Carbo*, who the yeare before was in authoritie, hauing all like hate against *Sylla* with feare & conscience of ỳ they had done, against him more than other, gathered in the Citie as great an army as they could, and an other out of *Italy*, and went seuerally against *Sylla* with two hundred bands of fiftie men at the first, but after with more than these, for the fauor of most men enclyned towarde the Consuls: for the doings of *Sylla* comming against his countrey, had the shewe of an enimie, but that the Consuls and their friends dyd, had a pretence of the state. The common sorte knowing their former offences, ioyned with them, as partakers of their dread, for they perceiued certainly that *Sylla* did not minde the correction, afraying, or punishment of a fewe, but the destruction, slaughter, and vtter vndoing generally of all, whiche opinion was not vayne, for this warre consumed all, in the which, terme thousand, & twētie thousand did many times fall in one fight, and about the Citie fiftie thousande of both sides was slayne, and to the rest *Sylla* lefte no kinde of crueltie vndone, neyther to priuate men, nor to

The preparation of *Syllas* enemies.

C. Norbanus.
L. Scipio.
Carbo.

The Consuls against *Sylla*.
Twenty thousand men.

Sylla seemeth as an enimie to his Countrey.
Consuls cary authoritie.

whole Cities, till he had made himselfe a Monarke of the Romaine Empire, and brought all to his will and pleasure. All this was (as it were) by inspiration shewed before vnto them, for fearefull things against reason did vexe all men priuately and publikely ouer all *Italy*, and the olde prophesies most fearefull were called to memorie, and manye Monsters were dayly sene.

Prophecies.

Monstrous tokens.

A Mule did bring forthe. A Woman deliuered a Viper for a child. God with earthquakes shaked the Citie, and ouerthrewe many Temples: and that that most greeued ỹ *Romaines*, the Capitoll that before from the Kings had continued foure hundred yeares, was sette a fyre, and no man coulde tell the cause, all the which did foreshew the multitude of men to be killed, the ouerthrowe of *Italy*, the Captiuitie of *Rome* and hir Citizens, and the change of the common wealth. This warre beganne when *Sylla* arriued at *Brunduse* the CLXXIIII. *Olympiad*. The length of it is not so great, as the sharpnesse of the extremities, euerye man his priuate meanes was followed, bycause the vehemencie of their affections caused in short time the more and sharper effects to followe. Three yeares it continued in *Italy*, till *Sylla* gote the principalitie. In *Spayne* it continued longer, but the battayles, the skirmishes, the expugation of fortes, the sieges, and all the formes of warres in *Italy*, both of the whole armies, and of part of them, by their seuerall Captaynes were many, and al notable. The greatest and most worthy of the whiche to speake briefly were these. The first was at *Canusium* by the Proconsuls against *Norbanum*, where *Norbanus* lost vj. M. men, and *Sylla* lxx. but many moe were wounded. *Norbanus* fledde to *Capua*, *Sylla* and *Metellus* being at *Theano*, *Lucius Scipio* came with an other armye verye faintly, and desired peace might be made. They that were wyth *Sylla* sent to *Scipio* to agree vpon articles, not so much hoping so to do any good, as bycause they thought his army woulde rather reuolt, by reason of their discouragemēt: yet they met, & *Scipio* toke hostages for the agreemēts, & went, & came into the field. Three of eyther side did conferre, so as it was not knowen what they dyd. *Scipio* thought good to send *Sertorius* to *Norbanus* his fellow, to signifie what was spoken of, both armies remaining in quiet loking

Capitoll burned.

The sharpnesse of this warre.

Three yeares lasted this warre.

The battayle at *Canusio*. This is the place called *Canne*, where *Annibal* gaue the *Romaines* their great ouerthrowe. Another of that name *Canossa*.

Theano in *Apulia*.

for

for answere. *Sertorius* in his iourney toke *Sweſſa*, that was a towne of *Sylles*. *Sylla* sent a messenger to complaine with *Scipio*. He either priuie to the fact, or doubting of the answere, as a thing not fitte for *Sertorius*, sent the hostages againe to *Sylla*. His army being offended at this deede of *Sertorius* in a time of treaty, and at the sending againe of ỳ hostages, not being required, layde al the blame vpon the Consuls, & priuily cõpacted to reuolt to *Sylla* if he would draw nere, which he doing, they al wẽt vnto him, leauing *Scipio* the Consull, & *Lucius* his sonne in the tente, & were taken of *Sylla*. We thinke it is a strange thing, farre vnfitte for a Captayne, to be ignorãt of such a practise of his whole army. Whẽ *Sylla* could not persuade *Scipio*, he did let him & his sonne goe without hurte, & sent other mẽ to *Norbanus* to treate of conditions, eyther bycause he was afraid of ỳ force of *Italy* ỳ conspired with the Consuls, or ỳ he went about to deceiue him as he had done *Scipio*, but no man cõming with answer (bycause it seemeth *Norbanus* feared the like blame of his army) *Sylla* marched toward him, walking al things as an enimie. *Norbanus* did the like, but toke other wayes. *Carbo* made hast to the Citie, & proclaimed *Metellus*, & other that were gone to *Sylla*, Rebels. At this time ỳ Capitoll was on fire, & some say it was *Carboes* worke or the Consuls, some say *Sylla* sente to do it, but the certẽtie is vnknowen, & I could neuer learne which way it came. *Sertorius* being before chose Pretor of *Iberia*, after he had deteined *Sweſſa*, he fled into his prouince, and the former Pretors not receiuing him, it caused the *Romaines* to haue much to do. The army of ỳ Consuls encreased euery day frõ the more part of *Italy*, & from the hither side of *France*, aboute *Eridanus* the Riuer. *Sylla* was not idle, but sente some of his into euery place of *Italy*. He gote many for loue, some for feare, some for money, and some for hope, and thus was the reſt of that Sommer consumed. The yeare following, *Papirius*, *Carbo* agayne, and *Marius*, nephew to the mighty *Marius*, being xxvij. yeares old, were chosen Consuls, the Winter & the cold continuing long, did deuide thẽ asunder. At the beginning of the Spring, about the flood *Aeſis*, frõ morning tyl midday, was a greate battaile fought, betwixt *Metellus* and *Carinna*, one of *Carbos* Pretors, at the which *Carinna* losing manye,

Sweſſa taken in the time of treatie by *Sertorius*, a Citie in *Campania* nigh Mons *Maſsico*.

Scipio the Consull betrayd of his army.

Iupiters Temple in the Capitoll on fire.

Sertorius fleeth into *Spayne*.

Riuer of Poo.

AEſis nowe *Fiemeſino* betweene *Spoleto* and *Ancona*. The fight betweene *Metellus* and *Carinna*.

fled away, all ỹ Countrey yelded to *Metellus*, & forsoke the Consuls. *Carbo* came vpõ *Metellus* & beseged him, til he heard ỹ *Marius* the other Consull had a great ouerthrow at *Preneste*. Then he remoued his Cãp toward *Arimino*, ỹ rereward wherof was set on of *Pompeius*, and greately distressed. *Sylla* toke *Setia*, & *Marius* who was lodged nigh him, withdrew by little & little, til he was come to the place called *Holy Port*, there he set his mẽ in order, and gaue *Sylla* a battel, in ỹ which he fought very fearcely, til his left wing began to giue backe, of the which fiue bãds of fotemen, & two of Horsemẽ, not loking for any other turne, threw downe their ensignes, & fled to *Sylla*, & this was the cause of *Marius* ruine, for after many were slayne, ỹ rest fled to *Preneste*, whom *Sylla* followed in chace. The *Prenestines* did receyue them ỹ came first, but when they saw *Sylla* at hand, they shut the gates, & toke in *Marius* with ropes. The other about ỹ walles were al slayne & taken, wherof many being *Samnites*, *Sylla* cõmanded to be killed, as antient enimies to the *Romaines*. At this time also, the residue of *Carbos* army was ouercome of *Metellus* fiue bands, whiles they fought, reuolting vnto him. *Pompeius* ouerthrewe *Marcius* at *Sena*, & sacked the Citie. *Sylla* hauing *Marius* shut in *Preneste*, made a trẽch about the Citie, & a great wall a good way off, appointing *Lucretius Offella* to ỹ charge, not otherwise meaning to deale with *Marius*, but with famine. *Marius* not loking for any help, would nedes kill his priuate enimies, and sent to *Brutus*, the Pretor of ỹ Citie to assemble thẽ for another purpose, & to kil *Pub. Antistius*, & the other *Papirius Carbo*, *Lucius Domitius*, & *Lucius Scevola*, the great Bishop of the *Romaines*. These two were slayne in coũsell, as *Marius* commanded, *Domitius* fleeing, was strickẽ at his going out, & *Scevola* was slaine a little before ỹ Senate house. Their bodies were cast into ỹ River, for now it was out of vse to burie thẽ that were killed. *Sylla* sent his army seuerally by diuers wayes to *Rome*, & willed thẽ to take the gates of the Citie, & if they were repulsed, to retyre to *Ostia*. The Cities receiued thẽ as they came, with great feare, and opened their Gates whẽ they would come in, and whẽ they came to the Citie it selfe, they opened the Gates, for being pined wyth hunger, and oppressed with desperation of presente euils, they were

Preneste not farre from *Rome*.
Arimino now in *Romania*.
Setia not farre from *Terracina*.
The battayle betweene *Sylla* and yong *Marius*.

Part of yong *Marius* Souldiers reuolt to *Sylla*.
Samnites killed.

Sena a Citie in *Tuscane*, an hundreth miles on this side *Rome*.

Cruelties of yong *Marius* against some Citizens.
P. Antistius, *Pap. Carbo*, *L. Domitius*, and *L. Scevola* slayne.

were in vre to suffer the mightier power, whiche *Sylla* when hee knew, came forward with his Camp, and planted it in the fielde of *Mars* before the gates, and entred. All the contrarye faction fleeing out of the Citie, their goodes he made common, or caused them to be sold by Trumpet. He called the people to a Counsell, and lamenting the present time, badde them be of a good cheere, for he woulde set all in quiet, and bring the common wealthe to better estate, and whatsoeuer he should ordeyne, all should be for the best. Hauing thus disposed his matters, leauing certayne of his friends to garde the Citie, he went to *Clusio*, where the remnant of the warre was. In the meane time, certayne Spanishe Horsemen sente from the Captaynes of *Iberia*, came to the Consuls, with whome *Sylla* making a fight on Horsebacke, he kylled fiftie of them at the flood *Clanis*, and two hundred and 70. fledde vnto him, the residue *Carbo* destroyed, eyther hating the suddaine reuolting of that natiō, or fearing the like losse by them. At that time with the other part of his armyes, *Sylla* ouercame his enimies about *Saturnia*, and *Metellus* comming to *Rauenna* by shippe, did winne the region of the *Vritanes*, abundante with graine and Corne. Certayne other of *Syllas* people entring *Naples* by treason in the nighte, slewe all that were there, sauing a few that fledde, and toke away the Gallies of the Citie. Betweene *Carbo* & *Sylla* was a sore fight at *Clusium*, till the Sunne went downe, & when they had fought with like courage on both sides, nighte did ende the fight. In the field of *Spoleto*, *Pompeius* and *Crassus*, both Lieutenants to *Sylla*, did kil three thousand of *Carbos* Souldiers, and besieged *Carinna* that was Camped ouer against them. *Carbo* minded to releeue *Carinna* with his other host, which *Sylla* vnderstanding, placed an embushment, and as they were passing, destroyed two thousand of them. *Carinna* in the darke nighte, full of rayne and showers, although his enimies perceyued, but cared not for it, for the foule tempest he fledde away. *Carbo* vnderstanding that *Marius* his fellowe was distressed with hunger at *Preneste*, commaunded *Martius* to goe thither with eyght Legions, agaynste whome *Pompeius* lying in awayte in a straighte, put them from their iourney, and hauing killed many, held the other as besieged

Sylla entreth *Rome*.

Sylla to the people.

Clusio is vnder the dominion of *Sena*, vvhere *Porsena* the king of *Tuscane* helde his Court.

Spanish Horsemen.

Clanio, *Clanius* not farre frō *Naples*, at the Citie of *Acerra*.

Saturnia in *Campania*.

Vritanes not farre from *Otranto*, but farre from *Rauenna*.

Naples.

The battell betvveene *Carbo* and *Sylla*.

Fight at *Clusio*.

Fight at *Spoleto* an auntient Citie, the vvhiche valiantly droue avvay Anniball after his victorie at the lake of *Perugia*, and stucke continually to the Romaines.

Carinna fleeth.

Martius goeth to releeue *Marius*.

vpon an hill, where vppon *Martius* without any companion, the fiers being still kept, fledde away. The army laying the blame of the decepte vpon him, fell to diuision, and one whole legion vnder their ensignes without anye commaundement, marched to *Ariminum*, the other wente euery man to his Countrey, so as there remayned but seauen bandes with the Captayne. *Martius* with this infelicitie came to *Carbo*. *Marcus Lamponius* from *Lucania*, *Pontius Tilisius* from the *Samnites*, and *Capuanus Gutta* leading seauenty thousande men, came to deliuer *Marius* from the siege. *Sylla* vnderstanding of it, kepte them backe at a streight where they must nedes passe. *Marius* being vtterly voyde of all helpe withoute, made a forte in the playne that was large betweene both hostes, into the which he brought his army and ensignes to force *Lucretius*, with the whiche attempting manye warres in vayne, he retyred againe into *Preneste*. At this time, *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in *Placentia* came on the suddayne in the euening to the place where *Metellus* lay, and being within one houre of ỹ night amõg the Vineyards, fondly and furiously set vpõ him, thinking by their suddaine assault to ouerthrow *Metellus*, but being ouercome by the iniquitie of the time and place, entangled among the vines, terme thousand were slayne, vj. thousand yelded to the enimie, the rest ranne away, and but one thousande departed in order to *Arretio*. Another Legion of *Lucanes*, led by *Albinouanus*, hearing of this losse, fledde to *Metellus* for aughte he coulde doe. *Albinouanus* in greate rage came to *Norbanus*, but shortlye after making a secret compact with *Sylla* to be assured as he should do a notable seruice, he inuited *Norbanus* and his chiefe Captaynes to a bãquet, as *Caius Antipestris*, *Flauius Fimbria* his brother ỹ in *Asia* had killed himselfe, & al other his officers presẽt of ỹ Camp. All the whiche being come (except *Norbanus*) who onely was absent, he slew them in his tent, and fledde to *Sylla*. *Norbanus* hearing of the losse at *Arimino*, and that diuers of their armyes were fledde to *Sylla*, supposing nowe no more truste to be in friendship (as in aduersitie it happeth) toke a priuate little boate, and sayled to ỹ Rhodes, in the which place, being required after of *Sylla*, and ỹ *Rhodianes* doubting what to do, he killed himselfe in the middest

The army reuolte h from *Martius*.

M. *Lamponius*, *Pont. Telisius*, *Gutta Capuanus* come to releeue *Marius*.

Marius issueth vpon *Lucretius*.

Placentia is in *Lombardy*, vvher *Annibal* ouerthrevv the *Romaines*.

A fight of *Carbo* and *Norbanus* against *Metellus*.

Arretio one of the tvvelue Cities of *Tuscane*, about thirtie miles from *Florence*.

Albinouanus.

Fimbria killed himselfe in *Asia*, not to be taken of *Sylla*.

Albinouanus killeth his friends, and fleeth to *Sylla*.

The ende of *Norbanus* at *Rhodes*.

middeſt of their common place. *Carbo* commaunded *Damaſippo* at *Preneſte* to take two Legions, and to deliuer *Marius* frō the ſiege, but he could not do it, bycauſe the ſtreyghtes were kepte of *Sylla*. All the Frenchmen that from *Rauenna* owelte to the *Alpes*, dyd reuolte to *Metellus*. *Lucullus* did ouercome another part of *Carbo* his hoſt at *Placentia*, whiche when *Carbo* heard, hauing yet thirtie thouſande Soudoyers at *Cluſie*, two Legions of *Damaſippus*, and many other with *Carinna*, and *Martio*, and a greate number of *Samnites*, who refuſed no payne in paſſing the ſtreightes, beeyng out of al hope, cowardly ſayled into *Lybia* with his friends, being yet in opinion to turne *Lybia* againſt *Italy*. They that remayned at *Cluſie*, came to a fighte with *Pompey* before that Citie, and loſt aboute twenty thouſand of their men, whiche loſſe had, the reſt returned to their owne Countreys.

France on this ſide the *Alpes*.
Lucullus.
Placentia nowe *Pazenca* in Lombardy.
Carbo quayleth.
The battayle at *Cluſio*.

Carinna, *Martius*, and *Damaſippus*, with the *Samnites*, met at the ſtreightes, to paſſe by very force, which when they could not do, they marched toward *Rome*, thinking (as voide of men & ſtrēgth, and for lacke of victual) to take it. They encamped at *Albano*, tenne miles off. *Sylla*, fearing that their comming myghte moleſt the Citie, ſente his Horſemenne with all diligence to encounter them by the way, and himſelfe with his mighty army came at midday, and lay at Porte *Collina*, a little from *Venus* Temple.

The enimies encamping alſo at the Gates of the Citie, a great fight beganne a little before the Sunne ſet. In the ryght wing *Sylla* had the better, the left wing hauing the worſe, fledde to the Gates. The olde men that were there, ſeeing the enimie alſo comming among the other, let downe the Portculice, and killed many, whereof ſome were Senatoures, and ſome Gentlemen. The other of force and neceſſitie turned to their enimyes, and fought all night with a great ſlaughter.

A fight before *Rome*.
Part of *Syllas* army fleeth.
The Portculice let downe, cauſe of ſlaughter.

In this battell was ſlayne *Teleſinus* and *Albinus*, both Prētors, and theyr Campes taken, *Lamponius*, *Lucanus*, *Martius*, *Carinna*, and other Captaynes of *Carbos* faction fledde. Greate was the ſlaughter at this fighte, for it is ſaide, there was ſlayne aboute fiftie thouſand, and aboue eyght thouſand takē priſoners, and

Fiftie thouſande ſlayne before the gates of *Rome*.

and bycause the greater part of them were *Samnites*, *Sylla* caused them all to be shotte to death. The next day *Martius* and *Carinna* were brought captiue vnto him, whome he did not pardon after the *Romaine* manner, but put them to death, and sent their heads to *Lucretio*, to nayle them on the wall at *Preneste*, which when the *Prenestines* saw, and hearing that al *Carbos* armies were destroyd, and *Norbanus* fledde out of *Italy*, and that the rest of *Italy* with the Citie of *Rome*, were for *Sylla*, they did yeelde the Citie to *Lucretio*. *Martius* hidde himselfe in a Caue, and shortly after killed hymselfe. *Lucretius* cutte off his head, and sente it to *Sylla*, who hanged it vp in the common place, giuing him this taunt for his yong yeares to be a Consull, A man must firste be a Mariner before he can be a Maister. When *Lucretius* had receyued *Preneste*, he kylled part of the Senatoures that were for *Marius*, and part he putte in prison, all the which, *Sylla* at his comming put to deathe, and commaunding all the *Prenestines* to come without armour into his Campe, he chose of them suche as he thoughte had done hym seruice, whiche were but few. The other he deuided into three partes, *Romaines*, *Samnites*, and *Prenestines*. He pardoned the *Romaines*, although as he tolde them, they had deserued death. Both the other he commaunded to be done to death with dartes. The women and the children he suffered to goe away free. The Citie he sacked, whiche was very riche, and thus was *Preneste* taken.

Norba an other Citie did still stoutely resist him, till *Æmilius Lepidus* gote into the Citie by policie in the night, whiche thyng the Citizens perceyuing, and being in desperation, part killed one an other, part killed themselues, part hung themselues, part shut their doores, and part set their houses a fire, whiche by the winde grew so great, as the Citie was burned, and no man had the spoyle. Thus they manfully died.

Italy beeyng thus afflicted with fire, famine, and slaughter, the Captaynes of *Sylla* went to euery place, setting garrisons where suspect was, and *Pompeius* went into *Lybia* and *Sicilia* against *Norbanus* and his partakers. *Sylla* called the *Romaines* to a Counsell, speaking very magnifically of himselfe, and very horribly for them, making this conclusion, that he would reduce the *Romaine* people

Syllas cruelte against the *Samnites*.

Martius and *Carinna* put to death.

Marius killeth himselfe.

Sylla taunteth.

The taking of *Preneste*, and cruell handling of it.

Prenestines plaged.

Norba.

The miserable end of the Citizens of *Norba*. There is another Citie of this name in *Spayne* called *Norba Augusta*, now *Alcantara*.

Sylla to the *Romaines*.

people to better state if they obeyed him, but he purposed not to spare one of his enimies, but extreamely to punishe them, were they Prætors, Questors, Tribunes, or any other that had conspired with his foes, since the daye that *Scipio* brake promise with him: which being sayd, he proscribed to death fortie Senatours, and a thousand fyre hundred Gentlemen of the *Romaines*: he is the first that we finde, did proscribe men to dye. He appointed rewards for the killers, and the bewrayers of the offendoures, and penalties for them that did hide any of them. Shortly after he added more Senators to the first, which suddaynely were kylled where they were founde: some in the stretes: some in their houses, and some in the Temples: some were brought vnto him on high, & throwen before his fete: some were dragged, & some were beaten, no mã daring speake one word at the pitiful sight hereof, for feare of the smart: some were banished, and their goodes gyuẽ to other: some were sought for that were fledde, who being scourged euery where, were miserably done to death. Against the *Italians* also were many murthers, many banishmẽts, & many publicaties of their goodes, that had any way obeyed *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, or *Marius*, or any of their officers, for the which, sharp iudgemẽt was giuen ouer all *Italy*. Many and diuers accusations also were made vpon Captaines and armyes, and them that lente any money, or shewed other seruice or counsell against *Sylla*. Hospitality also and curtesie done by the way in iourneys, or any other lyke friendship, as lending or borrowing of money, or kéeping company, was punished. The rich men were most sharply handled in all these things, & when accusatiõs failed in particular men, *Sylla* turned to whole Cities, some he punished by pulling downe their forts, some their walles he made equal with the ground, to some, he put a publike payne, or else a yearely tare, some he gaue in habitation to them that had serued him, among whome also he deuided the houses and landes of the Citizens, whiche thing made them sure to him all his life, and as men that were certen of nothing but by his weale and saftie, they mainteyned his quarell after he was dead. This was now the state of *Italy*. *Pompey* had intercepted *Carbo*, and such noble men as were with him, flying

Sylla to the *Romaines*.

Proscription is condemnation of death vvithout iudgement.

Horrible crueltie of *Sylla*.

Extremitie.

from *Lybia* to *Sicilia*, and from *Sicilia* to *Cosyra*, commaunding all to be killed, before they come in his sight, except *Carbo*, who was brought bound vnto him, and layde before his feete, hauing bin thrice Consull. After a long rebuke, he condemned hym to death, and sente his head to *Sylla*, who hauing all thinges as he would against his enimies, saue *Sertorius*, who was farre off, and the only enimie remaining. He sente *Metellus* to ouerthrowe him in *Iberia*. All ciuill matters he vsed as he listed, lawes, creations by voyces, elections by lottes, was no more spoken of, euery man fearing, eyther hiding themselues, or holding their peace, or confirming by decree, as sure and irreuocable, whatsoeuer he had done, eyther as Consull, or Proconsull. They set vp his Image of golde on horsebacke, in the common Palace with this Title,

Cosyra an Iland in the coast of *Affrica*.

Carbo put to death.

Cornelius Sylla the happy Captayne.

For so did Flatterers vse to call him in his fortunate fightes against his foes, whiche name beginning of flattery, remayned firme and stable. I haue seene in some writings, that he was called by decree *Sylla* the gratious, whiche thing is not incredible to me, bycause he was after named the Fortunate, which he names very nigh to lucky and gratious. There is also an Oracle of continuance when he searched for things to come.

Penustus.
Faustus.

Oracle.

Credite me (O Romaine) Venus *hath ginen great power,*
Vnto Aeneas *lasting line. But thou, honour*
Each of the Gods yearely, and do them not forget.
Thy giftes to Delphos *send, and one, the Mount so great,*
Of cloudy Taure, *shall climbe, where* Venus *auntient race*
At Cares *Citie dwell, and doth surname the place,*
And offering there thine axe, shalt take the royall mace.

VVhen he vvrote to the *Grecianes*, he named himselfe *Epaphroditus*, that is, acceptable to *Venus*.

The *Romaines* wrote the same vpon his image, whiche as I thinke, they did to taunt him, or to mollifie him: he sent a crowne of golde, and an axe with this inscription,

To thee (Venus) *these giftes the Monarch* Sylla *sends,*
According to his dreame that all to battell tends,
To Mars *and martiall feates, his whole intente he bends.*

Being nowe a King or Tirante, not chosen but by force and violence, wanting an apparance to seeme to be chosen, he inuen-

ted

ted this craft. In old time, kings for their vertue did rule *Rome*, & when any of thē did die, one Senator after an other did rule fiue dayes, til the people had chosen an other to be kyng, & him ẏ ruled those fiue days, they called a king betweene, for in that meane time, he was a king. The electiōs of ẏ Cōsuls was euer done by them ẏ ended their office, but if by chāce there was no Cōsul present, thē was there also a king betwéene made, til ẏ Cōsuls were elected. *Sylla* following this custome, no mā being Consull after ẏ death of *Carbo* in *Sicilia*, & *Marius* in *Preneste*, he wēt out of ẏ Citie, & cōmanded the Senate ẏ a king betwéene should be chosen, & so by thē *Valerius Flaccus* was chosen, thinking he woulde haue procéeded to ẏ Consuls electiō: but *Sylla* seuerally by his letters, willed *Flaccus* ẏ he should propoūd to ẏ people, that *Sylla* thought it expediēt ẏ one should be created the ruler in the Citie, ẏ was named Dictator, now not vsed four C. yeares since, & whomesoeuer they chose, they should perswade him not to giue it ouer at a time, but to cōtinue it, til he had appesed *Rome*, *Italy*, & other kingdomes, now afflicted with seditiō. Euery mā in his mind thought this was meant of *Sylla*, & he did not much dissēble it, for in ẏ end of his letters, he signified ẏ he it was, if it should so séeme to thē, ẏ should be so profitable to the cōmō wealth. Thus he wrote. The *Romaines* ẏ now could do nothing in lawful electiōs, nor had now any authoritie, embracing a shew of electiō, as an Image & pretence of a libertie, in wante of al things did create *Sylla* a Tyrāt to rule as he woulde. The office of Dictator hauing some similitude of a Tirāt, in old time, was sone ended, but now ẏ first time, without any limitatiō, it was made very tyrannie indéede. Only for the names sake of election, they chose him Dictator to make lawes, & vse the cōmon wealth as he thought good. Thus the *Romaines* hauing kings first, in the hundred *Olimpias*, & after being a populare state, with yearely Cōsuls, another hundred Greéke *Olimps* being passed, they had kings agayne, after the Clxx. *Olimpe*. In *Greece*, ther was now no more actiuitie vsed in the *Olimps*, but remming of the race, for ẏ Champions & other sightes, *Sylla* had remoued to *Rome*, as some recreatiō to the people after the warre with *Mithridates*, & the troubles of *Italy*, for he pretended that he

A diuise of *Sylla* to be chosen Dictator.

Interregnum.

A King for the meane time.

Interex.

Valerius Flaccus

Dictator.

The office of a Dictator did ende in two monethes.

Kings.
Consuls.
Kings.

Olimpias a kinde of shewes vsed in *Greece* euery fyue yeares, according to the which they made their accomptes of yeares.

would refresh and cõfort ỳ people after their long labours, & to shew a figure of a cõmon wealth, he willed the to chose Cõsuls, so first were chosen *Marcus Silius*, & *Oratilius Dolabella*, and he lyke a King ouerlooked them. Being Dictator, foure and twenty axes were borne before him, as was wont before the old kings. He had also a great gard aboute his body. Some lawes he made, and some he reuoked. He would haue none to be Pretor before he were Questor, nor none Consull, before he were Pretor, and forbadde any man to haue that office twice, before tenne yeares distance. The Tribuneship of the people he so defaced and diminished, that no man cared greatly for it, for he ordeyned that hée that was once Tribune, should haue none other authority: wherfore all they that were renoumed or noble, vtterly refused that office, and I can not affirme whether *Sylla* did translate it to the Senate, as it nowe is, or no: and bycause the Senate was consumed by warre and ciuill discord, he chose thrée hundred of the order of Gentlemen to be Senatoures, and haue voyce by companies in elections. The Seruants of them that were slayne, being yong and lustie, he made frée, to the number of tenne thousande, and declared them Citizẽs of *Rome*, and named them of himselfe, *Cornelians*: and by this meane he had of the commons tenne thousand to do his commaundemente. He prouided the same throughout *Italy*, and to the xxiij. Legions that serued vnder him, he gaue much lands in diuers Cities (as I haue said) whereof parte was neuer deuided, and part was forfeyte by penaltie. He was to bée feared in al things, and so ready to anger, as he slew in the midst of the Pallace, *Lucretius Offella*, by whome he besẽged *Marius* in *Preneste*, and wonne that Citie, and obteyned his great victorie, bycause he desired to be Consull before he hadde bin Questor or Pretor, being of the Gentlemens order. And after he had denyed him, he not leauing his sute, bycause he trusted in the greate seruice he had done, but made request to the Citizens, he called the people to a Counsel, and thus said. Friends, know you, and giue eare to me, I haue killed *Lucretius*, bycause he was disobediente vnto me, so thẽ he shewed a reason. A certaine Ploughmã was bitten with Lyce, and stayed his Plough twice to picke them out

Some name M. Tullius, and Corn. Dolabella. Consuls chosen.

Sylla Dictator.

Alteration of officers.

Tribuneship defaced.

Encrease of Senatoures.

Seruants made free, and named *Cornelians*.

Lands giuen.

Lucretius killed.

Sylla to the people.

out of his cote, but when they bit him the third time, he threw his cote in the fire. So doe I aduise all, as subdued, that they doe not proue the fire at the third time. Thus he astonished all men, vsing his authoritie at his pleasure, & triumphed of the warre against *Mithridates*. Some in a iest, called his rule, a negatiue kingdome, bycause only the name of a King was denied: but other, turning it to the contrary in deedes, named it a playne Tyrannie. To so great inconuenience had this warre brought both the *Romaines*, *Italians*, and all other nations, partly with Pirates, partly with *Mithridates*, and partly *Sylla* his inuasions, partly with consuming their treasure in sedition, and oppression of extreame exactions: all the nations and kingdomes, all confederates and Cities, as wel tributaries as other, that by league and oth had ioyned themselues to the Romaine Empire, & for their societie in warre, and other seruice, liued with their owne lawes and were free: he caused all to pay and to obey him, and frō some, portes & prouinces granted by league, were takē away. *Sylla* receiued to his protection *Alexander* sonne of *Alexander* King of *Aegipt*, brought vp in the Ile of *Coo*, and of thē deliuered to *Mithridates*, and from him fledde to *Sylla*, and by decree made hym king of *Alexandria*, being now destitute of a man King, bycause the women that were of the royall bloud, wanted a man of their kinne, thinking to get great gayne of this rich Countrey, but the *Alexandrines* whē he had raigned nineteene dayes, sharply bearing himselfe of *Silla*, brought him from the Court into the commō schole, and there killed him. So they for the greatnes of their proper kingdome, and not feeling the smart that other had done, cared not for others power. The yeare following, *Silla* vsing stil the authoritie of Dictator, yet to shewe it a forme of populare state, was chosen Consull, and with him *Metellus*, surnamed dutifull, and by this example peraduenture, they that be now kyngs of *Rome*, do admit Consuls, & they them selues be Consuls sometime also, thinking it no dishonor to haue that office with a greter authoritie. The yeare following, the people desired *Silla* to be Consul againe, but he refused it, & appointed *Seruilius Isauricus*, & *Claudius Pulcher* to that office, and he without any compulsion,

Denied Kingdome.

All nations plaged by *Sylla*.

King of *Egipt*. This *Alexander* vvas left in Coo of his Grandmother *Cleopatra* vvith great riches.

Alexandrines kill their king.

Sylla being Dictator, is chosen Consull. *Metellus Pius*. The Emperoures vvere Consuls.

Sylla refuseth the Consulship. *Seruilius* called *Isauricus*, for *Isauria* a coūtrey in little *Asia*.

Sylla giueth ouer his rule.

gaue ouer the office of Dictatorship freely, being the highest dignitie of all other, and surely I maruell, that he, who was nowe chiefe of all other, and alone in authoritie, woulde giue ouer so noble a dignitie, not to his children, as *Ptolomeus* in *Aegipt*, *Ariobarzanes* in *Cappadocia*, and *Seleucus* in *Syria*, but to them that had suffered by his tirannie. It seemeth beyõd reason, that he, who by violence, passing so many perils, hadde made himselfe a Prince, should so freely leaue it, & beyond al mẽs opinions, haue no feare of the alteration. After he had killed more than a hundred M. mẽ in warre, slaine so many ciuill enimies, aboue nine C. Senators, xv. Consuls, and 2600. Gentlemen, and banished a great number more, some of the whiche he spoyled of their gooder, some their liues, not suffering them to be buryed, that he was neither afraid of them at home nor abroade, nor of the Cities, of some of the which, he had bet downe their forts and walles, from some, take away their goodes and landes, and put tributes vpon them, but would nedes become a priuate man. So great a confidence and fortune had this man, that in the middest of the common place he durst say, ỹ therefore he gaue ouer his authoritie, that he might render an accompt of it if he were required. The roddes and the axes he layd away. The gard of his person he remoued, and wẽt alone with his friends in the middest of the people, the multitude beholding and amazed at the thing. Only once as he went home, a yong man reuiled him, and because no man did forbid him, hée toke courage to giue him euill lãguage, til he came to his house, so as he that before was so furious against the greatest men and Cities, could now patiently suffer this yong man: only thus hée said, entring his house, either by natural reason, or by a diuinatiõ of things to come: This yong man will be the let that an other man hauing such authoritie, will not so giue it ouer, which thing shortly after happened to ỹ *Romaines*, for *Caius Caesar* would not so leaue his power. Surely *Sylla* appeareth to be in al things vehement, from a priuate man to make himselfe a Tyrant, and from that to be a priuate man againe. This done, he gaue himselfe to quietnesse of ỹ Countrey, & went to *Cuma*, a Citie of *Italy*, to his owne lands, leading a quiet life at the sea side, and sometime hũting

Sylla, Ptolomeus, *Ariobarzanes*, *Seleucus*, vsurpers.

The rare resignation of *Sillas* authoritie.

Confidence of *Sylla*.

Sylla suffereth a yong man to reuile him.

The aunswere of *Sylla*.

Caesar followeth not the example of *Sylla*.

Cuma is a pleasant place, nere farre from *Naples*.

ting in the field, not for any misliking of the priuate life in the citie, nor for want of power to enterprise anything that he would, for, for his age, he was in good strength, and of body very sound. About *Italy* he had an hundred and twenty thousande men, that lately warred vnder him, which had receiued great gifts, & much land of him, and in the citie there were tenne thousand of *Cornelians*, and other multitudes of his factiõs, al frieds faithful to him, and feareful to other, all the which had their whole trust in him, of that they had done, & in him reposed the suretie of all they had. Notwithstãding all this (as I thinke) he was wery of war, wery of dominion, & wery of the Citie, & therfore sought a vacation as it were, and quietnesse in the Countrey. After this, the Romaines being deliuered of tirannie, fel again to sedition: for whẽ they had created *Caius Catulus* one of *Syllas* faction, and *Lepidus Emilius*, of the contrary, Consuls, enimies one to another, and readie to contend by and by, it was certaine that a new inconuenience would take beginning of these. They saye, that whiles *Sylla* lay in the Countrey, he had a vision that a God called him, the which in the morning he told to his friends, & with greate spæde made his testament, which being signed that day, in the euening a fitte toke him, and in the night he dyed, of the age of lx. yeares, a mã, in all things most happy to his end, & as he was surnamed, so was he fortunate in dæde, if he be happy that can do what hée list. And there was a contention in *Rome* about him, some would haue his body brought with great pomp through *Italy* to *Rome*, & ther in the common place to be honored with publike funeral. *Lepidus* and his friendes were against it, but *Catulus* and other of *Syllas* side preuailed. So his body was brought through *Italy* in a litter of gold in royal maner, numbers of musitians, horsemẽ, and other armed multitude followed. All his Captaines & Lieutenãts that had serued vnder him, came to this pomp, frõ euery place in armour, and as they came, so were they set in order. Other multitudes also repaired, as neuer had bin seene at any businesse. The ensignes and ares that he vsed in his dignitie, were borne before, and when he was broughte into the Citie, greate honor, and exceeding shewe didde encrease. Two thousande Crownes of Golde and more, were of purpose made, and presented.

The povver of *Sylla*.

Nevv occasion of sedition by the Consuls, *C. Catulus*, and *Lepid. Aemilius*.

Vision of *Sylla*.

Death of *Sylla*.
Age of *Sylla*.
Happy.

Contention for the buriall of *Sylla*.

Syllas corpse in a litter of gold.

Funerall of *Sylla*.

The

The gifts of Cities, of Legions that had serued him, and of euery priuate friend, were deliuered, other ornaments were added to his funeral, the sumptuousnesse whereof, no man can expresse.

The receiuing of his body.

His body being brought in with the army, the religious people, both holy men, and sacred Virgines, did receyue and beare by course: the Senate and Magistrates, with all their tokens of office, did the like: the troupes of Horsemen, the bands of footemen, deuided in order, did attende: seuerall benevolence was shewed, bringing banners of golde, wearing harnesse of siluer, which yet be vsed in triumphes. There was a great nũber of Trumpets, which in order did sound an heauie noyse. The Senate praysed him first, then the Gentlemen, after the army, and all the people, whereof some desired his life, some that feared him and his army, did now no lesse maruell about his dead body: for remẽbring in their minds the noble feates he had done, and the maner of his death, they could not but be astonished, confessing him to be of all other, though their enimie, the most happie man, so as being dead, he was dreadfull vnto them. Being brought into the common place before the Tribunall, where Orations were wonte to be made, the most eloquente man that then was aliue, made the funerall Oration, bycause *Faustus* his sonne was yet vnder age. The noblest of the Senate did take the litter, and beare it into the fielde of *Mars*, where none was wonte to be buryed but Kings. The Horsemen and the army marched aboute the fyre whiles his body was consumed. This was the end of *Silla*.

Prayses of *Silla*.

Affections of men.

Funerall Oration.

Faustus his sonne vnder age.

In the field of *Mars*, none buryed but kings.

The Consuls going from the funerall, did contende wyth wordes and spitefull speethe, intending betwæne them to make diuision of the rule that belonged to the Citie.

Contention.

Lepidus to flatter the *Italians*, required they might be restored to the lands that *Silla* had taken from them. The Senate fearing this falling out, did bind them both by oth, that they shoulde not contende by armes. *Lepidus* being appointed by lotte to the prouince of *France* beyond the *Alpes*, did not returne to the election, bycause he intended the nert yeare to make warre vpon *Sillas* faction, without respect of his oth, for it seemed he had fulfilled his promise, in kæping of it during his office.

The Consuls bound by oth.

Lepidus refuseth to returne to the election.

This

This his purpose not being secreate, the Senate sent for him: He, not ignorant why he was called, came with al hys army as though he would haue entred *Rome* therewith, but beyng forbidden, he proclaymed warre by a Trumpet. *Lepidus* maketh warre.

Catulus of the other side did the like: Not long after making a battel in the field of *Mars*, *Lepidus* was ouercome, and without any great chace he fled into *Sardinia*, where beeyng vexed wyth a consuming disease, he dyed. Hys armye disturbed in sundry partes, was dissolued the greatest part of it, *Perpenna* led into *Spaine* to *Sertorius*. A Battel betwene the Consuls. *Lepidus* ouercome and dyeth in *Sardinia* in the sea of *Libya*, called *Sandaliotis*, bycause it is like the sole of a foote. *Sertorius*.

The laste worke left to *Sylla* was thys warre of *Sertorius*, continuyng eyght yeares with difficultie, not as *Romaines* agaynste *Spaniardes*, but as one with another againste *Sertorius*, who ruled in *Iberia*. He, when *Carbo* and *Sylla* were at warre, toke the Citie of *Sueſſa* by composition, as we haue said, and fled from thence to his office, leading wyth hym an armye of *Italians*, and gathered more of the *Celtiberians*, wyth whome hee expulsed the officers that were there for *Sylla*, who woulde not admit hym, and fought very valiantly with *Metellus*, that was sent against hym of *Sylla*, and being couragious to anye feate, elected a Senate of three hundred of his present friends, which he called the *Romaine Senate*, in dispight whereof hee named it, the *Choice Counsell*. *Sylla* being dead, and after hym *Lepidus*, *Sertorius* hauing another army of *Italians*, which *Perpenna* brought vnto him as a Pretor of *Lepidus*, he had an opinion to be able to make warre vppon *Italy*: which the Senate fearing, sente another armye and another Pretor, whiche was *Pompey*, to the army that was before in *Iberia*, who being but a yong Gentleman, was renowmed for the seruice he had done vnder *Sylla* in *Libya* and in *Italy*. He passed the *Alpes* very boldly, not that way that *Annibal* did so notablye, but brake another way by the fountaines of *Rodanus* and *Eridanus*, both the whiche floudes, haue theyr springs not far asunder from the high *Alpes*. *Rodanus* runneth by the Frenchemen that be beyond the *Alpes*, into the Tirrene sea: the other within the *Alpes* flowing to *Ionia* and in steede of *Eridanus* is called *Padus*. Being come into *Iberia*, *Sertorius* straight did ouerthrowe one le- *Sertorius* occasiõ of newe warre. *Sertorius* maketh a Senate in Spayne. *Perpenna*. *Pompey* into Spayne. *Rodanus* Rosne in Fraunce. *Eridanus* Poo in Italy.

gion goyng a foraging with their baggage and slaues. The Citie of *Lautone* in *Pompeius* sighte he spoiled and ouerthrew.

Iniurie.
A vvaliant vvoman.

At this siege a woman being misused of a souldior, with courage beyonde nature of hir kinde, pulled out hys eies. *Sertorius* hauing vnderstanding of the chaunce, putte to death the whole bād, being counted corrupted in like things, though it were al of the *Romaines*: then winter comming on, they rested. The Spring approching, they came forth, *Metellus* and *Pompey* frō the mount *Pirinei*, and *Sertorius* with *Perpenna* from *Lusitania*. They met at a Citie called *Sura*, where giuing battell, though an horrible thunder, in ỹ clere aire, which is maruēllous, & lightnings out of reason did flash vpon thē, yet they as expert souldiors without feare kept ỹ fight, & made great murder one of another, til *Metellus* had ouerthrown *Perpenna*, and scattered his men, & *Sertorius* ouercome *Pompey*, who was hurt in ỹ thigh with a darte, and escaped wyth much dāger This was the end of the first battel. *Sertorius* had a white Harte tame, & to him very louing, the which being losse, he toke it for an euill token, & woulde not come forth for griefe, thinking his Hart had bin takē of his enimies, who scorned him for it: but when ỹ Hart was seene again, & came running to him, by & by, as by ỹ prouoked, he set vpō his enimies, & made diuers light fightes. Shortly after they fought a great battel about *Sagūtia*, frō noone till night, in ỹ which he ouercame *Pompey* in the battel of horsmē, & slew vj. M. of his enimies, & lost halfe so many of his own. *Metellus* of ỹ other side, killed. v. M. of *Perpēnas* camp.

Pyrenei mountaines diuide *Spaine* frō *Fraūce*.
Lusitania, *Portingall*.
Battel at *Sura* nowe *Sucrone*.

Metellus ouerthroweth *Perpenna*.
Sertorius ouercōmeth *Pompey*.

A vvhite Harte.
Some thinke this battel vvas fought at *Segobrida* a towne in that part of *Spaine* also.
Segontia nowe called *Muruidere*

Pompey looseth, *Metellus* gayneth.

The nexte day *Sertorius* with an huge nūber of *Barbarians*, a little before night set vpō *Metellus*, & had brokē his campe, if *Pompey* had not approched, & made him leaue his bold enterprise. These thinges being done in sōmer, they retired to their winter harborow. The yere folowing, being ỹ. Clxvj. Olimp. 2. of ỹ cōfedered nations did fal to the *Romaines*. *Bythinia* giuen by *Nicomedes*, & *Cyrene* by *Tolomeus Lagus*, called *Appion*, leauing it to thē by Testament. On the other side, great enimies discouered against them, *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *Mithridates* in ỹ East, rouers ouer al ỹ sea, a stir in *Creta*, & a tumult of the Fēce-players of *Italy*, very sodain and sharp. The *Romains* diuiding their power for this purpose, set. ij. legions into *Iberia*, which being come, *Metellus* & *Pompey* remoued

Fithynia is the nexte Region to Troy, ouer against Thracia. Two regions fell to the *Romaines* by Testament.

Trouble.

from

frō their wintrings at ẏ mount *Pirenei* into *Iberia*. *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* came frō *Lusitania*, at the which time, many fled frō *Sertorius* to *Metellus*, with the which *Sertorius* being grieued, he hādled many cruelly & barbarously, wherby he grew into hate of the army & the rather for ẏ he remoued the *Romains* frō the custody of hys body, & put the *Celtiberians* in their place. They could not abide to be reproued of vnfaithfulnesse, though they serued an enmimy to *Rome*, but this thing chiefly grieued thē, that they were counted rebels to their coūtry, for his sake, & yet suspected of him, & that with him ther was no difference betwene a fugitiue & a faithful. The *Celtiberians* also vsed thē dispitefully, & taunted them as vnfaithful: notwithstāding the *Romains* did not vtterly forsake him, bycause of their commodities: for there was not a more valiāt nor fortunate captaine than hee, in somuche as the *Celtiberians* would call hym *Anniball* for hys promptnesse, who was the moste politicke and forwarde Capitayne that they coulde rehearse. After this sort stode the army with *Sertorius*. *Metellus* people did daily molest the Cities, & cōpell many to yēlde vnto thē. *Pompeius* besieged *Palantia*, and wyth tymber had made waye to scale the wall. *Sertorius* came to the relefe, and remoued the siege. *Pompey* burned hys timber worke, destroyed the walles, and retyred to *Metellus*. *Sertorius* repaired the Citie, and spēdilye wēt toward *Calagyrus*, where, encoūtring with thē ẏ lay there, he killed. 3000. of them. And these were ẏ doings in *Iberia* this yere.

Sertorius remoueth the *Romains* from the guard of his person.

Sertorius cruell.

Griefe of the *Romains*.

Aragon.

Sertorius compared to *Annibal*.

The yere following, the *Romaine* capitaines with greater courage set vpō the Cities ẏ held with *Sertorius*, & toke some of thē, & other they sought to get by pollicie, as they did, not vsing theyr whole force at euery attēpt. But ẏ yere following came stronger to the field, & did their things with more confidēce. Nowe *Sertorius* began to decay, God being against hym, and hee omitting the lawes & trauailes of a captain, gaue himselfe to delicatenesse, and womē, feasting & drinking: for these causes he was many times ouercome, falling into furies & rages for euery trifle, & suspected euery man. Wherefore *Perpēna*, ẏ from the faction of *Aemilius*, came vnto him wᵗ a gret army, begā to doubt of him, & conspired against him wyth tenne other, the which bēyng discouered, some were hanged, and some escaped, but *Perpenna* not beeyng named,

Sertorius decayeth.

Perpenna. Conspiracie.

as was his maruellous good hap, persecuered the rather in hys purpose, he desired *Sertorius* to a banquet, and although he neuer wente without hys Guarde, yet at the feaste, little respect being had, and hee and all they ouerladen with Wine, *Perpenna* cut off his heade in the place where he feasted. The armye wyth great ire and tumulte rose againste *Perpenna*, chaunging theyr hate into loue of the Capitaine, for though before they hadde no greate lykyng of hym, now that hee was deade, remembraunce of his vertue tourned their mindes to pitie. And in thys present case, they contemned *Perpenna* as a priuate man: and thinking their only weale did consist in *Sertorius*, they could not abide *Perpenna*, & not only they, but the *Lusitanes* and other *Barbarians* thought as much, whome *Sertorius* chiefly vsed in the warre, and when the tables of his Testament were vnsealed, and *Perpenna* founde to be his heyre, euerye man hated hym the more, bicause hee was not onely a Traytour to hys Capitayne, but to hys friende and benefactour, and then hadde they not helde theyr handes, but that *Perpenna* hydde hymselfe, and pleased some with gifts, and some with promise, some he made afrayde with feare, and some he sharpely vsed with the terror of other. To the common sorte he humbled himselfe, and suche as were in prison by *Sertorius* he deliuered, and to the *Lusitanes* restored their pledges, wherfore they were content to take him as their Captain. This honor had he after *Sertorius*, yet not without great difficultie, for being cruell, he sone fel to sharpe punishing, and of the *Romaines* that came with hym, he killed three of the noblest sorte, and hys own Nephew. Now was *Metellus* gone to the other side of *Iberia*, thinkyng *Pompey* to be sufficient to ouerthrowe *Perpenna*, who a while spent the tyme in makyng skirmishes, not bringing forthe their whole power. The tenth day, with all their battailes they came into ý field, thinking with that one worke, to make an end. *Pompey* passed little of *Perpennas* experience. *Perpenna* distrustfull of his armies cõtinuance in obedience, was ý rather willing to try all at once. *Pompey* giuing the onset the more fiercely, & *Perpenna* not abiding as a Captain, and the army voide of goodwil, was sone ouercome, & euery man flying, *Perpenna* bid him vnder

Death of *Sertorius*.

Miserie causeth pitie.

Portugales.

Perpenna founde to be heyre to *Sertorius*.

Perpenna cruel.

Fight betwene *Pompey* and *Perpenna*.

Ouerthrow of *Perpenna*.

a tuffte of bushes, fearing more his own, than his enimies, & beeing taken of certaine horsemen, they dragged him to *Pompey*, & of his owne people hee was euil spoken of, for his offence againste *Sertorius*: he made great ado to be brought aliue to *Pompey*, to reueale vnto him gret matter of ỹ *Romaine* factiõ, eyther to tel the truth or to saue himselfe, but *Pompey* sent to haue hym kylled before he came in his sight, fearing leaste hee might haue vttered some strange matter ỹ might haue bin ỹ beginning of a new stir in *Rome*, wherin *Pompey* seemed to do very well & wisely, & wan a great opinion therby. This was the end of the war in *Iberia*, and of *Sertorius* life, which if he had not bin dead, would not haue bin finished, neyther so soone, nor so easyly.

Death of *Perpenna*.

VVisedome of *Pompey*.

The warre of *Spartaco*.

In this time in *Italy*, a Sword-player that kepte in *Capua* for shews, called *Spartacus* a *Thracian* borne, had serued in war wyth the *Romaines*, & now was as a slaue in custodie for to shew his cũning in plaies: he persuaded .lxx. more of his fellows, to aduẽture for their libertie rather thã to be slaues for shews, & with thẽ forcing ỹ keepers, he ran away, & arming such as hemet with staues & swordes he fled to the Mount *Vesuuius*, whither many slaues, & some freemen, flying to him frõ the Countries, he receiued thẽ, & robbed the plaines adioyning, he appointed two officers, *Aenomaus* and *Crissus* other two Sword-players, & making equall diuision of his pray among them, in short tyme great multitudes came vnto hym. Whom to ouercome *Varinius Glabrius* was first sent, & after hym *Publius Valerius*, not wt an army of any regard, but such as for hast they could gather by ỹ way. For ỹ *Romaines* did not think it shold nẽd any other, nor looked for such effect at a Sword-players hand. But when it came to the battell, the *Romaines* were ouercome: *Spartacus* killed *Varinius* horse, & it lacked but little, that ỹ *Romaine* Captain was not takẽ of a vile Sword player, after this fight, more & more resorted to *Spartacus*, and he had now an army of .lxx. M. for whom, he made armor & al other prouision. The *Romaines* sent the Consuls with two legions, against whome *Crissus* came wyth .xxx. M. and was ouercome at Mount *Garinus*, losing two partes of his army and his life also.

Spartacus.

Mount *Vesuuius*.

Aenomaus, *Crissus*, or

Varinius Glaber. *P. Valerius* were ouercome of *Spartacus*.

Firste the battel betwene *Spartacus* and the *Romaines*.

Mount *Garganus* in *Appulia* nowe called Mount S. *Angelo*.

Spartacus passed ouer mount *Apennine* to go into France beyond the *Alpes*: but one of the Consuls laye in the waye and stopped his passage, and the other followed him: he fought with them both and ouercame them in seuerall fightes: so as the Cõsuls retyred with tumult. *Spartacus* did sacrifice three hundered Romaines to his felowe *Crassus*, and with twentie thousand Romaine footemen, he wente to Rome, burning all vnprofitable birdes, and killed all Captiues and the beastes of cariage, to march the faster. Many fugitiues comming vnto him, he would admitte none.

Spartacus ouercometh the Consuls.

Sacrifice of mẽ

The Consuls encoũtred him at *Picene*, where was a notable fight, and many of the Romaines slayne, and losse the day. Yet durst he not go directly to *Rome*, bycause he did not thinke hymselfe equal with the Citizens in feates of warre, nor had an army throughly instructed, for neuer a Citie toke his part, but only slaues and fugitiues, and a confused multitude folowing him: he turned to the mountaines at *Thurus*, & besieged the towne: hee forbad any merchãt to bring gold or siluer into his campe, or to be vsed: but brasse & yron he admitted, paying wel for it, & did not hurt thẽ that brought it. Wherby hauing matter aboũdant, hee made verye fayre armour, and vsed to seeke pray in the countrey, and fought with the *Romaines* againe, and had the victorie & went away with a great spoyle. Now were three yeares past, and this warre remayned horrible to the *Romaines*, which at the first they contemned, as a play of Fence. The election of ỹ new Consuls being come, such a terror was of him, as no mã desired the office, till *Licinius Crassus*, notable in *Rome* for his house and riches, toke it vpon him, and with fyue other legions wente against *Spartacus*: and being come nigh, he receyued the armies of the two Cõsuls, of the which he put to death euery tenth mã, as hapt by lot, bycause they had bin so oft ouercome. Some thinke otherwise, that they al fought and were ouercome, and thẽ he so punished them by the tenth, & killed foure thousande, hauing no doubt of the multitude. But whither so euer he dyd, it auayled much to the ouerthrow of his enemies, for by and by he set vpõ them ten thousand of *Spartacus* men that camped by thẽ, wherof he

Thurus in *Apulia* vvhich the *Romaines* made a colonie and called it *Copia*.

Three yeares vvarre.

Licinius Crassus.

Crassus doth execution.

Crassus ouercometh.

he killed two partes, and then with like courage so fiercely encoũtryng with *Spartacus*, he ouercame him with a notable fight, and chased him to the sea, wher he thought to escape by ship into *Sicilie*, but he ouertoke him, and enclosed him in a trench, and when he had forced him to flée to the *Samnites*, *Crassus* killed fiue thousand of them at the sunne rise, and as manye at the sunne set, three only of the *Romaines* beyng killed, and seauen hurt, so great an alteration was there of victorie, after the executiõ of that punishmente. *Spartacus* loking for horsemen to come vnto him, did not nowe come forth with all his men, but by tymes did much annoy the besiegers, sodaynely issuing vppon them & throwing firebrandes into their campe, burned their wall, and put them to much difficulties and trouble. A *Romaine* Captiue he hung vp in the middest of his campe, shewing to his souldiours what they should suffer if they did not ouercome. The *Romaines* in the Citie seing of this siege, and thinking it a dishonor to be so long holden with a sword-player, appointed *Pompey*, who was returned frõ *Iberia* with his army, (waying the difficultie of the thing) to take the charge therof. *Crassus* seeing the glory of this war shold be taken from him by *Pompey*, made haste to trie it with *Spartacus*, and *Spartacus* thinking to preuent *Pompey*, would haue made agrémẽt with *Crassus*, but being refused he thought to proue the vttermost, and with his horsemen that were come, he issued out of the campe, with al his bands, and fled as fast as he coulde to *Brunduse*, *Crassus* following him: but when he heard that *Lucullus* was come to *Brunduse* with his army from the warre of *Mithridates*, then in desperation of all things he encoũtred with *Crassus*. The fight being long and difficulte, as among so many souldiours driuen by desperation, *Spartacus* was hurte in ỹ thygh with a dart, by ỹ which wounde falling on his knée, he defended himselfe with his shield, & foughte with thẽ that came vpõ him, many of the which he ouerthrew, till hee the cõpanies about him were discomfited, the other multitude without order fled, and were killed wythout number: of the *Romaines* a thousand were slayne.

The third battel. *Spartacus* flyeth towvard *Sicilie*.

The fourth battel. *Samnites*, nowv *Abruzzo*.

Spartacus holden in.

Pompey appointed to this vvar.

The last battel vvherin *Spartacus* vvas slaine.

Spartacus

Spartacus being dead was neuer founde, a great multitude frō the battaile went to the Mountaines, agaynste whome *Crassus* followed. They diuiding themselues into foure partes, fought it oute, till they were all slaine, saue fiue thousande, which being taken, were hanged in the way betweene *Rome* and *Capua*.

Capua the chiefe Citie of Campania.

Thys dyd *Crassus* in fiue moneths, contending with *Pompey* for glorie, and would not leaue his armye, bycause *Pompey* would not leaue his, and both of them sought to be Consull.

Contention betwene *Crassus* and *Pompey*.

Crassus seketh to be Consul, after *Sylla's* appoynt.

Crassus hauing bene Prætor according to *Syllas* law, *Pompey* neither hauing bin Questor nor Prætor, being yet xxxiij. yeares of age, promised the Tribunes to reduce their office to ỹ antiēt authoritie: and being both chosen Consuls, neyther of them would leaue their army. *Pompey* sayde he would stay for *Metellus* to make his triumph of *Iberia*.

Pompey, after the auntient maner.

Both chosen Consuls.

Crassus affirmed that *Pompey* ought first to giue ouer.

The people perceyuing that discorde was readye to ryse, and two armies at hand, requested ỹ Consuls sitting in their places to come to reconciliation, which at the first they both denyed: but the southsayers declaring great and grieuous calamites to follow, vnlesse they were agreēde, the people agayne with lamentation did desire them, recording the miserable time of *Sylla* and *Marius*: with the which things, *Crassus* beyng moued, rose firste from his seate, and came to take *Pompey* by the hand and to be reconciled. *Pompey* rose also in hast and came fast to hym, and one embraced another, gret thankes with showtes, was gyuē vnto them, and the people would not let them depart, til they had determined the dissolution of their armies.

The people require reconciliation.

Crassus relenteth first.

This contention, that by al mens opinions seemed, would haue grown very great, was happily ended: the lx. yeare of the Ciuil warre from the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*.

The end of the first booke of Ciuil dissentions.

The second Booke of Appian of *Alexandria* touching the ciuill discorde of the Romaines.

After the Monarchie of *Sylla*, and all that *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* did in *Spaine*, other like Ciuil businesse fel among the *Romaines*, til *Caius Cæsar* and *Pompei* the great, warred one vpon another. *Cæsar* slue *Pompey*, and certaine in the Senate killed *Cæsar*. How this was done, and how both *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were destroyed, thys second Booke of Ciuil causes shal declare.

Pompey had lately scoured the seas of Roners whiche robbed in euery place beyond all reason: and after them subdued *Methridates* king of *Pontus*: and set order in his kingdome, and al ỹ nations as farre as the Easte. *Cæsar* was yet a yong man, forwarde in worde and deede, bolde to any thing, and hoping of euery thing, inclined to ambition so beyond al measure, as beyng Pretor and *Edilis*, he grewe in great dette, to gette the good wyl of the people, which is euer wont to embrace them that be bountiful. *Pompey.* Pretor had the charge of the lavv. *Aedilis* of houses and prouision.

Caius Cateline was also notable, for his great fame and noble bloude, a very rashe man, thinking it once good to kill his owne sonne for the loue of *Aurelia Orestilla*, bycause she woulde not graunt to marry with him, hauing a child aliue. He was friend to *Sylla*, of his faction, and a very great follower of him: through hys ambition he was in much want, & by the enticing of some greate men and women, laboured to be Consull, that by that meane, he mighte make hys waye to Tyrannye, and being in good hope to haue the election, he was repulsed, and *Cicero* *Cateline.* *Cateline* killeth his sonne.

chosen, a man most eloquent and swéete in speach. *Cateline*, did skorne him, and in despight of them that had chosen him, for the baseneſſe of his kinne, called him a New man, (for so doe they terme them, that grow noble of themselues, and not of their auncestours) and for that he was a straunger in the Cittie, he named hym a Fermer, by the which wordes they call them that dwell in other mens houses. And for this, he refused to deale in publique matter, wherein was plenty of strife and contention, and no great nor present furtheraunce to a Monarchie. Yet he gathered much money of many wiues which hoped to be rid of their husbands by this hurley burley. He cõferred with some of the Senatours & them that be called Gentlemẽ, and some of the Commons, straungers and seruaunts he also allured. But his chiefe Counsellours were, *Cornelius*, *Lentulus*, & *Cethegus*, which were then officers in the cittie. He sent about *Italie* to thẽ that had spent their gaines got by the violence of *Sylla*, and were desirous of the like enterprises again. To *Fesule* in *Tuscane*, he sent *Caius Manlius*, & other into *Ancona* and *Appulia*, the which presently did gather men for him. All these practises did *Fuluia*, a noble woman, bewray vnto *Cicero*, whose louer *Q. Spurius*, a man for his lewde life remoued from the Senate, and admitted to *Catelines* conuentions, ambitious and very light, did boast with his woman, that shortly he shoulde be made a great man. Rumors were now rayſed of their doings in *Italie*, and *Cicero* set gardes in diuers places of the cittie, and sent some noble men to haue an eye to the suspected places. *Cateline*, although no man durst lay hands on him, yet, bicause the truth was not tried out, perceyuing the time to be suspitious, and putting al his hope in spéeding, sent his money afore to *Fesule*: and giuing order with his confederates to kill *Cicero*, and in one night to set the citie a fire in sundrie places, he posted to *C. Manlius*, to make an other army of the sodaine, to inuade the cittie after the burnyng. He caused the axes & roddes, to be borne before him like a Proconsull very fondly, & went to *Manlius*, taking vp souldiours by the way. Now was it thought good to *Lentulus* & his cõpanions, as soone as they heard *Cateline* to be at *Fesule*, that *Lentulus* himself & *Cethegus* should beset *Ciceros* house early in the morning wt weapons

Cateline repulsed and *Cicero* chosen consull.

New man.

VViues vveary of their husbandes.

Senatours Gentlemen.

Fuluia vttereth the conspiracie. *Q. Curius*.

Manlius chiefe minister of *Cateline*.

The maner of the practise.

pos hid, & that they being let in, bicause of their dignities, should speake with him, & by talke draw him a good way off, and when they had him from other cõpany to kil him. Then should *Lucius Sextius* a Tribune, by & by cal an assemblie by the ordinarie officers, & accuse *Cicero* as a mã fearefull, troublesome, & a disturber of the citie, when there was no such cause: and the night after this Oration of *Sextius*, to set ỳ citie a fire in other. xij. places, to spoyle it, & kil the best mẽ. This was ỳ opinõ of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, & *Sextius*, chiefe of ỳ cõspiracie, & wayted for ỳ time.

Cicero to be killed, the citie to be burned.

There were embassadours of *Sauoia* to cõplain of their gouernours, which by *Lentulus* were admitted to ỳ conspiracie, ỳ they should stirre their coũtrie against the *Romanes*. *Lentulus* sent *Vulturtius* of *Crotone* with thẽ to *Cateline*, carying letters without any name. The Embassadours being afraide, did cõmunicate wỗ *Fabius Sanga*, who was their patrone, as euery other citie had in *Rome*. *Cicero* vnderstãding this by *Sanga*, apprehẽded both them & *Vulturtius* as they were goyng away, & brought them to the Senate, to whom they cõfessed al they had learned of *Lentulus*, and with much ado bewrayed, that *Cornelius Lentulus* had oft sayde, ỳ by destinie. iij. *Cornelius* should be Monarches of *Rome*, whereof ỳ. were past, *Cinna* & *Sylla*. When these things were declared, the Senate put *Lentulus* out of his office. *Cicero* cõmitted euery of thẽ to the houses of the prætors, & straight returned & called for sentẽce. There was much ado about ỳ counsell house, for ỳ truth was not yet knowne, & the conspiratours were afraide of themselues. The seruaunts, & frẽmade mẽ of *Lentulus* & *Cethegus*, got many artificers with thẽ, and wẽt to the backe sides of the Prætors houses to haue taken away their maisters, whiche, when *Cicero* heard, he ran out of the counsell house, & hauing set garde in euery place, came againe, and hastned the iudgement. *Syllanus* spake first, as he that was elected to be Consull next: for it was the *Romaines* maner to haue him speake first, that should folow in ỳ Consuls office, bicause (as I think) he should cõmonly execute the decrées, & therby, cõsider the more ripely & warely of euery of them. *Syllanus* was of opinion ỳ these men should haue extreme punishment: and many other consented to his iudgement, till *Nero* muste say his minde, who thought it good to kẽpe them

Cornelius, a great surname in *Rome*.

Cities had patrones in *Rome*.

Priuilege of Cõsul elect.

Syllanus.

Disagrement, touching the cõspiracie.

in prison til *Cateline* were ouerthrowen, and the thing throughly knowne. *C. Cæsar*, who was not without suspition to be priuie to this cõspiracie, with whom *Cicero* durst not contend, bycause he was so accepted to the people, added more, that *Cicero* shoulde place them in such Cities of *Italie* as he thought good, til *Cateline* were dispatched, and then to be brought to iudgemente, that no extremitye shoulde be vsed againste so noble men, that myghte seeme voyde of right or reason. This sentence seming indifferẽt, many allowed of it, and rathly consented to it, til *Cato* plainely had discouered the suspitiõ against *Cæsar*: and *Cicero* fearing that this night some trouble would folowe, & that the multitude that were acquainted with the matter, and then remayned doubtful in the common place, would do mischiefe: and for some inconuenience, as wel of the one as of the other, determined to execute thẽ without iudgement, as apparant offenders: *Cicero* brought euery one of them, (the Senate yet sitting) to the cõmon prison, and without knowledge of the people, put them to death. Then he went to thẽ that were in the common place, and told thẽ, they haue lined: wherat they dispersed with feare, were glad to hide thẽselues as wel as they could: & so the citie, that at that present was in great feare, receyued a little comfort. *Cateline* had nowe gathered rr. M. and armed the fourth part of them, & was going into *Gallia* for more preparation: but *Antonie* the other Consul, encountred him in the *Alpes*, and without great ado, ouerthrew him, as one that furiously had taken so horrible a thing in hand, whiche when it came to the triall, without order, executed the same, although neither he nor none other of the nobles ẏ were of that conspiracie, would agrée to flée: but running among the enimies, were slain in the middest of them. Thus the rebellion of *Cateline*, which had almost brought the Cittie to vtter destruction, was dissolued: & *Cicero* ẏ before was only notable for his eloquence, nowe also both for worde and déede was extolled and playnly appeared the preseruer of his perishing countrie: wherfore thankes were giuen him in the whole assembly, and diuerse sholwtes of prayse made vnto him: & wheras *Cato* thought hym worthy the name of father of the country, the people confirmed

Cæsars sentence vvith vvhom *Cicero* durste not contende.

Cato.

Citizens put to death vvithout iudgement.

Cicero telleth the people that the conspirators be deade.

Cateline slayne.

Cicero both eloquent and prudent.

Cicero called farther of the countrey.

if

it with a cry. This honorable name being giuẽ first to *Cicero*, is nowe attributed also to such Emperors as be worthy: For this title is not giuẽ to euery king with the rest of his other stile, but in tyme with great ado is decrẽde vnto him, as a perfecte testimony of hys excellent vertue.

Cæsar was chosen Lieutenant for *Spaine*, and of hys creditors was staide in Rome: for so much did he owe more than hee was worth (as they report) he saide hee had nẽde of two thousande and fiue hundred millions, to haue nothing: yet agreeing wyth hys creditours as well as he could, he went into *Spaine*, where he did not deale wyth Citie matters, or by sessions take order for their causes, thinking that nothing serued hys purpose, but thered men, and in tyme subdued all the rest of *Spaine*, til hee had brought it subiect and tributarie to the *Romaines*. He sent muche money to the common treasure of *Rome*, wherefore the Senate graunted him a triumphe: he made preparation of a great shew in the suburbs of *Rome*. The tyme of election of newe Consulls was come, and he that stode for the office must be present, and if he were once entred, he could not returne agayne to make triumphs. He being very desirous of the Consulship, and not yet ready for the triumph, sente to the Senate and desired he might aske the office by his friends in his absence, although it were agaínst the Lawe: But *Cato* spake againste it, so as the laste day of the election was spent in reasoning. Wherefore *Cæsar* set aside the triũph and came running to the election & desired the office.

Cæsar.

About two thousand fiue hundred millions *Cæsars* doings in Spayne.

A triumph graunted to *Cæsar.*

Election.

Cato agaynste *Cæsars* requeste.

At thys time *Pompey* was in great power and glory for his victory againste *Methridates*: he required that many things which he had graunted to Kings, Princes and other estates, might bee confirmed by acte of Parliament. The which request many enuied, specially *Lucullus*, who made warre agaynst *Methridates* before, and broughte him so weake, that it was an easie matter to ouercome him, so as indede the feate against *Methridates* was properly hys, and *Crassus* toke parte wyth *Lucullus*. Whereat *Pompey* being grieued, he ioyned with *Cæsar* and promised by oth to make hym Consull, and *Cæsar* reconciled *Crassus* to *Pompey*.

Pompey.

Lucullus againste *Pompey.*

Crassus vvith *Lucullus.*

Pompey vvith *Cæsar.*

And these three hauing greatest power of al, did serue one an-

others turne, insomuche as one *Varro* a writer, in one of hys bookes, did cal this agreement, a triple falling headlong.

The Senate hauing them in suspition, did chuse *Lucius Bibulus* the other Consul, to withstande *Cæsar*, and they straighte fell to contention, and made priuate preparation of armour one againste another.

Cæsar deceyueth his fellowe Bibulus.

Cæsar was a deepe dissembler, & in the Senate house vsed speaches of reconciliation wyth *Bibulus*, that by their dissention, the cõmon wealth might take no scathe. Hee giuing credite to this pretence, being vnaduised and vnprepared, and ignorant of *Cæsars* meaning, founde that hee hadde made greate prouision in secreate, and deuised lawes for the powre agaynste the Senate, diuidyng landes vnto them: the beste that was aboute *Capua*, he appointed as of the common treasure, to be bestowed vppon them that had bin fathers of three children, and by thys meane he wan the harts of the multitude. For twenty thousande were accompted only to take the benefite of three children.

Many of the Senate were againste this purpose. Wherfore *Cæsar* with a fained anger that they would not admitte so iuste a thing, ran oute, and would not call the Senate togither al the yeare after. But in the common place hee woulde speake to the people, and enquired of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, how they liked of the lawes, who giuing their consente, he willed the people to come to the approbation of them, with their weapons hid.

The Senate in Bibulus house.

The Senate (bycause it was not lawfull to assemble, vnlesse both Consuls were present) went to *Bibulus* house, bycause they had not foreseene to make resistãce to *Cæsar*, & exhorted *Bibulus* to withstande the lawes, that it might not seeme hee was ouer-ruled by negligence, but of necessitie. *Bibulus* was persuaded, and wente into the Common place, whiles *Cæsar* was yet speaking to the people. Then was there much strife and disorder, and some hurte, for they wyth theyr weapons, brake the roddes and maces of *Bibulus*, and wounded the Tribunes that were about hym.

A tumulte by Cæsar.

Bibulus not abashed, offred his throat, and wyth a loude voice, called *Cæsars* rowte to ẏ deede, saying: If I cannot persuade *Cæ-*

sar

far to Iustice by my death, I throwe vppon hym all thys blame and mischiefe. Notwythstandyng, hys friendes, thoughe against hys will, conueyed hym into the nexte Temple of *Iupiter* possessour.

Cato was sente for, and lyke a young man, thruste in among them, and beganne to speake: but being ouerpreste with *Cæsars* men, he was putte out againe: yet priuily comming in another way, he ranne vppe to the place of speache, and determining to speake nothing elfe, he sharpely cried out againste *Cæsar*, till hee was pulled downe.

Then *Cæsar* pronounced the lawes, and caused the people to sweare vnto them, as euer to continue in effect. He cõmaunded the Senat to sweare also. Whereof manye, and *Cato* not agreeing, *Cæsar* threatned death vnlesse they sware, and the people confirmed it, so that for feare they sware, and so did the Tribunes also, bycause it anailed no more to resist, the lawe being pronoũced by other.

The lawe confirmed by an othe.

Vetius, a manne of the common sorte, came running among them with a naked sworde, saying he was sent of *Bibulus*, *Cicero* & *Cato*, to kill *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and that the sworde was delyuered hym of *Posthumius* one of *Bibulus* Sargeants. And although euerye man suspected this deuise, yet *Cæsar* stirred the people, and appointed the nexte daye to examine *Vetius*. He was cõmitted to prison, and was deade that nighte.

Thys chaunce also being diuerfly construed, *Cæsar* didde not omitte to worke it for hys purpose, affirmyng, that they that were afraide, had done it. Whereupon, the people did graunte reuenge to be had of his enimies.

Vetius deade.

Then *Bibulus* lettyng all goe oute of hys handes, as a priuate manne, came not oute of his house all the reste of the yeare of hys office. Nowe *Cæsar* made no more inquisition of *Vetius*, but hauing all the power of the common wealth alone, made more lawes to allure the people, and to confyrme all that *Pompey* hadde done, accordyng to his promyse.

Bibulus gyueth ouer.

There

There were that had the name of Gentlemen in the citie, and were in the midde place betweene the Senate and the people. These men might do much, both for their own substance, & for ỹ gathering of tributes & tolles, which the people did pay, wherof a number attended vppon them moste assuredly. They made suit to the Senate to be discharged of parte of the rent. The Senate mede some sticking at it, but *Cæsar* not regarding that, only vsing the people, did remitte the thirde parte of the rent vnto them.

They hauing beyond their expectation obtayned suche benefite by hys gwdnesse, did extoll hym like a God, and so *Cæsar* by one deuise, had another companie stronger vnto hym than the people was. Then *Cæsar* made shewes and huntings vnto them, spẽding vpon euery thing more than he was able, exceeding all ỹ had bin before tyme in sumptuous preparation, & bountifull rewardes. Wherfore they made him ruler of *France*, bothe on thys side and beyonde the Alpes for fyue yeares, and for his office he had foure legions appointed.

Cæsars shewes passing.

Made ruler of Fraunce.

Ye considering that his absence should be long, and that enuy would be greater than the greatest fauour, bestowed his daughter in mariage vpon *Pompey*, although *Scipio* were yet aliue, fearing that *Põpey* (though he were his friend) might enuy the greatnesse of his felicitie: he made the moste seditious men officers for the nert yere, & *Aulus Gabinius* he declared Consull, who was his chiefe friend, and marryed *Calphurnia* daughter to *Lucius Piso*, that should be Consull with him.

Cæsar gyueth his daughter in marriage to *Pompey*.

Cæsar maketh allure.

Cato crying oute, that rule was rated by makyng of wanton mariages: Tribunes he appointed *Vacinius* and *Clodius* called the Faire, who was fowly diffamed for a suspition wyth *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife, in the sacrifice that belonged onelye to women.

Clodius suspected vvith *Cæsars* vvife.

For the whiche, although *Cæsar* didde putte awaye hys wife, yet he made nothing adoe with hym, bycause he was accepted to the people: yet other did accuse hym for disparaging the holye sacrifice, and *Cicero* did speake against hym. *Cæsar* was called to gyue witnesse, but he said nothing, and rather made hym Tribune of the people to entrap *Cicero*, who spake againste the alliaunce of the thrée men, as a thing tending to tyranny.

Cicero against *Clodie*.

Thus

Thus did griefe giue place to gaine, and one ennimie benefited, that another might bee hindred: and it shoulde seeme that *Clodius* had gratifyed *Cæsar* before in the getting of hys office in Fraunce. These thinges didde *Cæsar*, beyng Consull, and when hee hadde gyuen ouer one office, hee strayghte coueted another:

Clodius accused *Cicero*, that hée hadde contrarie to lawe putte to death *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* before the Senate had giuen sentence: *Cicero* that in that matter had vsed moste noble courage, nowe being called to answere, was verye fainte harted. Hee put on a mourning vesture, and ful of weéping and sorrowe, he humbled himselfe to all that he met in the streates, not beeing ashamed to trouble them, whom he neuer knew, so that his behauior was so vnséemely, ẏ they which should haue pitied him, laughed him to scorne: to so great fearfulnesse for one cause of his owne was he fallen, ẏ all his life had done most gloriously for others, euen (as they say) *Demosthenes* of *Athẽs*, was not able to answere in his own cause, but before he was condẽned, fled away. *Clodius*, with spite did mock his lowlinesse to mẽ abroad, whereby being brought to desperatiõ, he also toke a volũtary banishmẽt, many of his friends going forth with him, and the Senate recommending him to Cities, Kings, & Princes. *Clodius* pulled downe hys houses both in the Citie and Country, & pleased hymself so well with thys act, as he would néeds compare with *Pompey*, who had then the greatest auctoritie in the Citie. Wherfore he called *Milo* that was fellow to *Clodie*, and a bolder man than hee, putting hym in hope of the Consulship, to be against his fellow, and to make a decrée for *Ciceros* returne, supposing that *Cicero* woulde nowe deale with matters and actions against *Clodie*, & no more busy hymself in speaking against the présente auctoritie.

Cicero accused by *Clody*.

Demosthenes.

Clodius pulleth downe *Ciceroes* houses.

Thus *Cicero* that by *Pompey* was caste oute, by the same was called home the sixteenth moneth after his banishment, and hys house & fermes were builded of the common coste. He was receyued with great glory, euerye man wayting for hym at the gate, spending one whole daye in embracements and welcoms, euen as hapned to *Demosthenes* at his returne from exile.

Cicero restored.

In this meane tyme, *Cæsar* had done greate feates among the Frenchmen and Britains, as I haue shewed in my booke of the Frenche matters; and being full of riches, he came to that part of Fraunce that confineth with Italy at the floude *Eridanus*, to recreate his army a while after their continuall warfare. From whence, he sent to diuerse men, greate summes of money. The yearely officers by turne came to visite hym, and so did the Presidents of Prouinces, the Generals of armies, and other noble men, so as sometime there were a hundred and twenty Maces about hym, and more than two hundred Senatours, some, to thanke him for their offices, some, to seeke money, and some for one thing, and some for another. For nowe he toke vppon hym all thynges by the greatnesse of hys armye, the abundaunce of riches, and by friendeship, that he had wonne of al sortes.

Cæsar commeth to *Lumbardy*.

Resorte to *Cæsar*.

Both *Pompey* and *Crassus*, fellowes of his power, came to him. They agreede that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should be Consulls againe, and that *Cæsar* shoulde haue the rule of the nations he had, for other fiue yeares, and so they departed.

Domitius Aenobarbus stode agaynste *Pompey* for the Consulship, and when the day was come, bothe came in the night into the fielde to the election. And such was the strife, as it came to stripes, till one with a swoorde stroke hym that bare *Aenobarbus* torch, and then euery man fled from hym. He had much adoe to be conueyed home in safety: *Pompeys* gowne was found bloudy and borne home: So nigh peril were both parts. Thus *Pompeyus* and *Crassus* being chosen Consulles, they decreede to *Cæsar*, other fiue yeres, as they had determined, the Prouinces and armies they diuided betwen them. *Pompey* toke *Spaine* and *Barbarie*, to the which he sent his friends, and he remained in *Rome*. *Crassus* chose *Syria*, and the nations nert vnto it, for desire he had to make war vpon the *Parthians*, which he thoughte would be bothe easie and profitable, & to his renowme. But as before he wēt out of the citie, al tokens seemed vnlucky, so the Tribunes did forbid hym to moleste the Parthians, that had made no fault. And because hee woulde not regarde, they made publique execration vpon hym, whiche he contemning, was in the same warre, with hys sonne

Domitius Aenobarbus.

A fray at the Election.

Diuision of Prouinces

of that name destroyed, and scarcely x. M. of an. C. M. did escape by flight into *Syria*. But this calamitie of *Crassus* is declared in the booke of the *Parthian* warres. The Romaines being molested with dearth, made *Pompey* General Prouider of victuals, and as they were wont in Pyrats war, ioyned xv. Senators with hym as assistants vnto him. He sent them to euery country, and made suche spéede, as *Rome* was by & by fulfilled with plentye of victuall, whereby he grew into greater glory and auctoritie, than he was before. At this time *Cæsars* daughter that was marryed to *Pompey*, dyed, wherfore euery man was afraide that this affinity being broken, they two would contende with greate force. The state of the citie was in trouble and disorder, for the rulers did al for gaine and ambition, & with force & weapons moued sedition. They were not ashamed of briberie nor corruption so they might be made rich. The people woulde not giue their voyces, vnlesse they were hyred. There was séene. viij. C. tallents putte in pawne for the nomination to an office. The yearely Consuls were reiect from armies and prouinces, being taken away by ỹ power of these thrée men. They that were of worst behauiour, sought their gaine by armies and publike matters of the Citie, & by the electiõs of their priuate successors, by reason wherof the honest sort did vtterly leaue to rule, insomuche as in this disorder, the Citie was. viij. moneths without a Magistrate. *Pompey* of purpose did winke at all this geare, that the necessitie of tyme might make hym a ruler alone: and now it was spoken in euery place, that the only remedy to these mischiefs, was the auctority of one, whom it behoued to chose, being mighty of power, and gentle of nature, signifying that *Pompey* had a sufficient army, & counted a louer of the people, & for his honor, did leade ỹ Senat, in lyke sober and sincere, and in conuersation affable, either in déede, or apparaunce. He in worde séemed to bée angrye at this expectation, but in effect he wrought it secreatelye all that euer he coulde, and willingly loked awry at the disorder of the common wealth, and the lacke of officers in the same confusion. And whereas ỹ *Milo* did serue his tourne against *Clodie*, and was well beloued of the people, for the returne of *Cicero*, loked for the

The calamitie of *Crassus*.

The death of *Cæsars* daughter.

Rome disordered.

Fyrst three men.

Rome eighte Moneths vvithout a Magistrate. Dictator.

Milo deceyued by *Pompey*.

Consulship, at due time required for that office, he did keepe hym backe, by delaying the election. Wherefore *Milo* taking it vnkindly, that hee shoulde finde *Pompey* vnfaithfull, wente into the Countrey to *Lauinio*, which Citie they saye *Aeneas* comming from *Troy*, did first builde in *Italy*, being from *Rome* aboute eighteene myles. *Clodie* came ryding from hys house, and met hym at *Bouille*, and passed the one by the other, onely in countenance shewing their enmitie. A seruaunte of *Milos* ranne to *Clodie*, (whither beyng commaunded, or to dispatch his maysters enimye,) and stroke hym with his swoorde on the hinder part of the heade. *Clodie* beyng wounded and full of bloude, hys horse-keeper caried hym to the nerte Inne. *Milo* stayed with his seruants, and comming vnto hym betweene breathing and dying, dispatched hym, pretending that neyther he desired, nor deuised thys murder, but being sure he shoulde alwayes bee in daunger, hee purposed not to leaue the thing vnperfect.

The Authour nameth *Dionedes*.

Clodie killed.

The manner of *Milo* at the deathe of *Clodie*.

This chaunce being tolde at *Rome*, the people were displeased, and watched all night in the common place. Some broughte *Clodies* body the nexte day and laide it in the Palaice: the which certayne Tribunes, friendes to *Clodie*, accompanied wyth the multitude, toke away, and bare it to the Senate, eyther for honor, bycause hee was of that order, or for reproch to them for suffering such vnlawful factes.

Clodies bodye is brought to *Rome*.

The rasher sort of this route brake down ỹ seates & chaires of the Senate house, and made a fire, with the whiche the Senate house and many other nighe, did burne at *Clodies* funerall. *Milo* was so lustie, that he was not so muche afraide for the feate done, as hee was angry that suche honor of buriall shoulde be shewed to *Clody*. He gathered a number of seruants & cuntrymen, he sent mony to the people, & corrupted *Marcus Cecilius*, one of the Tribunes, and with a bold courage came to *Rome*. *Cecilius* straight receiued him at his cõming, & brought him to the cõmon place among thẽ that had taken mony, as to an assembly. He pretended to be sory, that any delay should be had in iudgement, trusting that if he myght by these that were present, be acquitte, he should auoid the sharper sentence. He shewed he did not minde

Clodies funeral set the Senate house on fire.

M. Cecilius.

Milo purgeth himselfe

the

the matter, (for he would not haue brought his wife and family to such a feate) he spent the rest of the time against *Clodie*, as an impudent man, whose friendes as impudent as he, had burnt the Senate house for his sake. Whyles he was thus talking, ỳ other Tribunes and the multitude slenderly armed, rushed into the common place. *Cecilius* and *Milo*, in seruauntes clothing fled away: much murder was committed vpon the other, not asking who were *Milos* friendes, but without respect killed both Citizen and straunger, and chiefly them that differed from the rest, eyther in gay garments, or golde Rings: for in such a disordered state, tumulte growing by rage of this pretence, the moste parte beyng seruauntes and armed, against the other not armed, they fel to spoyle, they left nothing vndone, they entred houses, they ranne about to see in deede what they might easily catch, and in word to seeke out *Milos* friendes: and *Milo* was their pretence many dayes, to doe all mischiefe with fire and force.

Mylo fleeth.

His friends killed.

Great hurt done in Rome.

The name of *Milo*, pretence of mischiefe.

The Senate for feare assembled, and were bent vpon *Pompei*, whom some would haue had Dictator by and by, bycause the present time apeared to haue néed of that remedy: but by *Catos* perswasion, they chose him Consull without a felowe, that he should haue the authoritye of Dictator by ruling alone, and yet be answerable bicause he was but Consul. He was ỳ first Consul that had two great prouinces with armye and money, and the Monarchie of the Citie, being Consull alone: *Cato* was appointed by decrée to go into *Ciprus*, that he shoulde not trouble *Pompey* at home, and to put *Ptolomie* out of his kingdome, by a former lawe made by *Clodie*: who being once taken with Pyrates, *Ptolomie* for nigardise, sent him two talents for his ransome. *Ptolomie* when he heard of thys decrée, threw his money into the sea, and kylled hymselfe. *Cato* set the Country in order.

By *Catos* persuasion, *Pompey* Cõsull alone.

Pompey did giue punishments for many offences, and specially for bribery & corruption: for he thought ỳ all common infection of the Citie rose of thys, and therefore had néede of present medicine. He also decreed, that any man that would, might cal men to account from his first Consulship to this time, and that was about twentie yeares, in the which *Cæsar* was Consul. *Cæsars*

Pompeys lawes against briberie.

friendes suspecting this to be done in despite or calumniation of him that so long a time was comprehended, exhorted him to deale with present matters, rather than to looke backwarde and trouble men that were honorable. And among other naming *Cæsar*, he was offended, as one voide of all suspition, and so appoynted the time from his seconde Consulship: he saide it was very necessarie so to begin, to make a perfite redresse of the common, almost wasted with euill men: which when he had saide, he pronounced the lawe, whereof followed by and by a number of sundry actions: and that the iudges shoulde not be afrayde, he with an army euersawe their doynges. Firste, being absente, *Milo* was condemned for *Clodius* death, and *Gabinius*, of disobedience and mischiefe, for going into *Egipt* with an army without decrée, the bookes of *Sybill* forbiddyng it. *Memmius*, *Hipseus*, *Sextuis*, & many other were condēned, eyther of bribery or corrupting the people. *Scaurus* was called by *Pompey* to make answere, notwithstanding ỳ the people did intreate for him. And when the second time the people did resist his accusers, a violence was made by *Pompeis* souldiours, wherby the people ceassed, & *Scaurus* was also banished, & al their eriles recorded, & *Gabinius* was confiscate after his banishment. The Senate giuing open prayse to *Pompey* appoynted twe legions more vnto him, & continuãce in his prouinces. *Memmius* being condemned of briberie, and *Pompeius* lawe giuing release to them that accused an other, he called *L. Scipio* father in lawe to *Pompey*, into the like iudgement of corruption. Wherefore *Pompey* putting on the garment of the condemned sort, many of the iudges did the like: but *Memmius* in contempt of the state, gaue ouer ỳ accusation. Then *Pompey*, hauing as it were, made that direction that belonged to his Monarchie, toke *Scipio* for his felowe the rest of the yeare: and after hym, though others were receiued into office, neuertheless he ouerloked & ruled all, and then was all in all in *Rome*. For the good wil of the Senate was much enclined to him in despite of *Cæsar*, who in his Consulship seking his priuate pleasure, seemed to make none accompt of thē: and for that *Pompey* had quickly

Lavv of accoñt

Condemnation of Milo, &c. Calidius, Memmius, Hipseus, Sextius, condemned.

Scaurus banished.

Pompeys father in lavv accused.

Pompey putteth on mourning vveede.

Pompey taketh a felovve.

Senate estemeth Pompey.

reco-

recouered the ſicke cõmon wealth, without moleſting or hin-
dring any man, further than his office. But the baniſhed men fledde ſtill to *Cæſar*, and bad him beware of *Pompey*, and that his law of corruption, was moſt made againſt him. *Cæſar* did com-
forte them, and yet ſayde well of *Pompey*. He only laboured the Tribunes to make a lawe, that it might be lawfull for *Cæſar* to aſke the ſeconde Conſulſhip in hys abſence: the which, *Pom-
pey* beyng yet in office and not reſiſtyng, was graunted, yet vnderſtandyng that the Senate did worke againſt him, & fea-
ryng that his enemies would make him a priuate man, he de-
uiſed to kéepe his ſtrength ſtill, till he ſhoulo be declared Con-
ſul, and requeſted of the Senate a little longer tyme for hys office in *Fraunce*, or at the leaſt for parte of it. But *Marcellus* that was Conſull after *Pompey*, was agaynſt it, the whiche when it was tolde *Cæſar*, he layde hys hande vpon the hilte of his ſworde (as they ſay) and anſweared, *Then thu ſhall gyue it me*. He buylded newe *Como* nighe vnto the *Alpes*, with the priuiledges of *Italie*, whiche is, that ſo many as be officers a yéere, ſhall be Cittizens of *Rome*, whiche was a greate prero-
gatiue to *Italie*.

Baniſhed men flye to *Cæſar*.

Marcellus.

Anſvvere of *Cæſar*.

One of newe *Como*, that had thus borne office, and thereby thought to be frée at *Rome*, *Marcellus* in deſpight of *Cæſar* did beate with roddes, whiche the *Romaines* doe not ſuffer for no cauſe: and in rage he bewraying his harte, bad him take this token of hoſpitalitie and goe ſhewe it to *Cæſar*. This ſpight vſed *Marcellus*, and perſwaded to ſende ſucceſſours to his pro-
uinces before the time expyred. But *Pompey* was agaynſt that, vnder a ſhewe of conueniencie and benevolence: that it was not méete that ſo noble a man, ſo many wayes profita-
ble to hys Countrey, ſhoulde be thus maligned for ſo ſhorte a tyme, and decréed, that with the tyme, *Cæſar* ſhoulde gyue ouer hys rule: After this, *Cæſars* chiefe enimies were cho-
ſen Conſuls *Aemilius Paulus* and *Calidius Marcellus* couſin to the former *Marcellus*. *Curio* an other greate enimie of *Cæ-
ſar* was elected Tribune, well beloued of the people & a great ſpeaker.

Diſpight of *Marcellus*.

Marcellus.

Pompey preten-
deth regarde to *Cæſar*.

Paulus and *Curio* vvon by money.

Cæſar

Cæsar coulde not winne *Claudius* for no money, but *Paulus* he made hys friende with an hundered and fiftye talentes, that he shoulde neyther doe wyth hym nor against hym: it coste him more to win *Curio* bycause he was so muche in debt. Wyth this money, *Paulus* builded a publique place, called *Paulus* Palaice, one of the fayre workes of Rome. *Curio*, that he shoulde not be discouered by change of the sodaine, required the office of making and pauing of many and long high wayes, and to be ouerseer of the same fiue yeares togither, knowing he should obtaine none of these, and trusting that *Pompeys* friends would speake against him, & so haue some pretence against *Pompey*, which things coming to passe indeed as he thought, he had an occasion of offece. *Claudius* propounded to send successours to *Cæsars* prouinces, for the time was now at hand. *Paulus* said nothing. *Curio* seeming to differ fro both, praised *Claudius* opinion, & as agreeing to it, said it was meete that *Pompey* shoulde giue ouer both prouince and armye as well as *Cæsar*, for so should the state of the Citie bee cleare and out of feare on bothe sides. Many being against this, as not right, bicause *Pompeys* time was not yet expired, *Curio* the shewed himselfe plainely and sharply, that it was not reason to sende successours to *Cæsar*, vnlesse *Pompey* did giue ouer: for being suspitious the one of the other, the Citie shoulde neuer haue sure peace vnlesse all men were priuate. Thus he spake, bicause he knewe that *Pompey* would not leaue his power, and bycause he saw them offended with him for hys iudgementes of corruption.

Curio seketh a quarel.

Caldius Claudius. Question for *Cæsar* propoũded

Thys opinion beyng honest, the people praysed *Curio*, as the only man that for the common weale, cared for neyther of their displeasure: and they brought him home, casting floures, as vpon a champion of a great and difficult cause. For at that tyme nothyng seemed more daungerous, than to dissent from *Pompey*, who passing about *Italy* somewhat sickely, subtillye sente vnto the Senate, praysing *Cæsars* actes, and rehearsing his owne fro the beginning, and that the thirde Consulshippe being giuen hym, and prouinces with an army accordingly, he did not seeke it, but was called to it, beyng thought meete for the redresse of the

The people prayseth *Curio*.

Pompey to the Senate.

the

the common wealth, and that I (quoth he) receiued vnwillingly, I doe willingly giue ouer to them that will haue it, before my time prefixed. The manner of this writing wrought a good lyking to *Pompey*, and a misliking to *Cæsar*, that woulde not giue ouer when his time was ended. When *Pompey* was come to the Citie, he spake as muche in effect, and then promised to giue it ouer, and as a friend and wellwiller to *Cæsar*, toke in hand that hee also would leaue with glad mind. For now being in yeares, and hauing taken greate paines in the armies againste most fierce nations, and wonne great honor to his Countrey, he would seeke rest, with the offices and sacrifices of the Citie. Thus he spake, that successours might be straight sent to *Cæsar*, and he standing vpon his promise only. But *Curio* correcting his sutteltie, sayd, it was not ynough to promise, but to giue ouer in deede, nor that *Cæsar* shoulde be put from his armye, before he were in priuate state, neyther shoulde it be commodious for him to mainteyne priuate enmitie, neyther for the *Romaines*, that suche a power shoulde be with one, rather than with the other, that if eyther of them woulde hurt the Citie, the other shoulde haue to resist: and nowe holding in no longer, he openly reprowed *Pompey*, as a seeker of tyrannie, and if it were not nowe, that he gaue ouer hys army for feare of *Cæsar*, he would not giue it ouer at all, therfore he thought good, that if they disobeyed, they should both be declared enimies, and an army gathered againste them: & by this talke he couered, that he was corrupted by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* being greeued, and threatning, went angerly away into the suburbes. The Senate now had them both suspected, but thought *Pompey* the more tractable. *Cæsar* they misliked, bycause of their suspition in his Consulship, and therefore did not thinke it safe to dissolue *Pompeys* power, vnlesse *Cæsar* did resigne, being abroade, and of a more aspiring mind: but *Curio* was againste it, and that it was expedient, that after *Pompey*, *Cæsar* also should giue ouer all, which, when he could not obteyne, he brake vp the counsell, leauyng all vnperfite, for so might a Tribune do. Wherfore *Pompey* repented him that he had restored the Tribuneship to the auntient power, which *Sylla* had made very slender. Only this was decreed at their

Curio againste *Pompey*.

Pompey departeth angry.

Senate better liketh of *Pompey*.

The authoritie of a Tribune.

departure, that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* shoulde be sente into *Siria* to kéepe the Countrey, bycause of *Crassus* misfortune. And *Pompey* vsing policie, required his legion againe, that he had lente *Cæsar*, after the losse of *Titurius* and *Cotta* hys Captaynes.

Cæsar rewardeth *Pompeys* Legion.

Cotta and *Titurius* slayne in *France*.

Cæsar gaue euery man two hundred Drammes, and sent them to *Rome*, and with them sente another of hys owne, but béeyng vnderstanded ý there was no danger in *Syria*, they went to winter at *Capua*. They that were sente of *Pompey* for them to *Cæsar*, tolde many hard tales againste *Cæsar*, and made *Pompey* beléeue, that *Cæsars* army being wasted with wéerinesse, and long payne, was desirous to come home, and when they were come on thys syde the *Alpes*, they would reuolte to *Pompey*. Thus they talked eyther of ignorance, or being corrupted, but euery man was sure to *Cæsar* in promptnesse and painefulnesse, both for the continuance of seruice for the gaynes that grewe by victories in the warre, and for the greate liberalitie of *Cæsar* himselfe, for hée gaue them freely to serue as he would haue them, which they all knowing, did likewise abide it.

A Dramme vvas a coyne, of the valeyv of tvvo Grotes.

Tales of *Cæsars* Army.

The Souldyers of *Cæsar* sure vnto him.

Pompey giuing credite to these tales, neyther gathered armye, nor prouided for so greate a businesse. The Senate did requyre euery mans opinion. *Claudius* craftely propounded, and dyd aske distoyntly, whether they woulde sende successors to *Cæsar*, and whether they would *Pompeys* power shoulde be taken from him. To this many made denyall, but to *Cæsar* they decréed successors. *Curio* asking agayne if they would haue both leaue their powers, yrij. denyed it, but CCClxx. leauyng contention for commoditie, enclined to *Curios* sentence: then did *Claudius* dismisse the counsell, crying, *VVinne you, that will haue Cæsar your Lord.*

Consultation for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

A rumor being rayled, that *Cæsar* suddaynely was past the *Alpes*, and commyng to the Citie, there was greate feare and tumulte of all sydes. *Claudius* commaunded the armye at *Capua* to be sente againste *Cæsar*, as an enimy, and when as *Curio* reproued it as a lye, *Claudius* sayde, If I may not followe that is fytte by common decrée of my selfe as Consull, I will doe it. And when he had sayde thus, he ranne out of the Senate house into the suburbes with his fellow, and offered a Swoorde to *Pompey*:

Contention in the Senate.

Claudius giueth a sword to *Pompey*.

pey: Euen I (quoth he) and this man, commaunded thée to goe against *Cæsar* for thy Countrey, and we giue thée, eyther the army that is nowe at *Capua*, or any other that is in *Italie*, and that thou mayest gather togither what thou wilte. He obeyed, as commaunded of the Consuls, onely adding, *vnlesse somewhat maye be better*, dissembling, or euen then pretending a shewe of honestie. *Curio* now had no more authoritie ouer the Citie, for it was not lawfull for the Tribunes to goe out of the walles, yet hée complayned to the people of these doings, and required the Consuls to proclayme, that no man should obey *Pompey* in gathering of men: but not preuayling, and the time of his Tribuneshyppe drawing to an ende, being afrayde of himselfe, and doubting to be no more able to help *Cæsar*, with diligence went vnto him, who had nowe sayled the Oceane Sea from Brittayne, and passed from the French, that be nére the floud *Rhene*, to the Mountaines of the *Alpes*, with fiue thousande footemen, and thrée hundred Horsemē. He came down to *Rauenna*, which was cō fine to *Italy*, and the end of his prouince, receiuing *Curio* with great curtesie, and thanking him for his trauayles, he consulted with him of the present state. *Curio* thought good to sende for all his army, and to march to *Rome*. *Cæsar* thought it better yet to treate of reconciliation, and willed his friends to compound for him, that giuing ouer all other prouinces and armies, he might onely reteyne two legions, and *Illiria* with *France* within the *Alpes*, till he were declared Consull. *Pompey* thought it sufficient, but bycause the Cōsuls did resist it, he wrote to the Senate, and *Curio* running in thrée dayes thrée thousande and thrée hundred furlongs, he gaue the letter to the newe Consuls, entryng the Senate house the fyrste daye of the newe yeare. It dyd conteyne a solemne rehearsall of all *Cæsars* doyngs from the begynnyng, and a protestation to leaue hys armye, if *Pompey* dyd the lyke, and béeyng yet in authoritie, if *Pompey* woulde not gyue vppe, no more woulde he, but forthwith come to reuenge hys Countrey, and wyth spéede to séeke for hymselfe, at the whyche, euerye man cryed out, and that *Lucius Domitius* shoulde bée hys successour, as in a warre proclaymed. *Domitius* went on with foure M.

Pompey receyueth the swword vvith a condition.

Cæsar out of Brittayne.

Rhene deuided *France* and Germany.

The old diuision of *Italy* vvas at *Rauenna*, and the floude *Rubicon*, and thereaboute.

Request of *Cæsar*.

After this accompt, it should be three hundred myles.

Cæsars letters to the Senate.

L. Domitius.

Determination against *Cæsar*. *Antonius*, *Cassius*, Tribunes.

lately gathered. *Antonius* and *Cassius* being Tribunes after *Curio*, and liking well of his determination, the Senate the more earnestly did affirme the army of *Pompey* to be their saftie, and *Cæsars*, their destruction. And *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* the Consuls, commaunded *Antony* and *Cassius*, to go from the assemblie, least by vsing the office of Tribunes, they might happily haue some displeasure. Then *Antonie* cryed aloude, and ranne frō his seate in a rage, and lamēted ẏ they should deface the office sacred, and a Sanctuary, and reiect them with a despighte, that had gyuen their counsell for the common weale, not hauing committed any offence or crime against any man. This being sayde, he lept out as a man by inspiration, foretelling warres, murders, attendures, banishments, spoyles, and all other mischiefe to come vpon them, protesting greate execrations to them that were the cause of it. *Curio* and *Cassius* went out with him, for now parte of *Pompeys* army was seene to come, and besette the Senate house. They by and by, secretely in ẏ night, putting on seruants apparell, went to *Cæsar* in an hired wagon. *Cæsar* shewed them as soone as they were come vnto the army, in that apparell, and to stirre them the more, said, these men for doing well, are made enimies, and being persons of suche degree, speaking somewhat for them, were thus villanously banished. Nowe was the warre open on both sides, and proclaymed euidently. The Senate thinking that *Cæsar* would not suddainely come with his army frō the Frēch, and that he woulde not enterprise so great a feate with so fewe, appointed to *Pompey* to gather a great number of *Thessalians*, old practised Souldiers in the warre, and to take vp new, of the nigh nations that were fitte to serue. All the common treasure they decreed to him for this warre, offering also their priuate substance if neede were, to be ready for this seruice: and they sent to the Cities for moe, with great haste and behemencie, leauing nothing vndone, that might be with speedy consideration. *Cæsar* sending for his owne army, putting more confidence in amazing his enimies with suddaine approche and terror of boldnesse, than in mighty preparation. With fiue thousande began he this greate warre, which he sent to take the cōmodious places of *Italy*. And

Antonie lamenteth.

Antonie propheacieth.

Cæsar shewveth the Tribunes to his army.

Preparation for *Pompey* againste *Cæsar*.

Thessalia vvas a Countrey of *Grecia*.

Speedinesse of *Cæsar*.

Cæsars manner in vvarre.

certaine

certayne of his Captaynes, accompanyed with the boldest sorte, in peaceable manner, he willed to goe to *Arimeno*, and of the suddaine, to surprise the Citie, whiche is the firste of *Italy* out of *France*. He in the euening, as though he had not bin well, wente from the Table, leauing his friendes sitting still, and takyng a Coach, he ranne to *Arimeno*, his Horsemen followyng a certaine distãce off. And postyng thus as farre as the floud *Rubicon*, which deuideth *Italie*, he stayed his course, and beheelde the Riuer. He deepely wayeng in his mind all the mischiefe that might followe, if he passed the water in armes, turned to his friends, and sayde, The refraynyng from this passage, shall be the beginnyng of troubles to my selfe, but the going on with it, shall vexe all the world. When he had thus said, as a man rapte with a furie, hée slong ouer, speaking the common word, *The Die is cast*. Then he hasted to *Arimeno*, and toke it earely in the morning, and so wẽt forward, leauing garrison in conuenient places, and the other by the way he wanne, eyther by violence, or by gentlenesse. There was fléeing and renning away from euery place with muche feare, and remouing without reason, and lamente, not yet knowing what the truth was, supposing that *Cæsar* was come to inuade with all his might and power. Which when the Consuls heard, not suffering *Pompey* to take the stayed way of warre according to his skilfulnesse in the same, forced him to goe about *Italie*, and make men, as the Citie should by and by haue bin taken. The other Senatoures hearing of *Cæsars* suddaine approche beyonde all opinion, were afraide, byeause they were not yet prepared, and with griefe repented they had not accepted *Cæsars* offers, which then they thoughte reasonable. Many Monsters, and tokens from heauen did afray them. God sente downe rayne of bloud, Images did sweate, lightnings fell vpon manye Temples, a Mule broughte forthe, many other fearefull tokens did foreshew the ouerthrow and mutation of the common state. Supplications were commaunded, as in common calamities. The people remembryng the times of *Silla* and *Marius*, cryed out, that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* should giue ouer their powers, as the only way to reaffe warre. *Cicero* sent to *Cæsar* for reconciliation, but

Then *France* extended to *Arimino*, vvhich is nowe in that part of *Italy* that is called *Romagna*, one of the 18. Colonies, that ayded the *Romanes* against *Amiball*.

Rubicon deuideth *Italy*, ouer the vvhich he that passed in armes, vvas a Rebell.

Cæsar stayd at the Riuer of *Rubicon*.

The saying of *Cæsar*.

Cæsar entreth *Italy*.

Cæsar taketh *Arimeno*.

Feare of *Cæsar*.

The Consuls suffer not *Pompey* to take the right course of vvarre.

Tokens.

Fauonius. the Consuls were againste euery thing, and *Fauonius* iested at *Pompey* for a word he once spake, that at his call he woulde strike the earth with his foote, and fetche forthe an army. You shall haue it (quoth he) if you will followe me, and thinke it no griefe to leaue *Rome*, and after *Rome*, *Italie* to, if nede be: for places and houses be not strength and libertie, but men (whersoeuer they be) beare these with them, and when you haue reuenged youre selues, you shall haue houses ynough. This spake *Pompey*, as it were threatning them that would tarry and sticke to leaue their lands for the loue of their Countrey. And streyght hee wente out of the Senate house and Citie to, and toke hys iourney to *Capua* to the armye there, and the Consuls followed him. Other tarried wyth greate doubte, and kepte that nyghte togyther in the Senate house, but when daye was come, the most parte went out, and followed *Pompey*.

Pompey to the Senators.

Pompey forsaketh Rome.

Corfinio is nowe Pentinia.

Cæsar followed *Domitius* at *Corfinio*, who was sent to be his successoure, hauyng not aboue foure thousande, and besieged him. And they of the Citie, perceyuing that *Domitius* woulde flee away, kepte the gates, and toke hym, and broughte him to *Cæsar*. He curteously receyued the army, yeldyng vnto hym, that other myghte bee encouraged to the same, and suffered *Domitius* vntouched, wyth all hys money and substance, to goe where he would, thynkyng for that gentlenesse he woulde haue tarryed wyth hym, and was not againste hym to goe to *Pompey*.

Cæsar taketh *Domitius*, and giueth him leaue to goe where he list.

These thyngs beeyng thus done of the suddayne, *Pompey* wente from *Capua* to *Brunduse*, to passe the *Ionian* Seas to *Epirus*, to make hys prouision for warre there: he wrote to all nations, Lieutenants, Princes, Kyngs, and Cities, euerye one with all the speede they coulde, to contribute to thys warre. These were dispatched with speede.

Nowe *Albania*.

Pompeys owne army was in *Spaine*, beeyng ready for the march when occasion shoulde call them.

Of the Legions that *Pompey* had himselfe, he deliuered to the Consuls, to leade from *Brunduse* to *Epirus*, and they streyght sayled safe to *Dirrachium*, whiche Towne some men, of this ignorance, thynketh to be *Epidamnus*. A *Barbarian* Kyng called *Epi-*

Durazzo described. This is not in the Italian.

damnus

damnus buylded a Citie at this Sea, and of hi nſelfe called it *Epidamnus*: hys nephewe by hys daughter, ſuppoſed to bée *Neptunes* ſonne, buylded a porte to that Citie, and called it *Dirrachium*. The bréethren of *Dirrachos* made warre vpon him, and *Hercules* comming from the Ile *Erithea*, ioyned with him for parte of the lande, wherevppon the *Dirrachians*, as copertioner of theyr Countrey, accompte hym the founder of it, not denying *Dirrachos*, but more deſirous of *Hercules*, bycauſe he was a God. *Hercules*. *Erythea* now *Cales*.

They ſaye further, that in thys fyghte, *Ionius*, ſonne to *Dirrachos*, was ſlayne of *Hercules* by chance, and that *Hercules* buryed hys body, and threwe it into the Sea, that it myghte beare the name of him. In proceſſe of time, certaine *Phrigians* gote the Citie and Countrey, and after them, a people of *Illiria*, called *Taulantines*, after whome, another people of *Illiria*, called *Liburnians*, wyth their ſwift Shyppes, dyd ſpoyle theyr néereſt neighboures, and of thys it is thought the *Romaines* did call theyr ſwift Ships *Liburnium*, wherewyth they gyue their fyrſte onſet in fighte by Sea. *Ionian* Sea. *Phrigij* of *Aſia* the leſſe. *Taulantines*. *Liburnians*. *Liburnica Naues*.

They that were driuen from *Dirrachio* by the *Liburnians*, gote helpe of the *Corcireanes*, valiante men by ſea, and expulſed the *Liburnians*, and ſo the *Corcirianes* making a mixt inhabitance, it is taken to be a Gréeke porte, and they changyng the name as vnlucky, called it *Epidamus*, by the name of the old Citie. *Thucidides* doth name it ſo, yet this name hath preuayled, and it is called *Dirrachium*. The Conſuls and their company came to thys Citie. *Pompey* abode at *Brunduſe*, and gathered togither the reſt of the army. He tarried for the Shippes that carried the Conſuls. He made the Towne ſtrong, to kéepe *Ceſar* from the walles, and in the euening tyde, ſayled with hys company, leauyng the boldeſt Souldyers to defende the Towne, the whyche alſo in the nyghte ſayled ouer wyth good winde. Thus *Pompey* with all his armye lefte *Italy*, and ſayled into *Epiro*. *Ceſar* ſtoode in doubt whyche way to turne him, where to begyn the warre, ſéeyng well that all the force on euery ſyde ſtowed to *Pompey*. He feared the army that *Pompey* had in *Spaine* very great and expert, *Corcyrians* be of the Ile *Corfu*. *Thucidides*. Conſuls arriued at *Durazzo*. *Pompey* leaueth *Italy*.

leaſt

leaſt whiles he followed his fleeing enimie, they ſhould beſet him on the backehalfe, therefore he thoughte it beſt to trye the fielde firſt with theſe in *Iberia*. He deuided his power in fyue partes, ſome he lefte at *Brunduſe*, ſome at *Hidrunto*, and ſome at *Tarento*, as garriſons for *Italy*. Other he ſente with *Quintus Valerius* to get *Sardinia*, an Ile plentiful of Corne, and he gote it. *Aſinius Pollio* he ſente into *Cicelie*, where *Cato* was Lieutenant, who aſked hym whether he had authoritie from the Senate, or the people, to enter violently into another mans prouince: he aunſwered, that he that was Lord of *Italy* had ſente him. *Cato* aunſwered agayne, that bycauſe he would ſpare the inhabitance, he woulde deferre the reuenge till another time, and ſo ſayled into *Corcyra* to *Pompey*.

Brunduſe.
Hydranto nowe *Otranto.*
Tarentum.
Sardinia.
Aſinius Pollio.
Cato giueth place to *Aſinius Pollio.*

Cæſar came to *Rome*, and comforted the people with hope and promiſes, being ſtricken with the feare and memorie of *Sylla* and *Marius* euill times. He ſaid further, that he woulde vſe curteſie to his enimies. As when he had taken *Lucius Domitius*, he let him go with all his money vnhurt. He brake the lockes of the common treaſure, and threatned death to *Metellus* the Tribune that would haue reſiſted him, and toke away the money that no man durſt touch, being layd vp there, againſt the inuaſions of *France*, with publike execratiõ to them that did ſtirre or remoue it, vnleſſe for the warre of *Celtica*: *Cæſar* ſayd, I haue ouercome thoſe Frenche *Celtes*, and haue deliuered the Citie of that execration. Hee made *Emilius Lepidus* Gouernoure of the Citie, and *Marcus Antonius*, the Tribune of *Italy*, and the confederate army in it. Abroade hee ſent into *Sicilie*, *Curio* to ſucceede *Cato*, *Quintus* to *Sardinia*, & *Cneus Antonius* to *Illiria*, and to *France* within the *Alpes*, he appoynted *Licinius Craſſus*. He commaunded two legions of yong ſouldyers to be ready with ſpeede, and to lye at the coaſtes, both of the *Tuſcane*, and *Venetian* ſeas, to whome, for Captaines by the ſea, hee ſent *Hortenſius*, and *Dolabella*.

Cæſar taketh the treaſure.

M. Antonius.

Hortenſius.
Dolabella.

Cæſar hauing thus made *Italy* too ſtrong for *Pompey* to enter, he went into *Spayne*, and at his firſte encountring with *Afranius* and *Petreius*, Lieutenantes to *Pompey*, he ſeemed too weake. Then they ioyned togyther more at hande aboute the Citie *Ilerda*.

Cæſar into *Spain.*
Afranius, and *Petreius.*
Ilerda a Citie in *Aragon*, at the foud *Sycore.*

Cæſar

Cæsar lay in barraine rockey places, and was fayne to fetch hys victuals by the passage of the riuer *Sypris*: a sodayne floud came and bare away the bridge, whereby a great number left in the straytes, were slayne of *Petreyus*, and *Cæsar* himselfe with hys other army, was much molested, with the harde place, with hunger, sharpe season, and with his enimies, so as he was little better than besieged there til the sommer came. *Afranius* & *Petreius* went into the furder parte of *Spaine* to gather another armye. *Cæsar* preuented them, stopping their passage, and compelled thē to retyre from whence they came. In doing of thys, he compassed a parte of their army that came to take vp grounde for their campe. They helde their shieldes to their heades, which is a token of yelding. *Cæsar* neyther toke them, nor hurt them, but suffered them vntouched to goe to *Afranius*, and by such meane, he wanne his enimyes harts in all places.

Cæsar in distresse.

A token of yelding.

Cæsars gentlenesse.

Hereof was manye conuenticles among the souldiers, and talke of reconciliation by the whole multitude. Whereuppon it seemed good to *Afranius* and some other, to leaue *Spaine* to *Cæsar*, and to depart safe to *Pompey*: but *Petreius* was agaynste it, and ranne among the souldiours, and killed them that made those metings for *Cæsar*, and were come from him, and killed one of hys owne Captaines also that would haue stayed his furye. Wherfore they were the more in their mindes inclined to *Cæsar* so gentle, and offended with *Petreius* that was so passionate. After that *Cæsar* kept water from them: and *Petreius* being in necessitie, came with *Afranius* to a parlée with *Cæsar*, both armies beholdyng them. They agréede to leaue *Spayne* to *Cæsar*, and that he shoulde conuey them safe to the floud *Varus*, and from thence to suffer them to goe to *Pompey*. When *Cæsar* was come to that floude, he called all the Romaine and Italian souldiours, & thus spake vnto them.

Petreius furious.

„ Enemyes (for vsing that name to you, I shall the better de-
„ clare my minde) neyther dyd I dyspatche you, when you were
„ sente to gette ground for your Campe, and yelded your selues
„ to me, neyther dyd I hurt an other parte of your army, whā
„ I helde from water, although *Petreius* did distroy myne, whom

he toke at the floud *Sicorie*: If I haue any thankes of you for the same, shewe it then to al them, that serue in *Pompeys* campe.

Cæsar hath Spayne.

When he had thus sayd, he sent them freely away, and appointed *Quintus Cassius* to the gouernement of *Iberia*. Thus *Cæsar* began.

Attius Varus. *Iuba* taketh *Pompeys* parte.

In *Lybia* *Attius Varus* was Lieuetenant for *Pompey*, and *Iuba* king of *Mauritania* did assist him. *Curio* sayled against them out of *Sicelie* with two whole Legions, twelue Galleyes, and many shippes of burden, landing at *Vtica*. He skyrmished wyth certayne *Numidian* horsemen, and put them to flight. He would nedes be called generall Captaine, his army beyng yet but entring into armes. This honor is giuen to Captaines, and the name commeth from the Souldiours, as witnesses to them to be worthy to be such generals: and thys honour, the Captaines in olde tyme obtained after all and many great assayres. Now as I heare, the limitation to thys title, is to ouerthrowe tenne thousande men. Whiles *Curio* was comming by shippe from *Sicelie*, they that were in *Lybia*, thinking that he, for the glorye of the name, would encampe at a place called *Scipios* tentes, as one that had emulatiō of his renoune, they poysoned the water, and were not deceyued of their hope, for *Curio* lodged there, and by and by the army was sicke. They that dronk, had their sight dasled as in a cloude, and heuynesse of slepe in the head, many vomites of theyr meate, and a shrincking ouer all their body. Wherefore *Curio* remoued to *Vtica* it selfe, leading his army feeble for sickenesse by a great and strong marish grounde: but when they heard of *Cæsars* victory in *Spaine*, they toke courage agayne, and placed themselues nigh the sea in a streyght waye, they foughte fiercely there. *Curio* losing but one man, and *Varo* fyre hundred, and many moe wounded. King *Iuba* cōming forth, a false rumour was raysed, that at the floude *Bagrada* not farre off, he returned backe because hys Kyngdome was inuaded of hys neyghbours, leauing hys Lieuetenaunt *Saburra* wyth a fewe at the floude. *Curio* gyuing credite to thys tale in the feruente heate, at the thirde houre of the day, led the best

Imperator was the terme in Latine for such a generall.

Scipios tentes. Water poysoned.

Curios armie infected.

Iuba.

part

parte of his armye againſt *Saburras*, through ſandy and deſerte drye places. For if there were any winter broke, it was dryed vp by the heate of the ſunne, and the floud was kept of *Saburra*, and the king himſelfe yet ſtill preſent there. *Curio* ranne vp to the hill toppes, choked with thirſt, & heate. When the enimies ſawe him ſo euill beſtadde, they paſſed the riuer boldely with a readineſſe to fyght. *Curio*, very vnwiſely and vnſkilfully wyth his weake army being compaſſed with the *Numidian* horſemē, came downe, and for a time gyuing place, broughte his menne within a little compaſſe: but beyng ouercharged, hee fledde agayne to the hyll toppes. *Aſinius Pollio* at the beginnyng of thys buſineſſe, with a fewe, fledde to the campe at *Vtica*, leaſt *Varrus* ſhoulde attempte any thyng by the noyſe of this euill fortune. *Curio* made a deſperate fighte, and was killed with all that were with him, ſo as there was not one left to goe to *Pollio* to *Vtica*. This was the ende of the fighte at the floudde *Bagrada*. *Curios* head was cutte off, and brought to *Iuba*. When this miſchaunce was knowne to the army at *Vtica*, *Flamma* the Admirall fledde, with hys nauie, before hee receyued any man from the lande. *Aſinius* toke a boate and wente to the Merchauntes that were at the porte, and prayed them to receyue hys armie, and conuey them away. Some of them in the nighte came forwarde for thys purpoſe, and the Souldiours wente on with ſuche number, as ſome botes were drowned, and they that were vppon the Sea and had money, the Merchauntes threwe them into the ſame for couetouſneſſe thereof. This was their happe vppon the Sea, whiche was littell better by lande to them that were leſte all that nyght, who in the morning yelded to *Varo*. But *Iuba* came and ſette them all at the wall, and ſhotte them to death, as the remnaunt of hys victorie, nothyng regarding though *Varo* prayde hym to the contrarie. Thus the *Romaines* loſte two legions, that ſayled with *Curio* into *Libie*, and allthe horſe, miniſters, and venturers of the Campe. *Iuba* returned home, makyng boaſte hee had done ſo greate a feate for hys friende *Pompey*.

The diſtreſſe of *Curio*.

Curio killed.

Flamma flieth.

Couetiſe of Merchants.

Romaine Souldiours ſhotte to death.

At thys tyme *Anconius* in *Illyria* was ouercome of *Octauius Dalabella Pompeyus* Lieuetenant: and an other armye of *Cæsars* at *Placentia*, did reuolte againste their Captaines, crying that they were holden in long war, and not payed the fiue poundes which *Cæsar* promised them at *Brunduse*. *Cæsar* hearing of it, came poste from *Massilia*, and thus spake to the souldiours that yet were in a mutenie: What spæde I vse in euery thing, you can witnesse wyth me: this warre is holden long, not by vs, but by our enymies that flyeth vs: you that in Fraunce, by mine autoritye haue gayned wel, and haue bounde your selues to me, for al this warre, not for a parte, nowe in the myddest of the matter, you forsake me, you doe doe disobey your Captaines, and goe about to commaunde them, of whome you ought to receyue commaũdement: wherfore being a sufficiente witnesse to my selfe of my former affection vnto you, I will nowe vse *Petreius* Law, and of the nineth Legion, from whence tumulte chiefly arose, I wil put to death the tenth man.

Cæsar to the seditious Souldiours.

Greate lamentation was made throughout the whole Legion: wherefore these Captaines on their knees prayed hym of pardon. He hardly and at length graũted, and came to this only, that anye .xx. that were moste busie, shoulde bee taken by lotte, and twelue of their Captaines of bandes, be put to death; for one of the twelue, whiche was not presente, nor a medler in thys Mutenye, he causes hys accuser to suffer for hym.

After this sorte was the sedition at *Placentia* appeased. *Cæsar* went to *Rome*, and the people for feare chose hym Dictator, neyther the Senate allowing it, nor none officer pronoũcing it: but hee, refusing that dignitye, eyther as odious, or superfluous, ruling onely eleauen dayes (as some say) appointed Consuls for the reste of the tyme, hymselfe, and *Seruilius Isauricus*.

The presidents of prouinces eyther he appoynted or altered at hys pleasure. *Marcus Lepidus* into *Spayne*, *Aulus Albinus* into *Sicelie*, into *Sardania Sextus Peduceus*, into newe France *Decimus Brutus*, to the people oppresst with famine, he gaue victualls, and at their requeste, pardoned al fugitiues, except *Milo*. The people

people desiring also a cutting off of debte, bycause thynges bare no price, by reason of the wars and seditions, he denyed it them, but he appointed Purueyors of victualls, whiche in stede of the debte, shoulde take order betwene the creditours and ỹ debtors. When he had done this, he sente all hys army to *Brunduse* in the deade of the winter, and himselfe went forth in December, not tarying for the election of newe officers, tyll the newe yeare that was at hand. The people followed him, and prayed hym to be at one with *Pompey*, for now it was very euident, that he that ouercame woulde be a ruler alone, but he went on, and lefte nothing that was to be done with power and spede. *Caesar* maketh vvinter vvarre.

Pompey al this tyme made Ships, and still gathered greater armies, and more money. He toke fortie of *Caesars* shippes, in the *Ionian* sea, and wayted for his cõming. He exercised his people, ryding and running among them, and doing euery labor beyond his olde yeares, whereby he got much loue, and euery man came to see *Pompeys* exercises, as to a spectacle.

Caesar had tenne legions of footemen, and ten thousand French horsemen. *Pompey* hadde fiue legions, with which hee sailed oute of Italy, and as many horsemen, as with them were appointed: two out of *Parthia*, the remnant of them that serued with *Crassus*, & another part that with *Gabinius* inuaded Egipt. So had he of Italians in all eleuen legions and seauen thousande horsemen. His confederates were of *Ionia*, of *Macedonia*, of *Poloponcso*, and *Boetia*, wyth archers of *Creta*, slingers of *Thracia*, and all other that vse artillerie aboute *Pontus*. Some horsemen of the weaste French, some of the east, of the *Sirians* sent by *Antiochus*, *Cilicians* and *Capadocians*, and some of *Armenia* the lesse, *Pamphilia* and *Pisida*, not al for the fight, but for garrisons, munitions, and other seruices of ỹ *Italian* army. Thus he thoughte good to vse thẽ that none of the Italians shoulde be drawne from the daye of battell. This was his army by land. *Caesars* army. *Pompeys* army.

By Sea hee hadde fyre hundred Gallies furnished at the ful, whereof one hundred were of Romaines conduct, whyche hee appoynted to leade the other, and many bulkes and other ships of burden, wyth dyuers Admiralls, whereof *Marcus Bibulus*

was chiefe.

When al these thyngs were prepared, he assembled as many Senatours and Romaine Gentlemen, as were present, and all the army, into a place where he might be harde, & thus said vnto them. The *Athenienses* also (O friends) dydde leaue their Citie to fighte for their libertye, agaynste them that spoyled it, they thinkyng, not houses, but men to be their Citie. In doyng of the whyche, they recouered it againe, and shortly made it more glorious. Our progenitors likewise, when the Frenche Celtes inuaded, forsoke the Cittie, which *Camillus* comming from *Ardea* did restore agayne. All wyse men thynke their Countrey to be, where their liberty is: whyche wee consideryng, haue sayled hither, not leauyng oure Countrey, but preparyng for it, and mnalye to defend it, agaynste him that doeth violentlye inuade it, and by corruption, and taketh Italy desolated, whom you haue declared an enimy, he now sends presidents into your Prouinces, appoynteth some Gouernors in the Citie, and some in the Countrey. By thys insolencie hee hathe taken from the people their authoritie, and if he doth this, being yet in contention, and with feare, and as one, that with Gods helpe, shal bee punished for it, what crueltie and violence thinke ye, wyll hee leaue vndone that thus vseth his country, if he get the victorye? Some there be that take his parte for mony, which he gathered in Fraunce that belongeth to you, who chose rather to bee slaues to him, than to liue free with vs. I do not refuse the fight with you and for you, but do offer my selfe a souldior or a Captaine, as you wyl vse mee, & if I haue any experience in the war, or any felicitie vnspotted hitherto, I pray the Gods to graunte mee al at this present, & to be such a defender vnto my country in danger, as I haue bin in aduancing the same. Wee oughte to putte oure trust in God, and in our cause, which hath an honest & iust desire of way for the common wealth of our Country, & in the abundance of our prouision, both by sea and land, whiche we already haue, & more, in that we shal haue when we take the thing in hand: For al the nations (as a man may say, frō ẏ Gaul to ẏ *Euxine* sea) al ẏ Grecias & Barbarians be with vs, al kings ẏ be

friends

Tempeys Oratiō.

The Athenienses lefte their Citie by the persuasiō of Themistocles.

Ardea in Latio.

frends to ỹ Romains & to me, haue sente armies, weapons, vittails, & al other necessaries. Therfore go to it chærefully, as to a thing worthy your countrey, your selues, & me, & being mindful of *Cæsars* dispitefulnesse, with spæde fulfil that shal be appointed you. This he said. Al the army, and as many Senators & Gentlemen as were there, which was a greate and a goodly cõpany, with one voice did praise hym, & praied hym to leade them as he thought good. Then he set some ships to kæpe the sea, and sente his army to winter at *Macedonia*, thinking *Cæsar* would defer sayling ouer till after winter, the tyme being harde, and the seas rough, and haue remayned at *Rome*, bycause he was Consull, and settle hys rule there: so far amisse did he coniecture of that that was to come. For *Cæsar*, as I sayd before, in the midst of winter did go to *Brunduse*, supposing he should most amaze his enimies, by commyng on the sodayn. Therfore neither hauing victuall, nor prouision, nor all his army there, he called thẽ that were present to an assembly, and thus said vnto them:

Pompey is deceiued in *Cæsars* doings.

Cæsar to hys souldiours.

Neither the hardenesse of the tyme, (O friends) that ioyne with mée in this moste noble enterprise, neyther the delay of others, nor the want of conuenient preparation, doe withdraw me from my purpose: for surely I thinke that expedition is the best way for me, and we that be firste here, to go first on with the matter. As for seruants, carriage and baggage, I thinke it beste to leaue behynde vs, that the shippes that bée nowe here, may receiue vs only as passengers, and we deceiue oure enimies, and sette good fortune againste euil tyme, bold courage, against our smal number, and our enimies plenty, against our penury, all the which shall be in oure power, if wée thinke nothing to be our own, but that we shall winne by force. Let vs go therfore againste their slaues, their prouision and victualles, whiles they be in houses for feare of winter weather. Lette vs goe whiles *Pompey* trusts that I spende the winter in shewes and sacrifices of a Consull. You knowe that I take the chiefeste point in warres, to be attempts of the sodayne. It is honourable to preuent the first opinion of thyngs to come, and to foresée sure recept there, for thẽ ỹ folow vs next. I haue thoughte thys tyme

Expedition.

Attempts sud dayne.

„time meeter to hast, than to stay: that *Pompey*, who thinks I am „yet at Rome, aboute my Consulship, may see me at hys campe, „and thoughe that I am wel assured of youre good willes, yet I „tarry for your answere.

All the army cryed with great vehemencie, that hee shoulde leade them forth. Then he came from hys seate, and had them to the sea, being fiue legions of fotemen, and fyre hundred horsemen chosen, lying at anker, bycause of the roughe seas.

Cæsar is stayed by vveather.

The winter Sunne was at the lowest, and the winde kepte hym backe agaynste hys will and euill content, who tarryed at *Brunduse* till the first day of the newe yeare. Then came there to hym two legions more, whome he conueyed ouer that winter in hulkes, for he hadde but fewe Gallies, and they were lefte for the custody of *Sicelie* and *Sardinia*. He was by tempest driuen to ẏ mount *Cerauno*, from whence he sent hys naue backe to fetch the reste of hys army. He in the night went to the Citie of *Orico*, and for the hard, straighte, and rocky way, was compelled to diuide his army into many partes, as the sharpenesse of the countrey myghte serue, so as if hys commyng had bene knowne, hee might easily haue bin kept backe. Aboute the breake of the day, with muche ado, he gathered his army togither.

Orico.

Cæsar hath *Orico*, a Citie of *Epirus* in the marches of *Macedonia*.

The people of the Citie saide vnto the Gouernor, that it was not lawfull to kéepe oute the Romaine Consull when he came, therfore the Gouernour delyuered the keyes to *Cæsar*, and continued wyth hym in place of honor.

Lucrerius and *Minutius* on the other side of *Orico*, wyth eighten Gallcis to guarde the victuall that came by shippe to *Pompey*, drowned their ships, that *Cæsar* shoulde not take them, and fled to *Durazzo*. From *Orico Cæsar* went to *Appolonia*, where he was receyued of the Citizens, and *Stamerius* the Gouernour left the Citie.

Tyberius it is *Stamerius* in the Greeke.

There *Cæsar* calling hys souldiors togyther, putte them in remembraunce, what they had done by good fortune in the harde winter: they were Lords of the sea without shippes, they hadde wonne *Orico* and *Valona*, without fight: they had gotten their e„nimies things, *Pompey* being yet ignorant. Nowe (sayeth he) if

Durazzo hathe bin long in the Turkes hands, but lately it vvas gotten by the *Venetians*.

we

„ we can catch *Durazzo*, whiche is the Baron of *Pompeys* proui-
„ sion, all is in our handes, that they haue bin labouring for an
„ whole Sommer. When he had sayd thus, he ledde them with
speede to *Durazzo* a long way, resting neyther day nor nyght.
Pompey hearyng this, came with great hast from *Macedonia*, cut-
ting downe the trees as he went, to stoppe the way to *Cæsar*. He
pulled downe bridges, and burnt all prouision by the way, thyn-
king it (as it was in deede) to be a good deuice, for to haue onely
that preparation that might serue himselfe. If any dust, fyre,
or smoke were seene to eyther of them a farre off, thinking it had
bin of the contrary part, they stroue who shoulde runne fastest,
spa-ing no time, neyther from meate nor sleepe. Hast there was
and speede, with crying out vpon them that ledde the with torches
lightes, whereof grew disorder and feare, as the enimies had bin
at their heeles: some for weerinesse threw downe their burthens,
or withdrew themselues aside into some corners, thinking it
better to be leste behinde with present rest, than to goe on to it,
withoute feare of the enimie. Both sides taking these paynes,
Pompey came firste to *Durazzo*, and encamped at the walles. By
his Nauie he gote *Orico* agayne, and gaue, better guard for the
Sea. *Cæsar* lay ouer against *Pompey*, the floud *Alore* flowing be-
twæne them. There were diuers skirmishes by them that passed
the floud, but they neuer broughte forthe their whole power, for
Pompey did trayne his yong Souldyers, and *Cæsar* loked for the
rest from *Brunduse*. He thoughte, that if they came forthe in the
Spring in greate Shippes, they could not escape the Galleys of
Pompey, that scowred the Seas, and wayted for them: but if they
did come forthe in Winter, when the enimie must many tymes
take the Ilands for their harborough, they might escape them,
or by the winde or their waighte, might passe through them,
wherevpon he sente for them with great hast, and bycause they
came not when he loked, he purposed himselfe to goe to them,
for that they woulde not so soone come with an other, and kepte
his determination secrete. He sente three of his seruants to the
floud, twelue furlongs off, to hire a swifte vessell of good proofe,
as for ons that should be dispatched from *Cæsar*. He rose from the

Pompey marketh hast to *Durazzo*.

Hast with confusion. *Pompeys* army.

Pompey cõmeth to *Durazzo* before *Cæsar*, and getteth agayne *Orico*.

Alore floude.

table as not well at ease, and bad his friends sitte still. He put on a priuate garmēt, & in a Coach came to the Ship, as he that was sent of *Cæsar*: in the rest he vseth his seruantes to call on, he being wrapt, and for the night altogither vnknowen. The wind was very rough, & the seruaunts exhorted the maister to make hast, ỹ they might escape their enimies which were at hand. The maister passed the floud very spædily, with the strength of oares, but whē he came to the mouth of ỹ floud, the waues of ỹ sea beating against it with boisterous billowes, and he, as though the enimy had folowed, labouring to ỹ vttermost, & nothing prevailed, gaue it quite ouer. Thē *Cæsar* bewraid himselfe, & said alowd, Be bold, stande against the stormē, thou carryest *Cæsar*, and *Cæsars* fortune. The Marriners amazed at ỹ voyce, receiued courage againe, and by very force gote the Ship out of the floudes mouth, but by the rage of ỹ sea, and ỹ billowes ỹ were bigge, the Ship was driuen to ỹ shore. Day drawing nære, the marriners were afrayd to be spyed of the enimies, but *Cæsar* cursed his enuious fortune, & bade the shipmaister turne home againe, which was quickly done, the wind seruing through the floud. Some blamed *Cæsar* for his boldnesse, some accused him, as taking a thing in hād scarcely fitte for a souldiour, much lesse for a generall. Now he perceiuing he could be no more vnknowen, sent *Posthumus* to sayle in his place, and bid *Gabinius* bring the army by Sea, and if they refused him, to come with *Antonio*, or with *Caleno*, and if all these sayled, hee had letters to the rest, that they should folow *Posthumus*, and take land where they could get it, and not care for the ships, for he had mæde of men, & not of ships. Thus did *Cæsar* trust in fortune, contrary to reason. *Pompey* intēding to take ỹ aduantage, brought forth his people to fight, and two of his souldiers passing ỹ floud where it was lowest, one of *Cæsars* came againste them, & kylled thē both, wherfore *Pompey* retired, not liking that lucke, feyning to al other to lese a very good opportunitie. *Posthumus* sayled safe to *Brunduse*, but *Gabinius*, not obeying ỹ cōmandement, would nēdes leade as many as followed him through *Slauonia*, without anye reste, all the which were almost slayne by the *Illirians*, which *Cæsar* suffered, for the necessitie of time. *Antonius* by shippe brought the other

Cæsar goeth secretely from *Durazzo* toward *Brunduse*.

Cæsar bewrayeth himselfe.

Cæsar is blamed.

Cæsar sendeth for his men.

Antonio.

One of *Cæsars*, killeth two of *Pompeys*.

Pompey retireth.

Gabinius loseth men in *Slauonia*.

ther toward *Vetona*, with good and full winde, but about middaye the winde waxing calme, twenty of *Pompeys* Ships that scoured the seas espyed him, & came vpon them, who in that calme were in great feare, least the stemmes of the Gallyes should bore them or drowne them, and vsing the best way, made ready their darts & slings to kæpe thē off, when suddainely, a greater wind than the first arose, whiche they toke, and with their maine sayle passed through beyond their hope. The other being tossed with ỹ stormes & the wind, making raging seas, were scattered and driuen to the rocky shores, only two of *Cæsars* were taken sailing vpon ỹ flats. *Antony* brought ỹ rest to a place called *Nymphey*. Now had *Cæsar* al his army, and so had *Pompey*. They encamped the one against the other vpon hill toppes, making forts and mountes, about the which there was many assaults and skirmishes, the one seking to oppresse the other, and at one of these skirmishes, where *Cæsars* mē had ỹ worse. *Scenna* a Captayne, very notable for his valiantnesse, was stricken in the eye with a dart, which done, he lept before the ranke, making roke of silence, as though he would haue said somewhat. Then he called to a Captaine of *Pompeys*, who was estæmed noble, and sayd vnto him, *saue one lyke thee, saue thy friende*, send some that may leade me away by hād, bycause I am hurt: two men came running to him as a fugitiue, of whome the one he killed right out, the other he cut off his shoulder. This hee did, being in doubt both of himselfe, and of the fort. The other being ashamed of their faulte, came againe lustily, and recouered their fort. The great valiantnesse also of *Minutius* a trenchkæper did help much, for in his Target they say was foūd Crr. darts, & he wounded in vj places. beside the losse of one eye also, both the which *Cæsar* did honor with great gifts, apperteining to souldiers. He thought to haue had *Durazzo* by treason, & came in the night to the gates with a fewe at the Temple of *Diana*. This Winter, *Pompeys* father in law did bring another army from *Syria*, with whome *Caius Calustius* did encoūter, and was ouercome, losing a legion of eyght hundred. Now *Cæsar* had nothing by sea, all being kepte by *Pompeys* Nauie, wherefore his armye was in great want, and eate bread made of grasse and wœdes, whiche

Cæsars shippes escape *Pompeys* Gallеys.

Nymphey an Iland seemes valiantnesse.

* This Souldier as *Cæsar* wryghteth of him, receyued 120. Dartes on his Shield, and 230. prickes, and 30. wounds on his bodye at thys tyme, and of another in fráce, when his headpeece was broken, and he hurt in the face, and in the thigh, his shielde stricken downe, his sword broken, he lept into the Sea, armed as he was, and came safe to *Cæsar*, crying *parce Imperator*, bycause it was a fault to bee vnarmed. *Plutarch* telleth of such another, whē *Cæsar* was in *England*, and hee nameth one *Icilius*, but nothing is sayde of *Minutius*. The Italian translatiō addeth more, & otherwise than is in the Texte. *Minutius*, It should seeme that one is takē for another.

Cæsar loseth a legiō of *Caluisius Cæsar* in wante.

Note. That weede that groweth of it selfe. He calleth it *Chara*.

Pompeys words for the vvant of Cæsars men.

certayne fugitiues shewed to *Pompey* as a good token, but hee ioyed nothing at it, but sayde, *with what beastes doe we fighte? Cæsar* being driuen by necessitie, broughte forthe all his army, to

Pompey refuseth the fight.

force *Pompey* to fighte, but he, though many of his newe Castles, were thereby abandoned, yet would not stirre, wherewith *Cæsar* being maruellously greeued, toke in hand an enterprise, both difficult and strange, and that was, to enuiron *Pompeys* Camp from

The enterprise of *Cæsar*.

Sea to Sea, which as it was a great thing to do, so if it toke not place, yet should it carrie a fame of glory for the noble enterprise,

Eight furlongs maketh a myle.

for it was a thousande and two hundred furlongs, and yet he toke it in hand. *Pompey* made Contreworkes and walles. And thus both busied themselues to defeate the other, and at the last

A fight.

there was a great fight betwæne them, in the which *Pompey* dyd very valiantly ouerthrow *Cæsars* Souldioures, and followed the fleeyng to their Campe. He toke many of their ensignes, and the Eagle, which is the chiefe Standerd to the *Romaines* with much

Cæsar repulsed.

ado was saued by the bearers regarde, and throwne into their Trench. This fleeyng being so notorious, *Cæsar* came on with another company, whiche was no lesse afrayde, for though *Pompey* were a good way off, yet could they not abide his sighte, nor stay,

Feare of *Cæsars* men.

though they were hard at their Camp, neyther goe in order, nor obey *Cæsars* commaundements, but euery one fledde whether hee could, neuer loking backe, without shame, without commaundemente, or reason. *Cæsar* ranne about, and with rebuke did shewe them, that *Pompey* was farre off, and beheld them how they threw downe their ensignes, and fledde. Some with muche adoe stode still as men amazed, loking on the ground for shame, such a confusion fell vpon them. There was one that turned his ensigne, and thrust the poynt againste the Generall, who was killed of *Cæsars* garde. They ỳ went into the Camp, did not returne to their places, but left all forsaken, and the Trenche vnkepte. It was then thoughte, if *Pompey* had come forth with his power, he had made an end of all the warre, with ỳ one feate: but *Lauinius* (God

Pompeys victory not followed.

so working it) persuaded him rather to pursue them that fledde, and he somewhat slow of himselfe, or peraduenture distrusting that some traynes hadde bin layde in the Campe for him, or by-

cause

cause he contemned to do it, as though the warre were nowe ended. He set vpon them that were yet abroade, whereof he kylled many, and that daye in two fightes he toke eyght and twenty Banners, leauing the other occasion, that mighte haue made an ende of all, which *Cæsar* could not denye, but that that day had ended the warre, if his enimies could haue vsed the victory.

Pompey ioyfull of this victory, sente letters of it to Kings and Cities, and thoughte that *Cæsars* Souldioures would haue reuolted vnto him, oppressed with famine, and ouerthrowe in fighte, and specially his Captaynes for feare of their offence, but they (God working repentance in them) lamented their faulte, and where *Cæsar* rebuked them gently, and gaue them pardon, they were the more angry with themselues, and with a mutation beyond reason, required him, after their Countrey manner, to take them out by lotte, and to kill euery tenth man. But when *Cæsar* would not graunt to that, they were the more grieued, and confessed he was vnworthely iniured by them, and cryed, that the ensigne bearers mighte be punished, as though they shoulde not haue fledde, if the standers had not turned. *Cæsar* would not grant to this neyther, but punished a fewe for a fashion, whereby so great a courage through this moderation entred into them, as they desired him he woulde forthwith set vpon his enimies, and very earnestly they erhorted and encouraged him to it, promising to amend their fault with a notable victory, and they resorted together in heapes, and sware in *Cæsars* syghte neuer to returne from the fielde, vnlesse they gotte the fyghte. His friendes wyshed hym to vse thys repentance and promptnesse of the armye, but hee sayde vnto the multitude, that he woulde at a better opportunitie leade them againste their enimies, and badde them then remember thys forwardnesse. But to hys friends he sayde, that before he dyd that, he must take out of theyr heartes the feare that was in them for the late losse, and to tarrie, tyll the fiercenesse of the enimie were abated: then dyd he confesse, that he had erred, in placing his Campe at *Dirrachio*, where all *Pompeys* preparation was, and that it behoued hym to seeke other places, and draw *Pompey* where he myghte haue the lyke wante,

Repentance of *Cæsars* Souldyers.

Cæsars mildnesse in punishmentes.

Cæsar remoueth.

which when he had sayd, he wente straighte to *Vetona*, and from thence to *Thessaly* secretely by night. *Gomphie* a little Citie that woulde not receyue him, he toke in his rage, and gaue it to hys souldyers to spoyle. The Souldyers that had bin long pyned, filled themselues of all things excellently, and were dronke out of measure, especially the *Germanes* were iested at for their dronkennesse. And now againe it was thought, that *Pompey* might haue come on, and done some notable feate, but he by negligence, vtterly omitted to stirre, till *Cæsar* had marched seauen dayes, and camped at *Pharsalia*. In *Gomphie* they say was seene a notable chance, dead bodyes of noble old men, did lie openly in a Phisitians shoppe, with cuppes in their hands, without woundes, to the number of twenty, as though they hadde bin inuited to a drynking, lying all vpon the ground, and one sitting in a chayre as a Phisition, that gaue them the potion of recreation.

Gomphie gluen in spoyle, the firste City in *Thessaly*, going frō *Epiro*.

Germanes in *Cæsars* time, a drunkē people.

Cæsar encāpeth at *Pharsalia*, before *Pompey* arriueth from *Durazzo*.

The vvilling death of diuers at *Gomphie*.

Pompey made a counsell concerning *Cæsars* remouing. *Afranius* was in opinion, that the Nauy which was great, should be sent against *Cæsar*, they being Lords of the Sea, he myghte cut off things from hym, being in want, and in a wandring iourney, and that *Pompey* hymselfe should leade the army of the lande into *Italy*, whiche was yet enclyned vnto him, and voyde of enimyes, and so being Lorde of it, *France* and *Spaine*, he might deale with *Cæsar* at home from the principall parte. But he neglecting this that had bin best to haue bin done, followed them that sayd, that *Cæsars* army by and by would forsake hym for famine, or not long lyke to hold out, for the victory wonne at *Durazzo*, whereas contrarywise, it should be a great shame to leaue *Cæsar* flæyng, and that he that had ouercome, should seme to flée, as though he were ouercome. He giuing place to these reasons, and for the regarde that he had of the nations of the East, that depended vpon hym, and fearing least *Lucius Scipio* should receyue any harme in *Macedonia*, and before all, hauing a mind to vse his army, that was so couragious to fight, he remoued, and set his Camp against *Cæsar* at *Pharsalo*, about foure miles asunder.

Afranius.

Diuersitie of opinion.

Both *Cæsar* and *Pompey* encamp at *Pharsalo*.

To *Pompey* victual was brought frō euery place, for the ways, the portes, and storehouses, were so open vnto him, that by land

he lacked nothing, and by sea, whatsoeuer winde blewe, it serued his turne.

Abundance with Pompey.

Cæsar hadde onely suche soode as he coulde get by dayly soyce, and yet none of his did soysake him, but by a diuine instinct, required they mighte gyue battell, thinking themselues to be farre better than the other yong Souldyoures, bycause they had serued in the warres tenne yeares togither. But now to spende the tyme in makyng of mountes and trenches, and cariage of victuall, they were the weaker, bycause of theyr age, therefore it was better to trye all at once with laboure, than by idlenesse to punishe with famine. When *Pompey* vnderstode this, he thought it daungerous to deale wyth suche experte men, that cared not for themselues, and to aduenture all at one worke against *Cæsars* noble fortune. He thought it surer, and lesse dãgerous, to consume them wyth wante, hauyng no power to be relæued by land, nor no vse of the Sea, nor not a Shyppe to conuey themselues away at a nede. Thus hée determined by very good reason to delay the warre, and to drawe them from famine to famine: but the greater number of Senatoures, and of them called Gentlemen that were most honored, the Kyngs and Princes that were with him, some for lacke of experience, some for foolishe hardynesse for theyr victory at *Durazzo*, some, bycause they were greater in number, and some, bycause they woulde rather haue a short conclusion, than an honorable ende, and some, bycause they were wery of the warre, all exhorted him to the fyghte, shewyng that *Cæsar* dyd alwayes prouoke hym, and inuite hym to it: but he dyd vse that reason against themselues, for to *Cæsar* it was necessary so to doe, but to them, delay, till occasion, was muche better, for nede droue *Cæsar* to doe as hée dyd. But beeyng styll incensed by all the armye, that was wared proude for the victorye at *Durazzo*, and by the best sorte that obiected ambition vnto hym, and therefore of purpose was so slowe, that hée myghte beare rule ouer so many as god as hymselfe, and thereuppon called him Kyng, and *Agamemnon*, bycause hée commaunded Kynges in the warre: hée left hys owne consideration, and gaue place to theires,

VVant vvith *Cæsar*.

Courage of *Cæsars* Souldiours.

The request of *Cæsars* Souldioures.

Pompeys consideration good, but not followed.

Pompey called *Agamemnon*.

(God

Pompeys alteration.

(God striking him now) and all the rest of that warre. He grew sickly and slowe, contrary to his nature in all things, vnwillingly he prepared for the fighte, to his owne destruction, and them that gaue hym counsell. *Cæsar* that nyghte, hadde sente three legions to gette victuals, thanking *Pompey* for his delay, and thynking he would not haue changed hys minde. He had also sente aboute for more fode, but when he heard that *Pompey* prepared for the battell, he knewe he dyd it of necessitie, and that he was dryuen to it by force of his armye, hee called hys armye forthwyth, and dyd prepare lykewyse. He at midnight made Sacrifice to *Mars* and to *Venus* hys auncestors, for from *Iulius*, *Aeneas* sonne, it shoulde seeme by the name, that the house of *Iulius* came. He vowed to dedicate a Temple vnto hir in *Rome*, if shee fauoured hym, and broughte hym victorie.

Petigree of *Cæsar* from *Venus*.

A lightning.

A lightning came from Heauen, and wente from *Cæsars* Camp to *Pompeys*, and there was extinct. *Pompeys* syde thoughte some notable thyng shoulde come from their enimies to them, but *Cæsar* dyd expounde it, that he shoulde quenche *Pompeys* glorye. That same nyghte when *Pompey* did Sacrifice, the host fleede away, and coulde no more be found. And a swarme of Bées lighted vpon the Aulter, whyche is a little and a stinging flye. And before daye, there came a straunge feare in the Campe, the whyche *Pompey* came to searche, and after fell into a deepe sleepe, and beeyng awaked of his friendes, hee tolde them he dreamed he had dedicate a Temple at *Rome* to *Venus* the Victorice, not knowyng that *Cæsar* hadde vowed the same.

Tokens.

Pompeys dreame

His friendes and all the host put trust in these thinges, and were glad of them, and as they vsed all thinges with too muche contempte and fiercenesse, so wente they to hys battayle, as though all had bin theyr owne. Many dyd decke their Tentes with Bayes, as token of victorie, and their seruauntes prepared good cheere for them, and some dyd contende for *Cæsars* office of hygh Priest, all the which, *Pompey*, as a man experte in warre, dyd mislike, and though he were troubled, yet did he dissemble it, and helde his peace with doubt and feare, as he that nowe dyd no more rule, but was commaunded of other, bycause of force,

The securitie of Pompeys army.

and

and againſte hys wyll, he did al things. So great a diſcouragement to ſo noble a man, that til that day, had alwayes had proſperous hap, ſæmed on the ſodaine to fall vppon hym, eyther for that he was not followed when hæ gaue good counſell, but was driuen to put the liues of ſo many in hazarde, and his owne glory, which he had kepte till that day vnſpotted, or for that he had ſome diuination of the euil, wyth feare that was at hande, that that day he ſhoulde fall from ſo great a Lordſhip, onelye to hys friends thus he ſayde: That whoſoeuer had the victorye "that day, ſhoulde be cauſe of great calamitie to ỹ Romains for "euer. He ſet order for the battell, and by hys wordes that hæ ſpake in that feare, many dyd gather that if he had wonne that day, he would not haue gyuen ouer the rule. *Pompeys* alteration.

Of the number that they had, whereof manye ſpeake vncertainely, I will followe the Romaine Authours that write moſt reaſonably of the Italians, in whome was the chiefe truſte, not regardyng or ſpeakyng much of the confederates, in whom they had little affiaunce. *Cæſars* number. *Pompeys* nũber.

Cæſar has two and twentye thouſande, and in them aboute a thouſand horſe. *Pompey* had double as many, and ſeauen thouſand horſe: ſo they that ſpeake likely, ſay there was at thys battel. lxx. M. Italians: they that write leſſe, threeſcore thouſand: they that make moſte, foure hundred thouſande, whereof ſome ſaye, that *Pompey* had thræ parts, and ſome, that of thræ parts he had two.

Thus doubtfully haue they left the matter: but how many ſoeuer they had, their chiefe truſt was in the Italians.

Of Straungers *Cæſar* had French horſemen, and alſo French men beyond the Alpes, of Grecians, Dolopians, Acarnians, & Aetolians. Theſe helpes had *Cæſar*.

Pompey had al the nations of the Eaſte, in heaps both of horſe and footemen, of Grecians, he hadde the Lacedomonians diſtributed vnder their owne Kyngs, the reſte were Peloponeſians, and with them the Boetians. The Atheinienſes alſo came to thys warre, although both ſides proclaymed they ſhoulde not be hurte, as the ſacred men of the lawemakers, drawn thither by the glory of this battayle, wherein they ſhould fyghte for the Confederates of *Pompey*. *Vandalia*. *Morea*.

Empire of the Romaines.

After the Grækes, there were but fewe of all the sea towarde the East, but the inhabitours came to *Pompey*, Thracians, Hellespontians, Bithinians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphilians, Pysidianes, Paphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Pheniteans, and a nation of Hebrewes, Arabians also nigh vnto these, Cyprians, Rhodians, flingers of *Creta* and other Ilanders. Kyngs and Princes also came to ayde hym. *Deiotarus* the Tetrarche of the Easte Galatians, *Ariarathes* King of *Capadocia*, the Armenians wythin *Euphrates*. *Taxiles* did leade the Armenians beyonde *Euphrates*, *Magabates* lieutenaunte to *Artapa* the Kyng. Other inferiour Lordes resorted to thys trauayle, beside threescore shippes of Egipt, sente of the Princes of the same, *Cleopatra* and hir brother, being yet a childe. But these were not vsed in the warres, nor anye of the other shippes, but all layedely at *Corcyra*, wherein it seemeth that *Pompey* did euill, to neglect so great a nauy, wherewyth hee myghte haue defeated hys enimies of al thynges: but he trusted vpon hys armye by land, and woulde trye it wyth them that for theyr continuaunce wyth long experience were full of courage, and as sauage people gredy of the fight. But to beware of them, the mischap, by Gods worckyng, at *Durazzo* seemeth to bee the impediment, which to *Cæsar* was the fittest opportunitie of all other. For by that *Pompeys* army waxed insolent, and made little accompte of their Capitayne, and toke in hande thys matter verye vnskilfully. But God hadde so appoynted it, that it shoulde come to suche a state, as it is nowe ouer all. Then eyther of them assemblyng theyr armyes, exhorted them, and firste *Pompey* said thus:

Deiotarus. *Ariarathes.* *Taxiles.* *Magabates.* *Cleopatra.* *Corcyra.*

Pompeys Oratio.

"You (my fellow Souldioures) do now commaunde as Capitaynes, and not obey as Souldiours: For wheras I would haue consumed *Cæsar*, you wyl nedes call vpon the fyghte: therfore as appoynters of the battayle, vse it, as the more, may do the lesse, and as vanquishers contemne them that be vanquished, and as the yong despise the olde, and as the lusty may the feble. You haue of youre syde power, preparation,

tion, and conſcience of the cauſe, for you trauaile for libertye „
& your country, with law and good opinion, with ſuch men as bée „
Senatours and Gentlemen, againſte one man that woulde v- „
ſurpe a gouernment. Go to therfore as becommeth, with good „
hope, and haue in your ſight the fléeing away they made at *Du-* „
razzo, and howe many of their enſignes we toke that day. This „
ſaide *Pompey*, but *Caſar* to hys men ſpake thus.

The hardeſt (my friends) we haue ouercome, for in ſteade of „ *Caſars* Oration.
hunger and wante, we fight wyth men. This day determineth „
all, remember your promiſe at *Durazzo*, and what you ſware one „
to another in my preſence, that you woulde not returne, but vi- „
ctors. Theſe be they (my Souldioures) whome wée haue fol- „
lowed from the pillers of *Hercules*. Theſe bée they that fledde „
from vs Italy. Theſe be they that after oure tenne yeares ſer- „
uice, after ſo many enimies and victories as harde to bée tolde „
wonne of vs, after Spayne, Fraunce, and Britaine, brought by „
vs to oure Countrey, and well nighe fourtye Realmes, doth „
oppreſſe vs without rewarde, triumphe, or recompence. Theſe „
be they whome I coulde not perſwade, deſiring but ryghte, to be „
wel thought of for my well doing. You knowe whome I deli- „
uered vnhurte, hoping that we might haue had ſome iuſtice at „
their handes. Of all theſe, be all you togither with me reuen- „
gers thys day, euen as you knowe my carefulneſſe, my faithful- „
neſſe, and my free liberalitie, it is no harde matter for yong ſoul- „
diours vnexperte to be ouercome of them that paines haue paſt, „
and well bin tried by proofe. Se the youthfull contempte and „
diſdayne of the armye againſte the Capitayne, ſo the di- „
ſtruſte of himſelfe, whome I certainlye knowe to goe to thys „
feate with vnwilling minde, and ful of feare, fallyng from hys „
conditions, is giuen to eaſe and ſlouthfulneſſe, and nowe not a „
ruler, but ouer-ruled of other. And thus much thinke, that I „
haue ſpoken vnto you of his Italians, for as for his cõfederats, „
care not for them, nor make any accompte of them, nor offer a- „
nye earneſte fyghte to them. that be ſlaues of *Syria*, *Phrygia*, and „
Lydia, are euer ready to run away, and be kept vnder, whom I „

„ certaynlye knowe, and you shall euidently see, that *Pompey* wyll
„ not vse in ordered place of battayle. Onlye haue eie of the Ita-
„ lians, and if the confederates runne vppon you like rude doggs:
„ downe with them, and spare the other as youre kinsmen, and
„ vse your confederats, for to afray them. But before al things,
„ remember I maye see you performe that you haue promi-
„ sed, and that you maye chose eyther victorye or deathe, pull
„ downe youre Campe, and all the trenches, that wee may haue
„ nothing, vnlesse wee wynne it, lette oure enimies see that we be
„ without Campe, and that of necessitie, wee muste encampe in
„ theyrs.

When he had thus saide, hee sente oute two thousande ve-rye olde Souldiors, that had the charge of the Campe, who wēt forthe and digged downe the trenche wyth a deepe silence, and filled the ditches.

Pompey fighteth.

When *Pompey* sawe that, and some thoughte they made way to flee, he perceyued the bolde determination, and with a syghe sayde vnto hymselfe, that thys fyght should be with wild beasts oppressed with famin, a fit medicine for thē. But now there was no more dallying, the thing being come to the swordes pointe, therefore he set aboute foure thousande to keepe the campe, and placed the reste betweene the towne of *Pharsalo* and the floude *Enipeo*. *Cæsar* also arayd hymselfe ouer agaynste hym, eyther of them placed the Italians diuided into three partes, distaunt a little a sunder, they sette the horsemen on the sydes of them by portiōs, Archers and Slingers were intermedled with them all.

Pharsalo the towne where the battel was. *Enipeus* of *Thessaly* and of *Elade* Italians the chiefe strength of both sides.

Thus were the Italians ordered. In whome eche of them had their chiefe confidence, as for their confederats, they vsed them rather for a shew.

Pompey had a greate number of dyuerse language: of them he placed the Macedonians, the Peloponesians, the Boetians, and the Athenienses, nexte the Italians battayle, bycause of theyr good order and silence.

Order of *Pompeys* armye.

The other, euen as *Cæsar* coniectured, he commaunded euery natiō by it selfe, as warders out of the ray of battel, to compasse

the

the enimie when the fight began, and to pursue them with as much hurte as they coulde, and to put *Cæsars* campe to spoyle whiche was voyde of defence. *Scipio Pompeis* father in lawe, did leade the maine batayle in the middest, *Domitius* the leste wing, & *Lentulus* the right, *Aphranius* and *Pompey* kept the cãpe.

Scipio.
Domitius.
Lentulus.
Aphranius.
Pompey.

The leaders of *Cæsars* hoste, were, *Sylla*, *Antonius*, and *Decimus*, *Cæsar*, as he was wonte, leade the tenth legion, whiche the enimies seyng, brought agaynst them the beste horsemen, that beyng more in number, they shoulde, if they might, encompasse them. When *Cæsar* perceyued that, he layd three thousand of the boldest footemen in abushment, whome he willed, that when they sawe the enimie goyng aboute to enclose, they shoulde leape forth, and with their pikes driue as harde as they could, at the faces of them, for he knew that they being yong and vnexpert, would not abyde the peril of the face. Thus did they deuise on bothe sides, and went about in euery place, and when they had gyuen the order, and exhorted them to good hart, they gaue their wordes of knowledge.

Cæsar. Venus the Conquereſſe.
Pompey. Hercules vnconquered.

Cæsars order.

When all was ready, they stode a good whyle in a great silẽce, stirred not, but loked one vpõ an other, as amazed men which shoulde beginne the fight. The multitude that hytherto had no compassion at all, now pitied that so greate an armie of *Italians* should at once be hazarded, and that their vertue shoulde be tried only vpon themselues, and the chiefe hurte be of *Italians* agaynst *Italians*, and now at the very pynche of the mischiefe at hande, the desire of glory that had incesed and blinded them, was quenched, and conuerted into feare: for when reason dyd throughly way the affection of fame, and measured also the daunger present, they sawe the cause consisted in the contentiõ of two men, for whose superiorytie all their liues was ventured, so as whither were ouercome, coulde not be safe in the furdest place, nor a great multitude of noble men for theyr sakes: they remembred their auncient friendship and affinitie, howe many things they had done to their owne honour and aduance-

The astonishment of bothe armies.

ment, which now did weare their weapõs against thẽselues, & brought all that did serue them, to the like mischiefe, being of one nation, Citizens, kinsemen and allies, yea and some brethren. For so it happned in this warre, as among so many thousands as were togither of one nation, diuerse and straunge effectes must happe, whiche, eyther of them nowe considering, were striken presently with a great repentaunce, as though in that day, they should be eyther first or last vpon the earth, and were loth to beginne so doubtful a deede, and fell a weeping on both sides. Standing thus and beholding one another, the daye passed: the *Italians* standing in due order with silence continued: but *Pompey* perceyuing his straungers to be troubled with this stay, and doubting least confusion might follow therof, at the beginning, first gaue the token of battayle, and *Cæsar* did the like. Then the trumpets stroke the sounde of battayle as was required in such a number: beside, in sundry parts, the Heralds and the Captaines, were at hand to giue encouragement: they marched stately with astonishment and silence, as men that had ben in many like pastimes: Being at hand, the first charge was giuen with Archers, and Artillery, and soden onsets of horsemen to enclose the fotemen. There was to and fro, til *Pompeys* horsemen hauing the better, did enuiron the tenth legion. Then *Cæsar*, giuing his token to them that lay in a wayte, they stepped forth against the horsemen, and with theyr pykes put vp, did lay them on the faces: they could not abyde that boldnesse, nor the blowes made at theyr mouthes and eyes, but confusedly fled away, & then did *Cæsars* horsemen enclose the other fotemen, being naked, whiche feared to haue bene enclosed themselues. Whē *Pompey* perceyued thys, he commaunded the fotemen not to moue or stirre from the battaile, nor to throw light weapons, but to stand distaunce in the forefront, and with their pykes at hande to resist the enemy comming on them. Some prayse this politicie as the best, against compassing: but *Cæsar* in his Epistles doth dispraise it, bycause the strokes that are giuen with a mouing vehemence, are mightier, and men by forcing forewarde, be the bolder, and they ỹ remayne stil, ware fearefull, and easie to be hitte, as standing markes that are shotte

The strange abashment of both sides.

The vaste giue.

Policie of Pompey not allowed.

shotte at, as then it proued in deed. The tenth legion with him, fiercely following, did beat the bodies of *Pompeis* leaft battayle, voyde of horsemen, and standing still till they put them out of order, and by very force made them to turne, which was the beginning of ỹ victorie in the other multitude. Although there was diuerse and sundrye wayes of slaughter and hurting, yet was there not a voyce heard in suche a maine battayle, but sighes only and grones of them that fell valiauntlye in theyr places appointed. The confederates, as though they had come to see them fight a pryse, did maruel at their goodly order, but had no harte (for wondering at them) neyther to enter *Cæsars* campe which was kept of a fewe, and they very olde men, nor to do any other thing, but stande and gaze. But when the lefte wing of *Pompeis* host did retire by little & little, yet fighting stil, the confederates foully fled away, and cryed, we be ouercome. They ranne vpon their owne tentes and campes, as thoughe they had bene the others, whiche when they had spoyled, they went their ways as fast as they could. The other *Italian* army perceyuing they had the worse, gaue backe first in order, defending themselues as they might, but the enemye still comming vpon them, as now hauing the victorie, they also turned & fled. *Cæsar* then vsed great policie, ỹ they should not gather togither again, that this labor might not only make an end of one fight, but of al the war. He sent trũpets about ỹ battels, cõmaunding thẽ to refrayn frõ killing of their countreymen, and continue only agaynst the strangers, & that they should go among thẽ ỹ wer ouercome, & byd thẽ stay wout feare. This declaratiõ of ỹ crier was lerned frõ one mã to another, & was a warning word for *Põpeis* host to stay wout fear: so passing by ỹ other as *Italiãs* of one lãguage & order, they beat down the strangers not able to resist, & ther was gret slaughter made. After *Põpey* saw this alteratiõ, he was astonyed & went softly into his cãpe, & being come to his tent, he sat down spæchlesse, as they say *Aiax Telamonius* did for ỹ griefe he suffered in ỹ losse amõg his enimies at ỹ battayle of *Troy*: of the other, very few came into ỹ cãpe, for *Cæsars* Heralds had made thẽ stay wout feare, & being ouerpassed of their enemies, they might disperse thẽselues here & there.

Pompeys confederates flee.

Cæsars policie.

A vvorde to stay. Stay vvithout feare.

Pompey amased and speachlesse. *Aiax Telamonius* fell into astonishment for the iudgement giuẽ against him.

The

The day was almoſt at an ende, and *Cæſar* roade aboute with
Cæſar exhorting his ſouldiours to make an end.
maruelous payne, prayeng them that they woulde take yet a
little more labour, til they had gotten *Pompeis* campe, ſhew-
yng them that if the enimies returned, they ſhould be winners
but of one day, but if they got his campe too, the warre ſhoulde
be ended for euer. He held vp his handes to them, and was the
firſt that ranne towarde it. This did ſtirre the mindes of them
that had weary bodies to ſee their generall go before them: the
victorie of things paſt, and the hope to gette the campe, with al
that was in it, did ſtir, to that againe, and when men be in hope
and felicitie, they feele the leſſe of labour and extremitie. They
went on with great courage, and beate away the warders of
the ſame, whiche when *Pompey* ſawe, he onely brake into thys
Pompey fleeth.
ſpeache after hys long ſilence, *what, oures tentes too*, when hee
had thus ſpoken, he chaunged hys garment, and leapt on horſe
with foure frendes, and neuer lefte runnyng till by breake of
Lariſſa in *Theſſalie*, and in other places.
day he came to *Lariſſa*. *Cæſar* (as he threatened) at the giuing of
the onſet, did lodge in *Pompeis* pauilion, and ſupped with his pro-
uiſion, and the reſt of hys army did the lyke.

There were ſlayne in this battell of bothe partes of *Italians* (for the ſtrangers bicauſe of their multitude and contempt be not numbred) of *Cæſars* armye thirtie captaynes of bandes, & CC. ſouldiours, or as ſome ſay, two thouſand and .ij. hundred.
The loſſe of *Cæſars*.
Of *Pompeis* tenne Senatours, of the whiche was *Lucius Domitius* once appoynted *Cæſars* ſucceſſour in *Fraunce*, and of them
Pompeys loſſe. *L. Domitius*.
Cæſar ſayth *Pompey* loſte .xv. M. by death, and xxv. M. by taking, the reſte fledde.
Aſinius Pollio.
that be called Gentlemen, about fourtie of the beſte: of the reſt of the army, they that make moſte, ſay. .rv. M. But *Aſinius Pollio* that was at that fight with *Cæſar*, wryteth that onely fyre thouſande of *Pompeys* was ſlayne at that battayle. This was the ende of that great fight at *Pharſallo*.

Euery man confeſſed that *Cæſar* had deſerued the firſte and
Honours of victorie.
ſeconde honours, and with him the tenth Legion. *Craſſinius* a
leader of a bande, was thought worthy the thirde, who goyng
to ỹ fight, being aſked of *Cæſar* what he thought, anſwered cou-
Valiantneſſe of *Craſſinius*.
ragiouſly, we ſhall winne (O *Cæſar*), and thou ſhalte finde me
here eyther aliue or dead. The army did witneſſe, that he going

from

from hand to hande like a man in a furie, did as much as a mã might do. When he was sought for, and found amõg the dead, *Cæsar* did bury him with the ornaments due vnto him, & erected him a Tumbe nygh ỹ cõmon Sepulchre. *Põpey* frõ *Larissa* wyth lyke spæde went to the sea side, where he toke a little boate, & by chaunce met a shippe a floate, and sayled to *Mitilena*, where he receyued his wife *Cornelia*, and passed with foure Gallyes, which the *Rodians* and *Tirians* had brought to him. He refused to sayle to *Corcyra* and *Libya*, where he had an other great army, & a mighty naup by sea. He made his course to *Parthia*, thinking to recouer al againe, keping his purpose close frõ his friends, tyll he came with much ado to *Cilicia*. There they prayed hym to beware of the *Parthians*, whiche had lately ouercome *Crassus*, whereby they were the more insolent, and that it was not fit to bring *Cornelia*, so fayre a woman, among so vntemperate people, especially being *Crassus* daughter. Thẽ he deuised whither he should go, into *Egipt*, or to *Iuba* king of *Barbarie*. They thought no good to be had with *Iuba*, therfore they counselled him to go to *Egipt*, a nation nygh, of great dominion, fertyl and aboundant of grayne, money, and naupe, whose kings though they were children, yet friends to him for his fathers sake: and so for this cause he sayled into *Egipt*.

Pompey taketh the sea. *Mitilena*, in *Lesbo* now *Metelin*.

Pompeys determination of recouery.

Cornelia Pompeis wyfe *Crassus* daughter

At this time *Cleopatra* being ejected out of the kingdome by hir brother, wt whom she shoulde ioyntly haue raigned, prepared an army in *Syria* againste him. *Ptolomeus Cleopatras* brother was at a place in *Egipt* called *Casium*, and did lye in campe to resist his sisters forces, and as fortune wold, *Pompey* was drivẽ thither. When he perceiued an army aland, he stayed his ship, and thought, (as it was in dæde) that the king was there: hee sent vnto him, to shewe of the amity betwæne hys father and him. The king was thirtæne yeare olde: one *Achillas* did gouerne his army, and *Photinus* and Enuch was his Treasurer. They beganne to consulte what was beste to be done wyth *Pompey*: There was also *Theodotus* of *Samos*, an Orator and Scholemaister to the king, who dyd perswade the wicked acte to deceyue and kyl *Pompey*, to gratifye *Cæsar*. This counsel prevayled

Crassus an hil at the end of *Nilus*. *Ptolomeus* against *Cleopatra*.

Achilles. *Photinus*. *Theodotus*.

uayled, they sent a simple boate as though the roughnesse of ỹ Sea would not suffer a greater. Some of the kings seruauntes wente into the boate, and with them *Sempronius* a Romayne, who had serued vnder *Pompey*, and was nowe wyth the kyng. He offered his hande in the kings name to *Pompey*, and wylled hym to come as to his son and friende. As this was done, the army was set in order, and drewe neare the sea as to honoure *Pompey*, and the king was set in the midst in a purple vesture to be seene of all.

Sempronius.

Pompey suspected all, both the ordering of the army, and the meanes of the vessel: chiefly bycause the king came not toward him, nor sent any of his noble men, he spake a verse of *Sophocles:*

VVho to a Tiranne goes,
His slaue he is, though free he rose.

A verse of *Sophocles.*

And then he entred ỹ boate. Euery man being silent in ỹ passage, he rather suspected, and chiefly *Sempronius*, eyther bycause he knew him to be a *Romaine*, and hauing serued vnder hym, or bycause he did coniecture it, seeing him only stãding, according to souldiours discipline, who doe not set, when the chiefe is by. Then he turned to him and sayd, surely I should know thée, O Souldier. He nodded at hym agayn, and as he turned, was the first that stroke him, then the other. His wife and friends seeing this a farre off, cried, and held vp their handes to the gods reuengers of friendshippe broken, and sayled away streyght as from enimies lande. They that were about *Photino* cut of *Pompeis* heade, and kept it for *Cæsar* as a great gratification: but he worthily reuenged this wicked déed vpon them. The rest of his body was buryed at the sea bancke, and a silly Sepulchre was made, to the which one wrote this Epitaph:

Sempronius a *Romaine* first stryketh *Pompey*

Pompey cruellye killed.

Lo here he lyeth in simple graue,
A Temple that deserude to haue.

Epitaph of Põpey

In processe of tyme the graue was couered with sand: and certayne

certaine Images of Braſſe which the inhabitants did afterwarde ſet vp to *Pompey* vnder the Hil *Caſſius*, were taken away and layde vppe in a ſecrete place of a Temple. In my tyme *Adrianus* the Romaine Emperour in hys iourney that way, did cauſe it to be ſought and found out, and made the graue to be amended, ſo as euery man might ſée it, and erected the Images that were dedicated to *Pompey*.

Adrianus the Emperour reſtoreth the graue of *Pompey*.

This was the end of *Pompey*, by whom ſo many great battayles had bene fought, and the Romaine Empire ſo increaſed, as he had the ſurname of Great, neuer being ouercome before, but from his youth ſtill inuincible and happy: and frō thrée and twenty to eight and fiftie yeares, he ruled like a king, but in opinion ſuppoſed to gouerne like a populare man, for the emulation of *Cæſar*.

Pompey the great.

Lucius Scipio, *Pompeis* father in Lawe, and all the other noble men that did eſcape the battayle, fledde to *Cato* to *Corcyra*, who was generall of another army, and thrée hundred Gallies, being left there as a prudent Counſellour. The nobleſt of *Pompeis* friendes deuided the Nauye. *Caſſius* ſayled to *Pontus* to *Pharnaces*, to ſtirre him againſt *Cæſar*. *Scipio* and *Cato* wente into *Libya* truſting vppon *Varus* and his army, and *Iuba* king of *Numidia* his confederate. *Pompey*, *Pompeis* eldeſt ſonne, and *Labienus* wyth him and *Scapula*, hauing a part, wente into *Spaine* to make it againſt *Cæſar*, and they got him another army of *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* and ſlaues to haue the preparation greater: ſo mighty a power of *Pompeis* army was yet left, which he, by his infelicitie did abandon when he fled away. They that were in *Lybia* did chooſe *Cato* for the generall Captaine, who for ỹ preſence of ſuche men as had bene Conſuls, and others that had bene Lieuetenaunts, and he only a Prætor in *Rome*, refuſed the ſame. So *Q. Scipio* was made generall and a great army was gathered and trayned, and theſe were the chiefeſt preparations in *Libya* and *Iberia* gathered againſt *Cæſar*.

Corcyra an Iland in the *Ionian* ſea.

The care of *Pompeys* friends.

Pompeys ſonne, *Labienus* *Scapula*.

Cato choſen generall in *Lybia* refuſeth.

After the victorie, *Cæſar* abode two dayes in *Pharſalo*, ſacrificing and recreating hys weary armye, and there made the *Theſſalians* frée that had ſerued him, and pardoned the

Theſſalians made free of *Cæſar* who had ſerued him.

Athenians at their sute, vsing these wordes: Howe often hath the glorie of your auncestours saued you, whē you haue deserued destruction?

The third day he remoued towarde the East, followyng the fame of *Pompeis* flighte, and for wante of Gallies sayled ouer *Hellespont* in little boates.

Hellespont nowe the streyght of *Gallipolie*.

The sea betwene *Europe* and *Asia*.

Cassius a coward.

Cassius with his number of Gallies met him as he was goyng to *Pharnaces*, and although he might with his Gallies haue had the aduantage of those little boates, yet for feare of *Cæsars* felicitie and valiantnesse, he was amazed, and suspecting that *Cæsar* had come of purpose to finde him, he helde vp his handes and came from his Gallies into the boates to aske hym pardō, and deliuer him all his Gallies. So much force had the glorye of *Cæsars* felicitie, for I see none other reason, nor can iudge any other meane in so great difficultie of time, to haue such fortune that he should so afray *Cassius* a valiaunt man, comming vppon him with seauentie Gallies vtterly vnprouided, that he durste not medle with him. For as cowardly as he did nowe yéeld vnto him vpō the Sea, so after did he as cruelly kyl him whē he was Lord of all at *Rome*. Wherefore it is euident that he was then ouerborne with the feare of his felicitie. *Cæsar* thus being saued against all hope, and past *Hellespont*, he pardoned the *Ionians*, *Aetolians*, and other nations that inhabite greate *Cherronese*, which by one name is called *Asia* ỹ lower. He forgaue them that sent emballadours to craue it. Vnderstanding that *Pompey* was gone to *Egipt* he went to the Rhodes, where he would not tarry for the reste of his armye that was comming to him by parts, but with the Gallies of *Cassius* and the Rhodes, and such men as he presently hadde, he toke shippe at night, and sayled forth, not shewing whether, only commaunding the captaines in the night to follow the light of his shippe, and in the day, the flag of the same: to the maister whereof he commaunded, after he had sayled a good way, to set his course toward *Alexandria*: and so being three days vpon the sea, he came thither. In thys place he was wel receiued of the Kings officers, the king being yet at mount *Casius*.

Cæsar

Cassius.

Morea.

Cæsar sayleth into *Egipt*.

Cæsar at his comming pretended to haue nothing ado, because of his fewe men, but went about the Citie, to beholde the beauty therof, & stood and heard the Philosophers disputations, whereby he wanne muche loue and good fauour of the Alexandrians, being among them as one hauing nothing to do. But when his army was come, hée layde handes vppon *Photinus* and *Achillas*, and put them to death, for the wickednesse done to *Pompey*, *Theodotus* fled into *Asia*, whome *Cassius* founde there, and caused to be hanged.

Cæsar heareth disputations at *Alexandria*.

Photinus and *Achillas* kylled.

Theodotus hanged.

The Alexandrians were offended herewith, and sette vppon him with the kings army that was there, and made many fights with hym about the kings Palaice, and at the sea banke, where *Cæsar* was driuen to take the sea, and to swimme a good way.

Cæsar saued by swimming.

The Alexandrians toke hys cloake and bare it vp as a token of victory. His last battell was wyth the kyng hymselfe at the floude *Nilus*, where he ouercame him, and restored the kingdome to *Cleopatra*, after he had bin nine moneths there. Then he sayled vppon *Nilus* with foure hundred shippes, in company of *Cleopatra*, for whose pleasure he did many things, all the whiche be particularly tolde in my booke of Egiptian matters.

Cæsar ouercommeth the Kyng of *Aegipt*.

Cleopatra restored.

This booke is not extant.

He could not abide to behold *Pompeys* heade that was brought vnto him, but commanded it to be buryed: he also builded a little Temple before the Citie, which was called the Temple of Reuengement, the which in my tyme when *Traiane* the Emperoure did make warre against the Iewes, was pulled downe of them, to serue some turne in the warre.

Cæsar vvepeth vvhen he did see *Pompeys* heade.

Temple of Reuengement.

Traiane.

When *Cæsar* had done these things in *Alexandria*, he wente wyth hys army thorough *Syria* against *Pharnace*, who had bin very busy and taken diuerse of the Romaine Prouinces, and gotten one victory of *Domitius* lieutenante to *Cæsar*, by the which growing stoute he toke *Amyso* a Citie of *Pontus* allied to the Romaines, all the people whereof he solde as slaues and made their children Enuchs, but when *Cæsar* came, he fled as farre as he coulde, and sent to *Cæsar* for peace by hys Ambassadors, who brought him a crowne of golde, and offered foolishlye the kyngs daughter in marryage to hym.

Cæsar against *Pharnace*.

Domitius ouerthrovvne in *Syria*.

Amysso a Citie in the confines of *Paphlagonia* & *Capadocia*.

He perceyuing their presentes and messages, wente on wyth his army, entertayning the Kings Ambassadors with ordinary talke, till they came nighe where he was encamped, and then he said: shall not this murtherer of his father bée yet killed? & then he leaped on horse. And at the first charge *Pharnace* fled awaye, and *Cæsar* ouerthrewe the moste parte, with a thousand horsemen, that with the firste, did kéepe in chase with hym. At thys *Cæsar* saide with a loude voice. O happy *Pompey*, that haddest to do with such mē of war as *Methridates*, & this mans father was, therby both to be thought and called Great. Of this fight hée sent thus to *Rome*, *I came, I sawe, I conquered.* *Pharnace* was content to go to the kingdome of *Bosphorus*, which *Cæsar* appoynted him.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Bosphorus part of the kingdome of *Pontus*.

Cæsar spent no time in trifles, so many battels yet remayning behinde, he went into *Asia*, and by the waye gathered money of the Cities that were troubled wyth them that toke paymentes of the Tributes, as we haue shewed in our booke of *Asia*. Now word was brought hym that there was sedition rayled in *Rome*, and that *Antony* his lieutenāt did kéep the common place wyth an army. Therefore setting all thinges aside, hée made haste to *Rome*. Whither, when he was come, all ciuill discorde ceassed, but another began among his souldiours, bycause they had not yet, neyther receiued the promise made for theyr seruice at *Pharsalo*, nor that it was reasō that they shoulde be still kept in war, & therfore they cried euery man to go home. He had promised thē rewards at *Pharsalo*, and other rewardes when the war of *Libya* should be ended. Therfore he sent them a thousand drammes apéece, with a promise of more. They bad him promise no more, but pay al out of hand. And it lacked but little that they had not killed *Crispus Salustius*, had he not shifted away.

Seditiō in *Rome*.

Sedition in *Cæsars* army.

Drachma is a peece of coyne, vvaying as mucke as a sterling groat, after eight groates to an ovvnce.

Salustius in danger.

When *Cæsar* heard this, he commanded the legion that *Antony* had for the guarde of the Citie, to kéepe aboute his house, & the entry of the Citie, fearing spoile, and hée, verye boldly (all men fearing and diswading him from the rage of the souldiors) went among them as they were in mutinie in the field of *Mars*, and not being perceyued, was set in the high seate. They confusedly, and with tumulte came running vnarmed, & as the maner

Cæsar among his seditious souldioures.

is

is to salute the Generall when he commeth firste among them, he commaunded thē, that if they had any thing to say there, touching the gifts, they shoulde speake it before his face, whiles hée was present: they durste not speake a word for feare, but taking a meane way, cryed to be released of the warre, hoping bycause he had néede of men to finish the rest of his wars, he would haue saide somewhat of the giftes. But he contrarie to all opinion, without any stay answered: *I discharge you*. They being astonied hereat, and standing in a great silence, he saide againe: *And I wil giue you all that I haue promised you, when I shall triumphe of the rest*. This word vnlooked for, & appearing so curteous, did strike in them suche a consideratiō with an emulation, that they thoughte it a shame to forsake their Capitaine in the middes of his enimies, and that others shoulde triumph in their places. They remembred what losse they should haue by leauing the warre in *Libya*, and be thought enimies aswell to *Cæsar* as to hys aduersaries: for this doubt they remained silent in feare, hoping yet that *Cæsar* woulde haue giuen them rewarde, and forgyuen them the faulte for hys present néede, but he sate as silent as they. Therefore hys friends wished him to say somwhat vnto them, & not to leaue them, that so oft had serued hym, with so shorte & seuere a spéech. He began to speake & call thē Citizens in stead of souldiors, which was a token they were discharged of ỹ warre, & become in their former priuate case. This they could not suffer, but cryed that they did repent, and prayed they might be taken to the warre, *Cæsar* refused it, and came from the seate. Then they made greater instaunce, beséeching hym that if they hadde done amisse to punishe them: he stayed a while, neither going forward nor backewarde, séeming to doubt what to do, yet hée returned and sayde hée woulde punishe none of them, but that it grieued him that the tenth legion, whiche he had alwaies loued and honored, shoulde giue cause of suche tumulte, and onely thys saide,

Cæsars wisedom among his reuolting Souldiors.

Souldioures repent them.

I do release them of their seruice, and yet wyll gyue them all I haue promised them, when I come from *Libya*, and I will giue lande to all, when the warres shall be ended, not as *Sylla* dydde, spoyling it from other that hadde it, and causing both the taker and the loser, to liue togither, to main-

tay:

"tayne perpetuall enmitye, but I wyll diuide bothe the com-
"mon and mine owne, and the lacke I wyl buy with my mony.

Showte and reioyce was made of all, sauing of the tenthe legion, against the whiche *Cæsar* seemed to be inexorable. Therefore they desired hym they might bee punished by death, as the lotte shoulde fall out. But he hauing no neede of further furye of them, and perceyuing they were throughlye penitent, forgaue them all, and streyght went to the war in *Barbarie*, passing from the narrowe Sea at *Reggio*, hee wente to *Messina* and to *Lilybeo*, where he vnderstoode that *Cato* kept part of the army bothe by sea and lande at *Vtica*, wyth three hundred whiche lyke chiefe counsellers were greatest doers of the war, and called the Senate, and that the Generall *Lucius Scipio*, and the best laye in *Adrumeto*, therfore he sayled against *Scipio* who was gone to *Iuba*, & gaue order for the fight with his campe, taking the opportunity againste hys enimyes that were without the Generall. *Labienus* and *Petreius* chief vnder *Scipio*, did not refuse the fyght, & had far the better of *Cæsar*, putting him to flight, & fiercely with contẽpt followyng hym, til *Labienus* horse was thruste throughe the belly and killed, and he saued by the guarde of hys person. *Petreius*, as he that had taken sufficient triall of his army, & might winne when he would, lefte the thing vnfinished, saying to them that were by him: *Least we should take the victory from Scipio our Generall.* This was also another token of *Cæsars* fortune, that his enimies in apparaunce hauing the victory, would so sodainly breake the fight, when they had the day. They say that *Cæsar* at this fighte, was fayne to stande againste his men, and to take the Egle frõ him that bare it, being the chiefe standerd, and to goe to the formost to stay thẽ frõ flying, till *Petreius* retired, and *Cæsar* had time to depart with leysure. This end had the first fight ẏ he made in *Barbarie*. Not long after, *Scipio* came forth with .8. legions, rr. M. horsinẽ wherof the most part were *Affricanes*, many target mẽ, & rrr. Elephants, which *Iuba* the Kyng, who had other fotemen, about rrr. M. and Numidiã horsinẽ almost. rr. M. many darters, and threescore other Elephants.

Reggio is the furthest townne in *Italy* towardes *Lelibeo* a foreIande of *Sicely*.
Cæsar sayleth into *Barbarie*.
Vtica a Cittye in *Affrica*, thirtie myles from *Carthage*.
A Senate in *Lybia* of three hũdred Romaines.
Adrumeto a City in *Affrica*, farre from *Carthage*.
Labienus.
Petreius putteth *Cæsar* backe.
Petreius folowveth not the victorye.
Cæsars fortune.
The daunger of *Cæsar*.
Scipios armye.

Cæsars army was dismayed, and troubled among themselues

as

as well for their former losse, as for the fame of their aduersaries, both in number and vertue, specially the *Numidian* Horsemen, beside the terror that they had to make a straunge fighte with the Elephantes. But *Bocchus*, another king of the *Moores*, hauing take *Cirta*, the chiefe Citie of *Iuba*, he vpon the newes of his owne losse, returned home with his armye, leauing onely thirty Elephants with *Scipio*. *Cæsars* army by this, toke such courage, as the fifth Legion desired the fight against the Elephãts, of whome, hauing a noble victory, they geue an Elephante in their ensigne at this day. The battell being long and difficulte on euerye side, and full of vncertaintie, aboute the euening *Cæsar* hardly gote the victory, and ouerthrew *Scipios* Camp, not leauing the victory in the night, till all was brought to passe, the enimies by smal parts as they could, fled: and *Scipio* with *Afranio*, leauing all, fledde to the Sea with twelue Ships vnarmed. Thus an armye of fourescore thousande Souldyers, well trayned in the warre, and encamped by the former victory, was in this seconde fight vtterly vanquished. *Cæsars* glory, through his felicitie, was compted of all mẽ vnconquerable, and they that were ouercome, woulde attribute nothing to his manhoode, but excuse all theyr faultes by his felicitie. It seemeth that this warre had this vnfortunate end, by the vnskilfulnesse of the Captaynes, that they did not endure, till *Cæsar* mighte haue bin put to his shiftes, nor bring the firste victory to perfection, but woulde nedes leaue it, when they were in the middest of it. This being told at *Vtica* the thyrde day, and *Cæsar* comming forward, euery man beganne to flee, of whome *Cato* stayed none, but gaue Shippes to the noble men that desired them, yet himselfe tarryed like a constant man, and where they of *Vtica* promised, that they woulde make intercession to *Cæsar* for him, before themselues, *Cato* smiled and aunswered, there needed no reconciliation betweene *Cæsar* and hym, and that *Cæsar* knew well ynough. Then he sealed vp al the treasure, and the assurances and writtings of euery man, and deliuered them to the Magistrates of *Vtica*, and in the euening vsing his bath and his supper, sitting at his meate as he was wonte to do, since the death of *Pompey*, nothing changing from his wonted

Bocchus King of the *Moores*, that deliuered *Iugurtha* to *Sylla*.

Cirtha a Citie of *Numidia*, nowe *Constana*, where *Iugurth* killed *Adherbal*.

The fifth Legion giueth the Elephant in an ensigne.

Cæsars victory.

Cæsars felicitie.

Vnskilfulnesse.

The noblemen of *Rome* flee.

Cato to the *Vticenses*.

manner, neyther taking more nor lesse. He talked familiarly with them that were present, of them that were sayled, and if the wind were good for them, and how farre they might passe before the morning that *Cæsar* came. And when he wente to bedde, hée changed nothing of his vsage, but only embraced his sonne more straightly than he was wont: but bicause he found not his sworde in the place at his bed where it was wont to stande, he cryed, hée was betrayed to his enimies of his owne folke. What should I vse (quoth he) if they set vpon me in the night? They desired him he would be content, and to worke nothing against himselfe, but to rest without his sworde. Might I not (quoth he) if I woulde, choke my selfe with my cloke, or crush my head against the wal, or fall & breake my necke, or stoppe my breath and kill my selfe? When they heard him speake after this sort, they brought hym his sworde. Then he called for *Platos* booke of the Immortalitie of the Soule, which whē he had redde, and thinking them that kept the doores to be at rest, he stroke himselfe with the sworde vnder the brest, whereat his bowels fell out, at the whiche noyse, they without came in & the Phisitions put in his bowels againe vnperished. When he came againe to himselfe, he was sory he had giuē no déeper wound, thāking them that they had saued his life, & made thē beléeue he would rest: then they toke away ỹ sworde, and shut ỹ doore, that he might sléepe: he séeming to be asléepe, tare asunder with his hands (like a wilde beast) the solving vp of hys wound, rente his belly asunder, and slong the entrayles into the floore, and so dyed at fiftie yeares of his age. By doing this, he cōfirmed the opinion that he held of all men, most singulare by nature, iudging vertue, honestie, & goodnesse, not by mens maners, but by high cogitations of the minde: *Martia*, *Philips* daughter he married a mayde, and loued hir full déerely, and after he had children by hir, he gaue hir to his friend *Hortensio*, that was desirous of children, and could not get a frutefull wife, and when she was with child by him, he receyued hir home again, as with interest. This was *Catos* behauiour. The *Vticenses* buryed him verye honorably. *Cæsar* sayde, that *Cato* enuyed his glorious procéedings: *Cicero* made a booke in the praise of him, and called it *Cato*. *Cæsar* made

Cato angry that his sworde is mislayd away.

Cato readeth *Plato* of the Immortalitie of the Soule.

Cato striketh himselfe.

The death of *Cato*.

The singularitie of *Cato*.

Martia is giuen to *Hortensius*.

made another in the dispraise of him, and called it *Anticato*. *Iuba* and *Petreius* hearing what was done, and thinking no safetie nor escape to be left for them, with their swordes killed one another in their house. *Cæsar* made *Iubas* Kingdome tributarie to *Rome*, and appointed *Crispus Salustius* to be Lieutenant of it. He pardoned the *Uticenses*: and *Catos* sonne, and a daughter of *Pompey*, with two little children whome he toke at *Utica*, he sent safe to *Pompey*. Of the three hundred, as many as he found he put to death. *Lucius Scipio* the Generall, keeping the seas all Winter, till he fell amóg the enimies, behaued himselfe very valiantly, till he was ouercome, and then stroke himselfe, and lept into the Sea. This was the end of *Cæsars* warres in *Libya*. Then he went to *Rome*, and made foure triumphes of the Frech, of the which he had ouerthrowne many and greate nations, and the other reuolting, he brought to order, of *Pharnace* at *Pontus*, of *Libya*, and the confederates of *Scipio*, where *Iuba*, the sonne of *Iuba*, the writhter of Histories, beyng yet an infant, was brought. He shewed also a certaine triumph of *Aegipt*, with a fighte by water at *Nilus*, whiche was done betwéne the French, and the *Pharnatian* triumph: but he refrayned from triumphing of the *Romaines*, as ciuil matter not fit for him, & lothsome and vnlucky to ỹ *Romaines*, to be shewed in triumph: yet all the chances, and ỹ men in pictures, & diuers images, (*Pompey* except) he brought in: him only he forbad to be shewed, because he was so wel beloued of all sorts. The people (though they were afrayd) sighed at this sighte, especially when they saw *Lucius Scipio* the generall strike himselfe to the heart, & fall into the Sea, & *Petreius* in his tent so to kill himselfe, and *Cato* tearing his bowels like a brute beast, but at the death of *Achillas* and *Photinus*, they reioyced, and at the flight of *Pharnaces* they laughed. The money that was brought in the triumphes, is said to be 70. Talents and an halfe, and two thousande eyght hundred two and twenty Crownes of gold, the waight whereof did excéde twenty thousand foure hundred fourteéne pound waight, by the which after ỹ triumphes were ended, he performed al that he had promised to his army, & more to. To euery souldier he gaue fiue M. drammes of *Athens*, to a leader of a bande twice so much, to a Captayne

Anticato.

Iuba and *Petreius* killed themselues one another.

Crispus Salustius Lieutenant.

Yong *Pompey*.

Cæsar putteth to death.

Scipio drowned

Triumph of *Cæsar*.

Iuba.

Lamentable shewes.

Affectiõs of the people.

A talent of the least value, was one hundred pounde, which is called the lesse talẽt of *Athens*. The greater talent of *Athens*, was aboute 133. pounde.

There were other talentes, whereof some were 400. pound.

A dramme of *Athens* conteyned sixe *Oboli*, which was much like oure halfepeny, and one hundred drammes maide an *Athẽs* pound.

of a thousande, and a Lieutenante of Horsemen twice so muche more, and to euery one of the people, one pounde of *Athens*. Hée exhibited manye shewes of horse and musicke, and fighting on foote, one thousand against an other, and of horsemen two thousand against so many, and other of footemen and Horsemen mingled togither, and of Elephantes, twentye agaynste twentye, and a fight by Sea of foure hundred Galleys, and a thousande of eyther side. He erected a Temple to *Venus* hys auncestor, as hée vowed at *Pharsalo*, and about the temple a goodly court, which he would should be called the *Romaines* court, not for byng and selling, but for conference, as among the *Persians*, there is for them that will haue any doubt discussed touching iustice. The Image of *Cleopatra* was set vp by the Goddesse very faire, whiche is yet sæne there. A view of the people was made, and they foũd scarcely halfe so many men aliue, as were before the beginning of the warre, so much had con cution wasted the Citie.

Shewes by *Cæsar*.

Venus Temple.

The *Romaines* Court like to our Exchange.

Place of conference.

Image of *Cleopatra*.

Decay of people.

Now was he made Consull the fourth time, and went into *Iberia* against yong *Pompey*, as to the leauings of the ciuill warre, not to be neglected, for all the best men that fledde out of *Libya* resorted to him, and all the remnant of the armies at *Pharsalo*, and other places, repaired thither. Of ỹ *Iberianes* and *Celtiberianes*, very valiant natiõs, vsed to the warres, and of slaues a multitude, dyd serue *Pompey*, and hauing bin exercised foure yeares, were ready to fight with desperate minde. *Pompey* putting great trust in this, refused not to fighte, but woulde nædes trye it out wyth *Cæsar* as soone as he came. But the auntient and wise mẽ in experience that were come from *Pharsalo* and *Lybia*, did rather aduise him to consume *Cæsar* in time, and to distresse him with want, as in those strange places he might. *Cæsar* came from *Rome* in seauẽ and twenty dayes, passing a long way with a greate army, and suche a feare fell among them that he broughte, as neuer did before, bycause of the multitude, experience, and desperation of the enimies: wherefore *Cæsar* came the slowlyer forth, and bycause he vsed some foresight, *Pompey* came lustily vpon him, and vpbrayded him of fearefulnes, which rebuke *Cæsar* could not suffer, but made order for the battell at *Cordnba*: his woorde was,

Decay of people.

Cæsar made Consull.

Powver in *Spayne*.

Yong *Pompey* refuseth auntient counsell.

Cæsar into *Spayn*.

Feare of his Souldyoures.

Rashnesse of yong *Pompey*.

Cordnba, a Citie in *Spayne*, the countrey of both *Seneca* and *Lucane* the Poet, nowe *Cordoua*.

Venus

Venus and *Pompeys* Pietie. When they shoulde goe to it, a feare and dreadfull doubtfulnesse toke *Cæsars* army, wherefore he besought all the Goddes, and held vp his hands to Heauen, that he might not lose all his noble actes by this one Battell, and therefore went about the army, and exhorted them to be bold. He pulled his headpeece from his head, that they might see his face, and so receyue good heart: but they for all that could not put awaye their feare, till *Cæsar* toke a Target from one of them, and to the Captaynes about him thus sayde: Shall this be the ende to me of life, and to you of seruice? and ranne from the army so farre, as he was but teune foote from his enimies, who threwe two hundred dartes at him, of the which he shunned part, and part he receyued on the Target. Then his Captaynes ranne about him, euery man, and the whole army set forward with great violēce, and foughte all daye, sometime with aduantage, and sometyme with disaduantage, sometime winning, and sometime losing, tyll at night he gote the victory with muche adoe, so as he sayde, at other times, he had fought for victory, but now, he fought for life. There was great slaughter of *Pompeys* part, which fledde to *Corduba*. And *Cæsar*, that they shoulde not gather agayne to a newe fight, commaunded his army to compasse the Citie. They being weery of the former payne, toke the bodyes, and the armure of them that were slayne, and bare them betweene them, and making them fast to the earth with their speares, vsed them for a Trench. The next morning the Citie was taken of *Pompeys* captaynes. *Scapula* made a fire, and threwe himselfe into the flame. The heads of *Varus*, *Labienus*, and other noble men, were brought to *Cæsar*. *Pompey* at the beginning of the losse, fledde with a hundred and fiftie horse into the *Carteia*, where he hadde a Nauie of Shippes, he came secretely to the Shippes carried in a litter, and when he perceyued them there to be in feare of themselues, he was in dread to be betrayed, & therfore toke a boate agayne, and by the way, his foote hong in one of the ropes, whiche one minding to cut, missed the rope, and hurte him in the foote, but he went on to the next village, and was cured, where being sought for, he fledde among the bushes and desert pathes, in the whyche

Feare in *Cæsars* army.

Some vvrighte, that this fight vvas giuen at *Monda*, vvhich is nowv *Mundecara*: the places not being farre asunder, some name the one, and some the other.

Danger of *Cæsar*.

Cæsars saying of this fight.

A trenche made of dead bodyes.

Corduba taken.

Scapula, *Varus*, and *Labienus*, killed.

Pompey fleeth. *Carteia* is a Citie in *Granado*, nowv *Tarifa*.

Pompey hurte.

the thornes did pricke his wounde so, as for very wearinesse hee sate him downe vnder a tree, whether the searchers pursued him, and he valiantly defending himselfe was slayne, his head being carried to *Cæsar*, and by his commaundemente buryed: so thys warre at one bronte, contrary to all opinion, was ended. A yonger brother of this *Pompey*, called *Sextus*, did gather the remnant of the leauings of this warre, and in close maner, conueyed himselfe hither and thither, robbing for their liuing. Nowe *Cæsar* hauing finished all ciuill dissention, wente to *Rome*, with suche feare and opinion, as neuer man before. All honors that aboue mans reach could be deuised, were done vnto him: Sacrifices, Playes, and giftes, as well in Temples and publike places by the companies of the Citie, as by all nations and Kings confederate to the people of *Rome*. Many diuers formes were set vpon his images, of the which some had crownes of oke, as to the sauioure of the countrey, with the which in olde time they were honored that saued their Countrey. He was named father of the Countrey, and chosen Dictator perpetuall, and Consull for tenne yeares, and touching his bodye, accompted sacred and inuiolable, to giue audience in a chaire of golde and yuorie, and continuallye make Sacrifices, clad with triumphant garments. They ordeined the Citie to be holy those dayes that he wan anye victories. They appointed Sacrifices and Priestes for fyue yeares, and publike vowes for his preseruation, and orders were made, by the which all his actes were confirmed by oth. And in the honor of his house, the Moneth *Quintilis*, was called *Iulius*. Manye Temples were dedicated to him alone, as to a God, and one ioyntly to him and *Clementie* ioining hande in hande. Thus dyd they feare him as a Lorde, and honor him as a mercifull Minister. There were that laboured to haue called him King, till hee heard of it, and forbad it with threats, that no man shoulde once name it, as detestable, and vnlawfull from his auncestors. Hee discharged the bands of his gard, by whome he had bin defended from his enimies, and wente abroade with the officers of the Citie onely. He beeyng in the common place, and giuing audience, the Senate with the Consuls going before in goodly order, brought

Pompey the elder sonne, slayne.

Pompey the yonger brother.

Cæsar honored of all.

The great honoures of the auncient Romaines vvas to giue Crovvnes or garlandes to them that had done vvorthy seruice.

Father of the Countrey.

Dictator perpetuall.

Honoures giuen to *Cæsar*.

Holy dayes.

Quintilis, Iulius.

Temples dedicated to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar refuseth the name of Kyng.

brought him a decree of all these honors, whiche he receyued gently, not rising to them, neyther comming nor going: whyche gaue occasion of matter to them that meant to accuse him of aspiring to a Kingdome. He accepted all the dignities, sauing the Consulship for tenne yeares, therefore willed himselfe to be declared Consull, and *Antonius* with him, that was Captayne of his Horsemen, whiche office he appointed to *Lepidus*, to exercise the rule of Horsemen by deputies, bycause he was Gouernoure in *Iberia*. He reuoked all banishments, except such as were fledde for wicked offences. He pardoned his enimies, and to suche as had foughte against him, he gaue yearely offices, and sente them to charges of prouinces and armies, whiche made the people to thinke, that he woulde haue lefte them in a common wealthe, as *Sylla* did when he had the like authoritie: but they were deceiued. One of them that would haue had the name of a King sette forwarde, did put vppon his image a Crowne of Laurell, with a wreath of a white riband. *Marullus* and *Sestius* being Tribunes, apprehended him, and threwe him in prison, thinking so to haue pleased *Cæsar*, as one that abhorred the name of King. This he suffered patiently, and where others called him King as he went out at the gates, and the people sighed at it, he answered couertly, I am not King, but *Cæsar*, as though they had bin deceyued in the name. *Marullus* caused him to be apprehended, that fyrste of them begaume this matter, and willed hym to be broughte to answere in hys Courte. Then *Cæsar* coulde no longer suffer, but accused *Marullus* and hys fellowes before the Senate, as one that craftily wroughte against hym by a calumniation of Tyrannie, and whereas they deserued deathe, yet he thoughte it sufficiente for them to lose their office, and be putte out of the Senate. Thys dyd moste of all confirme, that he coueted thys title, and that he bente all his prattise to that ende, and was vtterly become a Tyrante, for as there was good authoritie to punish them that named any man king, so was the Tribunes office holy, inuiolate by lawe, and auntient oth, and it made the anger the harper, that he woulde not tarrie the time of the office: whyche when he vnderstoode, he

Cæsars flatellnes.

Occasion of hate.

Cæsar and *Antonius* Consuls.

The clemencie of *Cæsar*.

Cæsar deceyueth the peoples opinion.

A Crowne vpō *Cæsars* Image, by one that was apprehended of the Tribunes *Marullus*, and *Sitius*.

Cæsar accepteth not the name of a King.

Cæsar angrye with the Tribunes, causeth suspition of Kingdome.

did

did repent him, and first perceyued, that it was an harde thing to deale rigorously in peace, without authoritie of warre. Hys friends gaue him counsel to beware, and that he had giuen great occasion to his aduersaries to get matter agaynst him: therefore when they moued him ý he would be content to haue a garde of Spanish bandes, he sayd, there was nothing more vnhappy, than a continual gard, for it is of one that is euer afrayd. Yet the practises to be a King, ceassed not, for sitting one day in the comm̃ place in a chayre of golde to see the playes of *Pane*, *Antony* his fellowe in office, naked and annoynted, as the manner was for the Ministers of that solemnitie, ranne vp to *Cæsars* seate, and set a crowne on his head, at the which sight few reioicing, and more lamenting, *Cæsar* threw it off. *Antony* set it on againe, but *Cæsar* reiected it. The people stode silent, looking what end this would haue, and when they saw *Cæsar* vtterly refuse it, they reioyced, and highly commended him therefore. Now eyther bycause he despayred, or in vayne attempted, or would auoyde the practise of so odious a thing, or for that he would leaue the Citie bycause of some enimies, or that he had regard to his health, being troubled with a falling sickneſſe, which in rest many times came vpon him, he determined a greate voyage againste the *Getes* and *Parthianes*: against the *Getes*, bycause they were insolente people, and quarrelling, euer troubling the *Romaine* state. Againste the *Parthianes*, bycause he would reuenge *Crassus* deathe whome they had slayne, contrary to oth and promise, and so hauing an armye of sirtéene Legions, and tenne thousand Horse, he sent them afore to passe the *Ionian* Sea. There was out of *Sybils* bookes an olde saying, that the *Parthians* shoulde not be ouercome, till a King went against them: wherefore some there were so bold to saye, that as it was expedient for the *Romaines* to call him *Dictator*, or *Imperator*, or anye other name in stead of a King, so that all nations subiect to the *Romaine* Empire, should call hym King. He refused this also, and made hast to his iourney, bycause he sawe he was enuyed in the Citie: but whereas he tarried till the appoynted time, his enimies killed him foure dayes before in the Senate house, eyther for enuie, which commonly accompanyeth

Cæsar warred.

Answvere of *Cæsar* touching a gard of his person.

Lupercalia vvere shevves of naked Priestes in the honoure of *Pane*.

Antony setteth a Crovvne on *Cæsars* head.

Cæsar hath the falling sickneſſe.

Gete, Scithians in *Europa*.

Voyage into *Parthie*.

Prophecie.

Enuie.

such

such felicitie & auctoritie, or as they said, for the loue of their cõtreys libertie. For now they knew well that thoughe hee did not ouercome those nations, without doubte he woulde be a King. And for this cause (I thinke) they toke the enterprise agaynste him, vnder the pretence of that name: for thoughe hee was but *Dictator* in degree, it was as much as a Kyng in deede. There were two chiefe in that conspiracy, *Marcus Brutus Cepio*, sonne to *Brutus* that was killed of *Sylla*, whiche fled to *Cæsar* after the calamitie of *Pharsalo* field, and *Caius Cassius* that delyuered hys galleis into *Cæsars* hand at *Hellespont*. These two were afore of *Pompeys* part, and now much honoured of *Cæsar*. *Decimus, Brutus, Albinus*, alwayes thoughte worthy of *Cæsar* to be vsed in honor and credite, and had great affaires committed to them, and in the wars in *Lybia*, trusted them wyth armies, and made them Gouernours of Prouinces. *Decimus* of France beyond the Alpes, & *Brutus* of the same, on thys side the Alpes.

Conspiratours. M. Brutus. Ca. Cassius. D. Brutus.

Brutus and *Cassius* beeyng Pretors, contended for the superiorities of the place, eyther indeede who shoulde be higher, or else for a pretence, that they shoulde seeme to be no friendes. *Cæsar* setting order betwixte them, said to hys friendes: *Cassius* desireth right, but *Brutus* muste be pleased. With so great loue and honour did *Cæsar* vse hym, that of some he was compted hys son, bicause he loued very wel *Seruilia, Catos* sister, and *Brutus* mother.

Clocked contention.

Therfore when he got the victory at *Pharsalo*, hee gaue greate charge to hys Captayns, that in any wise they should saue *Brutus*. But *Brutus* either as an ingreate man, or ignorant of his mothers faulte, or distrustfull, or ashamed, or very desirous of his cõtrys libertie, preferring it before all other things, or that he was descended of the auntient *Brutus*, that droue out the Kings: or that he was incensed and rebuked of the people, for many thinges were written vppon the Images of olde *Brutus*, and in the Courte hall of this *Brutus* secretly set vp: *Brutus* thou takest rewardes, *Brutus* thou arte dead, O *Brutus* I woulde thou were aliue nowe, *Brutus*, what vnworthy posterity hast thou? *Brutus* thou arte not come of hym.

Cæsars care of *Brutus*.

Brutus.

These and many other lyke, did inflame the yong mans mind

to take the worke in hande as from his progenitor: The fame of making him King did still encrease, and that there shoulde be a Counsell for it, a little before the which, *Cassius* toke *Brutus* by the hand and sayd:

Cassius. » *Brutus* what shall we do in that counsell? shall we, as *Cæsars*
» flatterers agree to make hym King? *Brutus* answered, I would
Brutus. » not be at that Counsell. *Cassius* being cheared with those wordes,
» said: what if they call vs as Officers, what shall we do (good *Bru-*
» *tus?*) I wyll (quoth he) defend my Countrey euen to the death.
» Then *Cassius* embraced hym, saying: Whom wilte thou take of
» the best being of this opinion? doest thou thinke that artificers
» and light people do set those writings vpon thy Iudgemēt place,
» rather thā the best Citizens of *Rome*, which of other Pretors do
» looke for shews, and pastimes of horse and wilde beasts, but of
» thē they require liberty, as a worke worthy thine auncestors.

After they had thus firste opened what they had long kept in their minds before, they then dealte plainely, and eche of them proued his own friends, and some of *Cæsars*, whome they knewe to be mēte for a bolde enterprise, and they got of their frendes two brethren, *Cecilius* and *Bucolianus*, thē *Rubrius Riga*, *Q. Ligarius*, *Marcus Spurius*, *Seruilius Galba*, *Sextius Naso*, and *Pontius Aquila*, all these of their trusty friends, and of *Cæsars* familiars. *Decimus*, of whom we spake, *Caius Casca*, *Trebonius Artilius Cymbrus*, *Minutius*, and *Basillus*. These beeyng thoughte sufficient, and not iudging it fit to haue anye moe, they agreed togyther wythout othe or sacrifice, and yet was there not one that changed or disclosed, but only sought tyme and place.

More Cōspiratoures.

The tyme was shorte, bycause *Cæsar* muste goe away the fourth daye to hys armyes, and then shoulde straighte haue a guarde of Souldioures aboute hym: The place, they appointed the Senate house: thinking though the Senatoures were not priuie, yet when they sawe the deede, they woulde helpe to it, as they saye happened to *Romulus*, who of a King became a Tyranne.

Romulus was thought to be torne a peeces of the Senate.

And that thys acte euen as that, beeyng done in the place of Counsel, shoulde not be thoughte a treason, but a deede of the Cittie,

Citie, voyde of dreade of *Cæsars* armye, bycause it was a common consent, and that honour shoulde remaine to them also, as not ignorant of the whole entent. Concluding vppon this, they thought the Senate house the fittest place. Of the maner, they differed: some thought good to kill *Antonie* also, being Consull with *Cæsar*, and his greatest friend, and most accepted to the armye. But *Brutus* sayde, if we dispatche *Cæsar* alone, wee shall be named killers of a Tyranne, bicause we deliuer vs of a king, and thereof muste haue oure prayse: but if we kill anye of hys friendes, we shall be thoughte seditious against *Pompeys* enimies. Being all persuaded by this, they loked for the next meeting of the Senate.

Consultation of *Cæsars* death.

The daye before that *Cæsar* shoulde goe to the Senate, he had bin at a banquet with *Lepidus* Capitayne of the horsemen, whither he carryed *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, and talkyng merilye what death was beste for a man, some saying one, and some an other, he of all, praised the sodaine death.

Cæsar at a banquet.

Sodayne deathe beste.

Thus he prophecied of hymselfe, and spake in iestе of that whiche shoulde come to passe in earnest the next day. After the banquet, in the night, his body was sickely, and hys wife *Calphurnia* dreamed she sawe hym all to be geared with bloude, and therefore stopped hys going forth. In making sacrifices, manye fearefull tokens appeared, wherfore he determined to haue sent *Antony*, to dissolue the Senate.

Cæsars vvife a fearefull dream.

Sacrifices vnprosperous.

Decimus being present, perswaded him not to take that calumniation of the suspition, but himselfe to goe and dissolue it, and so he was carryed thither in a Litter.

Impediments to the conspiracie.

That daye certaine playes were exhibited in *Pompeys* Theatre, therefore the Senate shoulde be kept in the place nexte to it: bicause also to sée the sights.

Theatre of *Pompey*.

Brutus and *Cassius* early in the morning, did sit as Prætors, giuing audience to suitors very quietly in a courte nighe the theatre of *Pompey*, and hearing of *Cæsars* sacrifices, and the differing of the Senate, were in greate doubte: and one that was there, toke *Casca* by the hande, and sayde vnto hym: woulde you kéepe it from me that am your friende? *Brutus* tolde me *Casca*

Discloſing.

Edilis had the ouersight of houses, temples, and preparation of Playes.

was in a sodayne passion, that he knewe it: then he saide more to hym smilyng, where wyll you haue money for your office of *Edilis*? and *Casca* tolde him. *Brutus* and *Cassius* beyng togither, and in talke, one of the Senators *Publius Lenas*, sayde, hee wished well to that they had in their mindes, and exhorted them to dispatch it. They being much amazed, belde their peace for anguishe.

Suspition of disclosing.

As *Cæsar* came forth, one of hys familiars vnderstanding of the conspiracie, and doing to tel what hee heard, wente to *Calphurnia*, and saide onelye thys, bycause the matter touched *Cæsar* much, he would tarry til he came from the Senate, for he knew not al that was wrought against him.

A booke of the Conspiracie.

And one *Artemidorus* that was his hoste in *Guido*, ranne vnto the Counsell house and found hym newe slaine. Of another a booke of the Conspiracie was deliuered, as he made haste into the Senate, whiche was founde againe in hys hande when hee was dead. And came out of his Litter *Lena*, that had wished wel before to *Cassius*, came vnto hym, and talked verye earnestlye wyth him, the sight wherof did trouble the, and the length of the talke made them winke one at another, to dispatche themselues, before they should be taken.

Feare to the conspiratoures.

But perceyuing by the manner, that *Lena* was liker to speake for himselfe and make supplication, than to bewray them, they stayed, and in the ende, when they saw hym giue humble thankes, they were encouraged againe.

Sacrifices.

It was the custome that Rulers of the Citie shoulde sacrifice, when they went to the Senate: And agayne in *Cæsars* firste sacrifice, there was no harte, or as some say, no heade of the entrailes, and whe the Diuinor said it was a signe of death,

Cæsar contemneth the sacrifices of euil luck.

hee smiled and sayde, so it was in *Spaine*, when I ouerthrewe *Pompey*: and the Diuinor aunswering that then he was in perill indeede, and nowe the token was more manifest: *Cæsar* bad hym sacrifice againe, & nothing appearing better than it was, & being ashamed ỹ he made ỹ Senate tarry for hym, & being hastned of his enmies, as though they had bin frīds, in dispight of his enimies, he went in, *For it must needes come that was determined.*

They

They left *Trebonius* to entertaine *Antony* without the doores, and when *Cæsar* was set in hys seate, they stode aboute him as hys friends, with weapons hid, and first *Attilius Cymber* stod before him, & made suite for hys brothers returne that was banished: *Cæsar* being against it, & vtterly denying it, hée toke hym by the purple robe, as he would haue made more suite, he ruffled the garment, and pulled it ouer his necke, crying: Why staye you (O frendes) *Casca* came ouer his head, & first thrust his dagger at his throat, which missing, hit him on ỹ breast. *Cæsar* twitching his gown frõ *Cimbro*, & catching *Casca* by ỹ hand, slung frõ his seate, & with great violẽce layd hold vpon *Casca*. Whiles he was doing this, wrestling with him, another stroke him on the side that laye open, and *Cassius* hurte him in the face, and *Brutus* on the thyghe, and *Bucolinus* betwéene the shoulders: yet *Cæsar* with rage and roare like a wilde beaste, stepped to euery of thẽ: but after *Brutus* had hurt him, as thoughe then hée had dispaired, he wrapte himself in his gowne, and fell comely before the picture of *Pompey*: and they, (when he was downe) vsed such despite, as they gaue him three and twentie woundes, and many were so hastie, that they hurte one another.

Tullius.

The maner of Cæsars death.

Cæsar gloeth ouer vvhen *Brutus* had stroken him, and some vvrite that he sayd, vvhat thou also sonne.

When this act was done by these murderers in a sacred place, vpon a sacred and inuiolate man, by and by there was fleeing from the Senate house, and about all the Citie: and in the tumulte, some Senatours were hurt, and other men were killed: and there was muche slaughter done both of Citizens and straungers, not of purpose, but as happeneth in such a Ciuill stir, when one commeth vpõ another ignorauntly. The sworde players that had bene in armour from the morning, for the shewe of certaine playes, ranne from the game place, to the barres of the Senate house: the people that came to the playes driuen into a feare, fledde away: shoppes were spoyled: all doores were shutte, and preparation made for defence from the house toppes. *Antony* went to his owne house, entending to take advice for this case of *Cæsars*.

Confusion.

Antony.

Lepidus the Captaine of horsemen, being in the cõmon place and hearing what was done, ranne to the Ile within the Cy-

Lepidus.

tie, where he had a legion, and brought them abroade to be ready at *Antonies* commaundement. For he did cleaue to *Antony* as *Cæsars* friende, and chiefly as Consull. Being mette together, they had greate desire to reuenge *Cæsars* death that thus was handled. They feared the Senate woulde take the killers parte, therfore they would stay to consider of it. There were no souldiours about *Cæsar*, for he delighted not in a garde, but only vsed the Sergeants of his authoritye, and when he went from his house to the Senate, he was wayted on with manye of the magistrates, and great number of people, as wel Citizens as straungers, and of seruauntes and free men in great multitude: all the which fleeing away by heapes, only three seruauntes taried, which layd his body in the litter. Thus three men not suteable, did carie him home, that a little before was Lorde of sea and lande. The murderers woulde haue sayde somewhat in ỹ Senate house, but no mã wold tarry to heare. They wrapt their gowns about their left armes as Targets, and hauyng their daggers bloudy, cryed they had kylled a king and a Tyranns, and one bare an hatte vpon a speare, in token of Libertie. Then they exhorted them to the common wealth of their countrey: and remembred, olde *Brutus* and the oth made againste the old Kings. Some went among them, shewing their daggers, who though they were not at the fact, yet woulde they haue parte of the prayse, as *Lentulus*, *Spintor*, *Fauorinus*, *Aquinus*, *Dolobella*, *Murcus*, and *Peticus*, who wer not then partakers of the glorie, but afterwarde tasted of the punishment with the offenders.

Conference of Lepidus and Antony.

Cæsar vsed no souldiours in the Citie.

Three men only tarie with Cæsar.

Liberty.

They that sought prayse found payne.

The common people came not to them, which made them the more doubtful and in feare. As for the Senate, although for ignorance and tumult, they were fled, yet they had good truste in thē, as in their kinsefolkes and friends, and such as could as euil beare Tirannie as they: but the people they suspected, and as many as had serued *Cæsar* in warre, whereof there were not a fewe then present in the Citie, some discharged of the warfare were appointed to habitations, and some that had bin at their dwelling places, were now come again to go the iourney

The feare of the conspirators

wyth

wyth *Cæsar*. They were afrayde also of *Lepidus* and his army in the Citie, and of *Antony* the Consull, leaste he would vse the people only, leauing the Senate, and worke them some displeasure, being thus bestad, they wente to the Capitoll with the swordeplayers, where consulting what was best to be done, it seemed good to giue a largesse to the people, hoping that if some beganne to prayse their act, the other wold folow, for loue of liberty, and the desire of common wealth: for they thoughte ẏ people of *Rome* to be as sincere now, as they had heard it was when olde *Brutus* expelled the Kings, not vnderstanding that they loked for two things contrarye in themselues, that they that loue libertie and would be corrupted, should be profitable to them at this present, wherof ẏ one was more easie to be had, as in a state for ẏ most part corrupted: for now the people was mixt with strangers, & a libertyne was equal with a Citizen, & the fashion of a seruant, like to the maisters: for ẏ Senate except, the rest was indifferẽt to the seruantes. Further, ẏ distribution of corne, which was vsed only in *Rome* to be giuen to ẏ poore, had brought ẏ idle & nẽdie vacabonds of *Italy* to *Rome*. Again, a nũber of olde worne souldiers out of wages, were not deuided into their coũtries as they wer wont seuerally, bicause some had serued in vniust wars, but would go into cõmon habitations, & take other mens land & houses, remayning togither in tẽples & cõmon places, vnder one bãner, & one chiefe, ẏ might apoint thẽ a prouince, & selling away their own, to be the more redy to go, they were sone bought for reward. Therfore it was not hard for *Cassius* to gather a nũber of such men, & bring them into ẏ cõmon place: & albeit they were hired, yet durst they not prayse ẏ was done, for feare of *Cæsars* glory & others deuotion, but for ẏ cõmon welth sake, they cried for peace, & earnestly exhorted the rulers vnto it, for thys was the deuise of the kyllers, to worke theyr owne safetye. And there coulde bee no peace vnlesse there were a forgetting, standyng in these termes.

Difference of eyne.

Causes of corruption at *Rome*.

Distribution of Corne.

Maisterlesse men.

Cynna a Prætor and a kinsemanne by marryage to *Cæsar*, beyonde all opinion, came among them, hauing on hys vesture

Cinna accuseth *Cæsar*.

vesture of office, which he threw of, as giuen him of a Tiran, and called *Cæsar* the Tiranne, and them that kylled hym, killers of a Tiranne, and prayed the facte, as moste like to their progenitours, and that those men were to be called from the Capitoll, and to be honoured with dew rewardes. This *Cinna* sayde: but they, seeing the vncorrupted people was not myxte wyth them, did not call them from the Capitol, nor did anye thing else, but onely exhorted to peace. Then *Dolabella* a yong man and a noble, appointed to be Consull, after *Cæsar* had ben gone, for the reste of the yeare, hauing on the garment of a Consul, and the Maces of his office, was the second that spake euill, and pretended he was priuie to the deuise, and only for to that his hand was not at the doing of it: and as some saye, hee decreed that that daye shoulde be honoured as the byrth day of the Citie. Then the hyred men toke harte, when they saw both a Pretor and a Consul to forgiue them, & they called *Cassius* and the rest out of the Temple, who were glad of *Dolabella* a yong noble man & a Consul being moste meete to match with *Antony*: only there came downe *Cassius* and *Marcus Brutus* with his bloudy hand, for they had striuē who should giue *Cæsar* moste woundes, and when they were amiddest the people, they spake nothing humbly, but as in noble and euident things one prayed another, calling the Citie now blessed, attributing muche to *Decimus*, that in so fitte a time had serued them with swordplayers. Then they stirred the people, that they woulde do things worthy their auncestours, whiche had expelled kings, not reigning by violence as *Cæsar* did, but being chosen lawfully: they also propounded that *Sextus Pompey*, sonne to *Pompey* the greate, that hadde made warre agaynste *Cæsar* for the common wealth, myght be called home, beyng yet in armes in *Spayne* against *Cæsars* Captaines, and lykewyse *Ceserius* and *Marullus* that were deprined and banished by *Cæsar*, being Tribunes of the people. When they hadde thus sayde, they wente vppe againe to the Capitoll, for they dyd not truste verye muche in that multitude. Then their friendes and kinsfolke might repaire vnto them into the Temple, of whom, they

Dolabella.

Brutus and *Cassius* to the people.

chose

chose the most auntient to send to *Lepidus* and *Antony* for reconciliation, and regarde of libertie, and to saue the Countrey from the euils that might growe, vnlesse they be foreseene. This much did the messengers require, not praysing ẏ thing that was done, (for they durst not to *Cæsars* friends) but desired to haue it borne with, for the worthynesse of the doers, not for hate to him, but for the loue of their countrey, and pitie of the Citie, nowe consumed with continuall sedition, of whiche one more would vtterly destroy all good men of the same, and that it was not right that for any hate amongst a few, they shoulde worke the publike destruction, but rather that for publike commodities, priuate enmities might be wiped away. *Antonius* and *Lepidus* (as I sayde) minded to reuenge *Cæsars* deathe, eyther for friendships sake, or for a practise betwéene them, or for desire of rule, and thynkyng all things would be the easier to them, if such notable men might be ridde out of the way, yet they feared their friendes and they're kinsfolkes, and the Senate that enclined to them, and most of all *Decimus*, whome *Cæsar* hadde appoynted to gouerne *France* they're neyghboure, whereby he hadde a mighty armye. Therfore they thought it best to tarry for a better occasion, and deuise to gette *Decimus* army that was so valiant and expert, with labours neuer left. Hauing this fetch, *Antony* thus aunswered the messengers. For priuate displeasure we will worke nothing, but for offence and matter, wherein we are all sworne to *Cæsar* to bée kæpers of his body, and defend it against violence, it is requisite, by our oth to follow the fact that is done, and the rather to lyue, with a few pure, than all to be in daunger of those execrations, yet for their honor that be of that opinion, we will debate with you in the Senate house, and take the way for the Citie, that, by common consent shall séeme good. Thus *Antony* aunswered sakelye. They gaue thankes and departed with sure hope that al should haue gone well, and that the Senate woulde haue fauoured their cause throughly. *Antony* in the meane time caused the officers to make watche for the Citie all nighte, and by turne to kæpe their seates as was wonte in the daye, and to haue fires ouer all the Citie, by meane whereof, the friends of ẏ offendoures

Messengers to *Antony* and *Lepidus*.

The deuice of *Antony* and *Lepidus*.

Antonyes aunswere.

went to euery Senatoures house, and requested them for themselues, and for the Countreys common wealth. There ranne abroade also the Captaynes of suche as should haue habitations, threatning mischiefe, vnlesse some did performe the lãds & places that was giuen and promised. The sincere sort of the Citie toke good hearte, perceiuing the smal number of these doers. They enclyned to the memorie of *Cæsar*, and were of diuers opinions. *Cæsars* money, and the bookes of his doings, were carryed to *Antonie*, eyther bycause *Calphurnie* for the danger of hir house did send them to *Antony*, as more surer, or that *Antony* did so commaund it. This done, a decrée was made by *Antony* that nighte, to call the Senate before daye at the Temple of the Goddesse of the earth, not farre from his owne house, for neyther durst he goe to the Senate house in the Capitoll, bycause of the swoorde players gathered there, nor bring the armye into the Towne for troubling of it: notwithstanding *Lepidus* brought them in. Day drawing nigh, other Senatoures came to ỹ Temple of ỹ Goddesse of the earth, and *Cinna* the Prætor hauing on agayne his garmẽt, which the day before he had throwen off, as giuen him of a Tyrant, made hast thither, whome, when parte of the vncorrupted people, and parte of *Cæsars* Souldioures sawe, bëeyng in a rage, bycause the daye before, he was the firste that openly spake euill of *Cæsar*, bëeyng hys kinsman, they threwe stones at hym, and droue hym into an house, and gote woodde to haue burned it, had not *Lepidus* come with the army and forbydden them. This was the firste token whereby *Cæsars* friendes hadde confidence, that the conspiratoures and the hyred fellowes were afrayde.

Cæsars money and writings sent to *Antony*.

The Senate in the Temple of the Gods of the earth.

Affault against *Cinna*.

In the Senate house there were fewe that were pure from violence and contention. The most parte with diuers deuice fauoured the manquellers, and thoughte them most worthye of truste to be there for common consultation, and of offenders to make them Iudges, the whiche *Antony* dyd not lette, bycause he knewe they woulde not come, as they dyd not indeede. Then in tryall of the Senate, some very earnestly and playnely prayse the facte, namyng them Tyrant-kyllers, and wylled they shoulde be rewarded. Other denyed the reward, themselues not desiring

Varietie of opinion touching the Senate.

desiring it, nor hauyng done it for that intente, but thoughte it iust they should only be commēded as well doers. Some would not allow that commendation, but onely thoughte it ynough if they were forgyuen. Thus did they deuise and forecast at the firste, to what the Senate woulde encline, that after by little and little, they myghte the easier obteyne the rest. The vncorrupted company did abhorre the acte as wicked, yet for the reuerence of their great houses, were not againste, but that they shoulde be saued: yet that they should be honored as well doers, they coulde not abide. Other spake againste this, that it was not conuenient so to haue them, as the rest, that belōged to their safety, shuld bée enuyed. And when one sayde, that theyr honour shoulde bée *Cæsars* dishonoure, they aunswered, that it was not fytte a dead man shoulde bée preferred to the quicke. Another vehemently saying, that of two things one must be chosen, eyther to declare *Cæsar* a Tyrante, or to forgiue these by mercy, they toke hold of this only, and required that voyces might be tryed of *Cæsar* by oth, and that the decrées made of necessitie, shoulde not preiudice them, for whyles he ruled, they dyd nothyng frely, but all for feare of themselues *Pompey* béeyng slayne, and wyth hym manye a thousande more. *Antony* markyng all thyngs deceytefully, perceyuing that ample and euidente matter of spéeches was offered, determined to turne theyr cogitation wyth a priuate care and feare of themselues, and vnderstandyng that a greate parte of these Senatoures, were appoynted to offices and Priesthoodes in the Citie, and to gouernements of armyes and prouinces by *Cæsar*, for the tyme to come, (for hée shoulde bée long forthe wyth hys armye, the space of fyue yeares) commaundyng silence as Consull, thus sayde. *Antonyes subtelte.*

They that woulde haue voyces tryed vpon *Cæsar*, must know afore, that if he ruled as an officer lawfully chosen, then all hys actes and decrées must stande in force, but if by violence wée thinke he playd the Tyrant, then must his body be cast out of ỹ Citie vnburyed, and all his actes be reuoked: wherfore (as I sée) we must medle wth all ỹ worlde both by sea & land, & many be such, as *Antonyes* Oration.

‹ as though we would, will not obey vs, as I shall declare heere-
‹ after. Now what apperteyneth to vs alone for this matter, tou-
‹ ching only vs, I will put all things before you, that as in an ea-
‹ sye platte you may see a shew of harder things. All we in man-
‹ ner haue borne office vnder *Cæsar*, and yet doe beare, chosen, and
‹ made by him, and some are, to haue offices in time to come, as
‹ the lotte fals out, for you know he appoynted for fiue yeares the
‹ yearely offices of the Citie to you, and the regimentes of Coun-
‹ treys and armies. If you will willingly forgoe them (for that is
‹ in your power to do) this would I haue you first determine, and
‹ then proceede to other. Thus *Antony* did kindle a fire, not for
Cæsar, but for themselues, and helde his peace. Then they by and by in throngs with shoutes, starte vp, and denyed that any other triall shoulde be made by the voyces of the people, but that the things appoynted, should be assuredly holden. There were some vnder age, and other that mighte finde resistance in election, whome he chiefly stirred, of whome *Dolabella* the Consull was one, to whome it was not lawful to be consul by election, bycause he was not fiue and twenty yeares of age, wherefore he shewed a suddayne mutation of that he pretended the daye before, rebuking as many of them, as thought the conspiratours worthy of honor, that they that were in office, should be dishonored, by making their securitie to haue the better shew. Other put *Dolabella* and the rest in hope, that they shoulde receyue thankes of the people, and straight resume their dignities, without any alteration of the officers, but to shewe a lawfuller way by common election, and that it shoulde be an ornament to them to be aduanced, as well by the authoritie of the people, as by the appoyntmente of one ruler: and this was no sooner spoken, but some of the officers, to deceyue the other, put off their robes, as to receyue the same agayne more lawfully. Some perceyued the craft, and did not thinke to get by election, that they already had. The matter standing thus, *Antony* and *Lepidus* wente out of the Senate house, for certaine that came running from the multitude, did call them, and as they were seene from aboue, and sileńce hardly put to them that made much noyse, one cryed vnto them,

Dolabella changed.

whether

whether of his owne minde, or that he was suborned, and bade them take heed, least they suffered the like. Then *Antony* losing his gowne, shewed his curet, incensing the lokers on, as though now no man coulde be safe, vnlesse he ware armoure, no not the Consull. There was some cryed that the fact might be punished, and more made request for peace, to whom he thus sayd: Of that we will consider, as shall be fitte to be, and what it is, that it may auayle, but the suretie of it is hard to be found, since neyther oth nor execration could profit *Cæsar*, and to them that called for reuenge, he turned and commended them, as more carefull of their othes and honestie. I would be (quoth he) youre Captayne, and crye as you do, but that I am a Consul, to whome belongeth rather to speake for profite, than for iustice, for so doe they within persuade vs, and so *Cæsar* himselfe, for the profite of the Citie, sparing them that he hadde taken in warre, was of the same destroyed. Thus wrought *Antony* artificially, & they that thoughte the fact to be punished, required *Lepidus* that he would punishe it. *Lepidus* intending to speake, they that stode farre off, prayed hym to goe into the common place, that all might heare him indifferently. He wente straight forth, with opinion that the peoples minds were new turned, and when he was come to the place of speech, he lamented weeping, and thus sayd. Heere I was yesterday with *Cæsar*, and now am I heere to enquire of *Cæsars* deathe, what will you haue done? many cryed that they should reuenge *Cæsar*. The hyred men cryed for peace in the Citie, to whome hee sayd, we will so, but what peace speake you of? with what othes can it be sure? for all our Countrey othes we haue sworne to *Cæsar*, and we that are compted the least of them that did sweare, haue troden all vnder the foote. Then he turned to them that cryed for reuenge. *Cæsar* sayd he, is gone from vs, an holy and honored man in deede, and we be afrayd to hurte the Citie, and them that be left. This do the Senate treate of, and manye thinkes it good, then they cryed, that he alone should take it in hand, I wyll (sayd he) for it is a iust oth to me alone, but it is not ynough that I and you alone doe will it, or that we alone can fulfill it. Handling the matter thus craftily, the hyred men, knowing that he

A newe stirre by *Antony*.

Lepidus to the people.

was ambitious, prayed him, and exhorted him to take the office of *Cæsars* Priesthode, of the which he being very glad, sayde: You
Cæsars Priesthode offered to *Lepidus*.
« shall remember me of this hereafter, if I shall be worthy of it. They that were hired, were the more instant for peace, because « of the liberall speech of the Priesthode. Then sayde he, although « it be vniust and wicked, yet will I doe it, because you will me. This said, he returned into the Senate house, where *Dolabella* all that time had bin importune for the continuance of his office. *Antony* gathering the peoples humor, loked ouer hym with a smiling countenance, and finding them to dissent among themselues, and the people to doe nothing earnestly, hauing beholden all sufficiently, he determined to saue the mē, hiding one necessitie with another, that both they shuld be saued by especial grace, and that *Cæsars* actes should be cōfirmed by decrée, & the Senates orders take effect: therfore silence being cōmanded, he sayd thus.

Antony to the Senate.
« Of the Citizens offendoures (you men of equall honor) in this « your consultation, I haue sayd nothing, but to them that contrarywise desired a tryall of *Cæsar*, I put forthe onely one of his de« crées, which hath not without cause kept you in contention tyll « this time: for if we doe refuse those offices, we shall confesse so « many worthy men, vnworthily to haue receyued them. Then cō« sider that is not easie to be hard, and number in your mindes the « Cities, the nations, the kingdomes, the regions, and (as I maye « say) all things frō the East to the Weast, ẏ *Cæsar* had by his ver« tue vanquished for vs, and all that by his power subdued, the « same by law, clemencie, and curtesie he made assured vnto hym. « Which of these do you thinke wil beare to be depriued ẏ things « they haue enioyed, vnlesse you wil fyll all with warres, that are « desirous to heale youre countrey that is nowe most fœble with « disease. Those that be farre off, and kepte downe with feare and « fight, I wil omitte to touch: but those that be not at hād only, and « as I may say, euen at home through out all *Italy*, some haue re« ceyued rewards of victory, and by multitudes, with the armies, « wherewith they serued, be of *Cæsar* appoynted habitations by the « same institution, whereof many a thousand be within this citie: « what do you thinke they wil do, if you take from them that they

had,

had, or that they loked to haue of Cities and Countreys? Thys last night did shew vs an Image of this matter, for whē you did intreate for the offendoures, they on the contrary ranne aboute with threatnings. Do you thinke they can abide to see *Cæsars* body violated, torne & vnburyed (for these things by law are wonte to be done againste Tyrants) whiche haue serued in the warres with him, and to haue the gayne gotten by the victories of *Frante* and *England* confirmed vnto them, when he that was the gyuer of them, is so despightfully handled? what thinke you the people of *Rome* will do? what thinke you the *Italians*? what hate shal you haue both of God and man, if you do so defile your empire, enlarged from the Oceane sea, to the people vnknowen: for you shall not lacke reproufe and blame for this youre inconstancie, more than they that thinke you worthy honor, that killed a Consull in the Counsell house, an holye man in an holy place, Senatoures being the doers in the sighte of the Gods, and dishonor him, that of his enimies is most honored: from these things as vnlawfull and not in your power, I do warne you to refrayne. Then thys sentence I giue, that *Cæsars* actes and decrées doe remayne firme and stable, that the offenders be praysed in no wise, for it is not godly, iust, not consonant, *Cæsars* actes being ratified, that of mercye onely you will pardon them for their friends and kinsfolkes sake, so as they do so accept it, and will of thē confesse it in thākeful part. When *Antony* had said this, with great contention and vehemency the decrée was made, all other being silent and content: That there should be no action for *Cæsars* death: That all his actes and decrées should be confirmed, so as they were commodious for the citie. And this, with much adoe, did the friends of the offendoures cause to be added for their safetie, that they were not more kepte for iustice sake, than for profite. *Antony* gaue place vnto it. These being decréed, they that were heads of men to be set in habitations, desired a priuate decrée by common authoritie, that their places of inhabitance myghte bée made sure vnto them, and *Antony* was not agaynste it, shewing some feare with the Senate. This decrée was made, and another like for them that went to their inhabitations.

Decrees.

A decree for habitations.

The

L. Piso.

The Counsell being thus broken vp, there were some that perswaded *Lucius Piso*, to whome *Cæsar* had left his Testamente, that it should neyther be brought forthe, nor his body buryed openly, least it mighte brede some newe tumult in the Citie. He being otherwise minded, was threatned to be called to aunswer, for that he defrauded the people of such substance due to the common treasure, once agayne making signification of Tyrannie. Then *Piso* cryed as lowde as he could, praying the Consuls that were yet present, to goe to counsell againe, and sayde. They that

Consultation touching *Cæsars* Testament.

Piso to the people.

« haue affirmed that one Tyrant is taken away, they in stede of « that one, be all Tyrants vnto vs, forbidding me to bury an holy « Priest, & threaten me, if I bring forth his last will. They make « confiscation of his goodes, as of a Tirant. His actes that maketh « for them they ratifie, but those that he hath left for himselfe they « reuoke, not *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but they that did incense them to « this mischiefe. Of his Sepulture be you Lordes, of his Testa« ment, I will be, and shall not suffer him to be deceyued in my « trust of faith, before some man taketh away my breath.

Much stirre and businesse did rise of this among them all, and specially by them that supposed to get somewhat by his Testament: therefore it was thought conuenient that his Testament should be brought abroade, and that his body shoulde be buryed openly, and so the Counsell rose. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding of this, did send to the multitude to call them to the Capitoll, and when many came running thither with greate hast, *Brutus*

Cæsars Testament.

« sayd thus. Nowe O Citizens, we be here with you, that yester« day were in the common court, not as mē fleeyng to the Temple « that haue done amisse, nor as to a fort, hauing committed all wē « haue to you, but the sharpe & straūge mishap of *Cinna*, haue cōpel« led vs thus to do: We haue herd what hath bin obiected against « vs of oure enimies, touching the oth, and touching cause of « doubt, ỹ in peace can be no suretie. What we haue to say herein « with you O Citizens, we will conferre, with whome we haue « to do concerning other common matters. When *Caius Cæsar* frō *France* inuaded his Countrey with enimies armes, and *Pompey*, a singulare fauourer of the people, had suffered, as euery man knowes:

Brutus to the people.

knoweth: after hym a nũber of good Citizens went into *Iberia*, & *Lybya*, & were destroyed. We at his desire gaue him security, and as it should seeme, afrayde of himselfe, seking to make his Tyranny sure, we sware vnto it. If he had required vs to swere not only to confirme the things past, but also to haue bene hys slaues in time to come, what woulde they then haue done that nowe lie in wayte for our liues? I suppose verye *Romaines* indede, wyll rather chose certaine death, as they haue oft done, than by an othe to abyde willing seruitude. If *Cæsar* hitherto haue gone aboute nothing to make vs seruile, we confesse we haue broken our othe: but if neyther offices in the Citie, nor prouinces in ỹ country, nor armies, nor dignities of the church, nor assigning of inhabitance, nor other honours be left to vs, or had the cõsent of the Senate, or the allowance of the people, but did all by his owne commaundement: if his ambition was neuer satiate, as *Sylla* was, who, when he had ouerthrown his enemies, restored to vs the common wealth: if he making another armye for a long time, toke awaye our election for fiue yeares, what libertie was this, when no hope coulde appeare? what should we say of the peoples chiefe officers, *Sestius* and *Marullus*, were they not with contumely thrust frõ the sacred & inuiolate offices? and where the lawe and othe of our auncestours do not suffer any actiõ to be made against ỹ Tribunes, yet *Cæsar* banished them and shewed no cause: whither thẽ haue offẽded against the holy Tribunes, we, or *Cæsar*? being a sacred and inuiolate man, to whom, not willingly, but of necessitie, we graunted these things, nor before he came agaynst his country in armour, and had killed so many noble Citizens. The office of the Tribunes can not be holy nor inuiolated, to the whiche our fathers in time of common welth dyd sweare without cõpulsion, with intent to haue it euerlasting. The reuenewe and accompt of the Empire, where became it? who brake open the Treasure house against our wills? who caught the money vntouched and vnremouable? who thretned death to the Tribune that resisted him? but what otb (saye they) shall be sufficient to preserue peace? if there be no Tyranne, there nedes no oth: our

‘ forefathers neuer had neede of anye. But if any other will aſ-
‘ pire to tyrannie, there is no layth, no not with an othe betweẽ
‘ the Romaines and a Tirante. Thus we ſpeake now in perill,
‘ and will euer ſpeake it for our countrey. For being in honoure
‘ and ſafety with *Cæſar*, we preferred the honour of our countrey
‘ before our owne: wel they vſe calumniation againſte vs and
‘ ſtirre you for the habitations. If here be any preſent, eyther y
‘ hath, or ſhalbe appointed to thoſe inhabitance, I pray you do ſo
‘ much at my requeſt as giue a token of your ſelues. Many dyd
‘ ſo: then ſayde he: Oh well done (good men) that you be come to
‘ do as other do, and it is conuenient that you which indifferent-
‘ lye doe trauayle and laboure for youre countrey, ſhoulde
‘ receyue equal reward of the ſame. The people of *Rome* did ap-
‘ point you to *Cæſar* againſte the Engliſh and French men: it is
‘ therefore reaſon, that hauing done good ſeruice, you receyue
‘ as good rewards. But he bound you with oths and vnwillingly
‘ led you againſt the Citie: he led you likewiſe againſt the beſte
‘ Citizens in *Libya*: likewiſe againſt your wils. If your trauayle
‘ had ben only in this, paraduenture you would haue bin aſha-
‘ med to aſke recompence: but the ſeruice that you did in France
‘ and England, no enuie, no time, no oblition of man, can put
‘ out of memorie: and for theſe, the beſte recompence which the
‘ people was wont to giue to the old ſouldiers, not taking away
‘ mens landes or houſes that had not offended, nor giuing to one
‘ that was an others, nor thinking they ought to recompence
‘ with iniuſtice, nor when they had conquered their enimies, to
‘ take away all their land, but made a partition, and appointed
‘ ſome of their ſouldiers to dwel there, as a garriſon for the cõ-
‘ quered places, and many times when the Land that was won
‘ wold not ſuffiſe, they eyther diuided of the common, or bought
‘ more of newe: So did the people place you, without any others
‘ diſpleaſure. But *Sylla* and *Cæſar* who inuaded their countrey as
‘ enimyes, hauing nẽd of garde & gariſon vpon theyr countrey,
‘ dyd neyther ſend you to liue in any of your owne countryes,
‘ nor bought any land for you, nor beſtowed that vpon you that
‘ they had got from other, nor vpon compoſition reſtored the ho-

nours

nours on them, from whome they were taken, although they had the treasure and conquered lande, but take from *Italy* that had not offended, nor done any thing amisse, by lawe of warre, or rather of robbery, lands, houses, Sepulchres and Temples, which we would not take from our greatest straunge enimyes, only setting a tare of the tenth part vpon them: but they haue made diuision to you of that which was your owne countreymens, and them that sente you to serue *Cæsar* in the Frenche wars, and made many bawes for your victories, and appointed you by companies to conuenient dwelling places, with ensignes and discipline of Souldiours: So as you can neyther enioye peace, nor be sure of them that be thrust out, for who so euer is put out and spoyled of hys owne, he will remaine to spie a time for to be euen with you. This was the cause why the Tirannes would not let you haue any land, which might haue bene giuen you by other meanes, that hauing euer enimies that laye in wayte, you shoulde be sure kepers of their power, whiche by iniustice did continewe yours. For, the good will that Tirans haue of their garde, is that they be as far in doing wrong, and feare, as themselues. And this they (O God) do cal a cohabitation, wherby lament of countreymen might be made, and insurrection, of them that haue done no wrong, & they for this purpose haue made vs enimies to our own countreyfolke, for their singular profit: & we, whō now ỳ chiefe officers of ỳ countrey, do say they saue vs for mercies sake, do confirme presetly, & hereafter wil confirme, ỳ same to be bond to you for euer, of the which we take god to witnesse, that ye haue & shal haue al you haue had, & that none shall take it frō you: not *Brutus*, not *Cassius*, not they ỳ for your liberties haue put al their selues in peril, & we ỳ be only accused in this matter, will saue our selues, & be to you & to your allied friends, a special cōfort, & ỳ that is most pleasant to you to heare. At the first occasiō that shal be offered, we wil giue you the price for the land ỳ is take frō other, of the cōmon reuenew, that you shall not onely haue your setting setled, but also voyde of al encombraunce.

Whiles *Brutus* thus spake, al the hearers cōsidering with thē selues that he spake nothing but right, did like them wel, & as

men of courage and louers of the people, had them in great admiration, and were turned into their fauour, and determined to doe them good the next day: whiche being come, the Consuls called the people to an assembly, and repeated the opinions.

Cicero. This forgetfulnesse was called *Amnestia* after the maner of the *Grecians.*

Then *Cicero* did speake very much in the prayse of forgetting of iniuries, of the which they reioiced, and called *Brutus* and *Cassius* from the Temple. They desired pledges, to whom *Lepidus* & *Antonies* sonnes were sente. When *Brutus* & *Cassius* were ferne, there was such a noyse, as the Consuls that would haue layde som what, could not be suffered, but wer first required to shake hands and be at one, which they dyd. And the Consuls mindes were troubled with feare or enuye, that these men and their friends should preuayle in that common cause. Then was *Cæsars* testament with the writings for the disposition of his goods, brought forth, which the people commaunded to be red. There was *Octauius* his nephew by his sisters daughter, found to be his sonne by adoption. His gardings were giuen the people for solace, and to euerye Citizen of *Rome* that was present, seauentie fiue drāmes of *Athens.* Now was the people streyght turned to anger, being abused by the name of a Tyranne, that in hys testament had shewed most loue to his country. And one thing seemed most to be pitied, that *Decimus Brutus*, one of the killers was made his sonne among his second heyres: for the *Romaines* maner was, to their first heyres to adde the second, yf the first take not, the second may. With this they were much troubled, thinking it a wicked and abhominable act, that *Decimus* should conspire againste *Cæsar*, whome hee had made one of his children.

Cæsars testament.

Octauius.

This dramme was the value of a grote.

Decimus Brutus heyre to *Cæsar* in remaynder.

The people turned.

Piso brought forth *Cæsars* body, to the which, infinit numbers in armes ran, to kepe it, & with much noyse & pōpe, brought it to the place of speech. There was much lamentation & weeping, ther was rushing of harnesse togither, with repentaunce of the forgetting of reuēgeance. *Antony* marking how they were affected, did not let it slippe, but toke vpon him to make *Cæsars* funeral sermon, as Consul, of a Consul, friend, of a friend, & kinsman, of a kinsman (for *Antony* was partly his kinsman) and to vse

vse craft againe. And thus he said:

I do not thinke it meete (O Citizens) that the buriall praise of suche a man, should rather be done by me, than by the whole country. For what you haue altogither for the loue of hys vertue giuen him by decree, aswell the Senate as the people, I thinke your voice, and not *Antonies*, ought to expresse it. *Antony of Cæsar*

This he vttered with sad and heauy cheare, and wyth a framed voice, declared euery thing, chiefly vpon the decree, whereby he was made a God, holy & inuiolate, father of the country, benefactor and gouernor, and suche a one, as neuer in al things they entituled other man to ỹ like. At euery of these words *Antonie* directed his countenance & hands to *Cæsars* body, and with vehemencie of words opened the fact. At euery title he gaue an addition, with briefe speach, mixte with pitie and indignation. And when the decree named him father of the Country, then he saide: *This is the testimony of our dutery.*

And at these wordes, *holy, inuiolate* and *vntouched*, and *the refuge of all other*, he said: None other made refuge of hym. But, he, *thus holy and vntouched*, is killed, not takyng honoure by violences whiche he neuer desired, and then be we verye thrall, that bestowe them on the vnworthy, neuer suing for them. But, you doe purge your selues (O Citizens) of this vnkindnesse, in ỹ you nowe do vse suche honoure towarde hym being dead.

Then rehearsing the othe, that all shoulde keepe *Cæsar* and *Cæsars* body, and if any one wente about to betraye hym, that they were accursed that would not defende hym: at this he extolled hys voice, and helde vp his handes to the Capitoll, saying:

O *Iupiter* Countries defendour, and you other Gods, I am ready to reuenge, as I sware and made execration, and when it seemes good to my companions to allowe the decrees, I desire them to aide me. At these plaine speeches spoken agaynst the Senate, an vproare being made, *Antony* wared colde, and recanted hys wordes. It seemeth (O Citizens) (saide hee) that the things done haue not bin the worke of men, but of Gods, and that we ought to haue more consideration of the present, than of the past, because the thynges to come, maye bring vs to greater

, danger, than these we haue, if we shall returne to oure olde, and
, waste the reste of the noble men that be in the Cittie. Therfore
, let vs send thys holy one to the number of the blessed, and sing to
, him his due hymne and mourning verse.

Antonies gesture in the time of the funerall of *Cæsar.*

When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke a man beside hymselfe, and gyrded it, that he might the better stirre his handes: he stode ouer the Litter, as from a Tabernacle, looking in to it, and opening it, and firste sang his Hymne, as to a God in heauen. And to confirme he was a God, he held vp his hands, and with a swift voice, he rehearsed the warres, the fights, the victories, the nations that he had subdued to his Countrey, and the great bootes that he had sent, making euery one to be a marueil. Then with a continuall crie,

This is the only vnconquered of all that euer came to hands with hym. Thou (quoth he) alone diddest reuenge thy countrey being iniured 300. years, & those fierce nations that onely inuaded *Rome*, & only burned it, thou broughtest them on their knees.

And when he had made these and many other inuocations, he tourned hys voice from triumphe to mourning matter, and began to lament and mone him as a friend that had bin vniustly vsed, & did desire that he might giue hys soule for *Cæsars*. Then falling into moste vehement affections, vncouered *Cæsars* body, holding vp his vesture with a speare, cut with the woundes, and redde with the bloude of the chiefe Ruler, by the which the people lyke a Quire, did sing lamētation vnto him, and by this passion were againe repleate with ire. And after these spæches, other lamentations wyth voice after the Country custome, were sung of the Quires, and they rehearsed again his acts & his hap.

Then made he *Cæsar* hymselfe to speake as it were in a lamētable sort, to howe many of his enimies he hadde done good by name, & of the killers themselues to say as in an admiratiō, *Did I saue them that haue killed me?* This the people could not abide, calling to remembraunce, that all the kyllers (only *Decimus* except) were of *Pompeys* faction, and subdued by hym, to whom, in stead of punishment, he had giuen promotion of offices, gouernments of prouinces & armies, & thought *Decimus* worthy to be made his

heyre

heyre & son by adoption, and yet cõspired hys death. While the matter was thus handled, and like to haue come to a fray, one shewed out of the Litter the Image of *Cæsar*, made of ware, for hys body it selfe lying flat in the Litter, could not be seene. Hys picture was by a deuise turned about, & .xxiij. woũds wer shewed ouer al his body, & his face horrible to behold. The people seeing this pittifull picture, coulde beare the dolour no longer, but thronged together, and beset the Senate house, wherein *Cæsar* was kylled, and set it a fyre, and the kyllers that fledde for their liues, they ranne and sought in euery place, and that so outragiously both in anger and dolour, as they kylled *Cynna* the Tribune being in name lyke to *Cynna* the Pretor that spake euill of *Cæsar*, and wold not tarry to heare the declaration of his name, but cruelly tore him a peeces, and lefte not one parte to be put in graue. They caried fire against other mens houses, who manlye defending themselues,, and the neighbours entreating them, they refrayned from fyre, but threatned to be in armes the next day. Wherefore the strikers hid themselues, and fled out of the Citie. The people returned to the Litter, & caried it as an holye thing, to be buried in an holy place among the Gods, but bicause the Priests did deny it, they brought hym againe into the common place, where the Pallaice of the old Kings were, and there, with al the bourds & tymber, which they could find in the place, which was muche, beside that euery man broughte of himselfe, with garlandes and other gifts of priuate persons, makyng a solemne shew, they buryed the body, and abode al night about the fyre. In the whiche place, at the first was made an Altare, but nowe there is a temple of *Cæsar*, where he is thought worthy diuine honors. For his son by electiõ, *Octauius*, taking the name of *Cæsar*, & disposing the state after his example, which then takyng the beginning, & he exceedingly aduancing to the degree it is now did thinke his father to deserue honors equall with the Gods, the which at this time hauing their originall, ỹ Romaines now vse to giue the same to hym that ruleth the estate, vnlesse he be a Tyranne, or defamed at his death, that in olde tyme could not suffer the name of a Kyng alyue.

Cæsars shape shewed in vvaxe.

Change of peoples mindes.

The Senate house set a fire vvherein *Cæsar* vvas killed.

One *Cynna* killed an other.

Tumulte and rage of people.

Cæsars funerall.

A Temple to *Cæsar*.

The *Romaines* vsed to giue diuine honours to their princes.

Thus

Thus *Cæsar* was killed, on the day which they cal the Ides of Marche, whiche daye of the Moneth, the Sothsayer sayde hee shoulde not passe, at the whiche, he, in the morning mocked him, saying, the Ides be come: to whome he aunswered boldlye againe, but they be not yet gone.

Ides in Marche the. 8. dayes following the first 7. daies.

Cæsar scorneth the Soothsaiers.

Thus hee despising as well the foresayings of this constãt Sothsayer, as all other tokens spoken of before, went abroad, & was killed ỹ. lvj. yere of his age. A man most happy & fortunate in al his noble actions, and most like vnto *Alexander* the great, for they both were very ambitious, and valiant and swifte to execute their enterpryses, in perils moste bolde, of their bodies most careleste, and did not more trust in Soldiours seruice, than in courage and fortune, of the which the one, in the heate of sommer through places voide of water, went to *Ammon*, and ranne ouer the gulfe of *Pamphilia*, of the crosse surgyng Sea, fortune staying the ragyng waues whiles he passed, and sendyng hym rayne when he wente by lande, he assayde the *Indian* Sea that was not Nauigable. He was the firste that scaled a towne, and alone mounted the enimies wall, & alone receyued. xiij. woũdes on his body, euer inuincible, and alwayes getting victory at the first or the second Battayle. He subdued manye barbarous nations in *Europe*, and ouercame the *Grecians*, a valiant people, and louing libertie, and beforehim, obeying none, but *Philip*, & that a litle whyle, for an honour to appeare in his feates of warre. *Asia*, (as a man may say) he ranged all ouer, and briefely for to tell his fortune and Empire, as much land as he saw, he gotte. And conceyuing and determining a Conquest of the rest in his mind, he was destroyed.

A comparison betwene *Alexander* and *Cæsar*.

Ammon in the deserts of *Aegipt*, where *Iupiter* gaue oracles.

In *India* at the place called *Mauri*.

Pamphilia in *Asia* the lesse.

Alexanders acts.

To *Cæsar* the *Ionian* sea gaue place in the middest of winter, and shewed it selfe caulme to his nauigation. He also sayled the Brytaine Ocean, not attempted before, and fallyng vpon the rockes of Englande, he bad the shipmaister runne a shore and slitte their shippes. In an other sea, striuing with the streame alone in the night in a little boate, he badde the Maister let the sayles go to the winde, and trust more in *Cæsars* fortune, than in the Sea. Against his enimies alone he hath lepte many tymes,

Cæsars acts.

and

and all the reste haue bin afraide. He alone did fighte with the Frenche thirtie times, til he had subdued fourtie nations of thē, whiche were so terrible to the Romaines, as olde and holy men, by lawe were priuiledged from warre, except when the French enimie came, for then both horse and olde men muste go forth. At *Alexandria*, being left alone to fight on the bridge, and beset on euery side, he threwe off his purple, and leapte into the sea, and being sought of hys ennimies, he diued in the bottome a greate while, and only sometime rose to take breath, til a friendly shippe came nighe hym, to whome he helde vp his hands, shewed himselfe, and was saued.

Al ages and degrees must strme against the frēch.

Falling into the ciuill wars, eyther for feare, (as he did say) or for desire of rule, hée didde matche wyth the valiauntest Captaines in his tyme, in many and great battailes, not *Barbarians* onelye, but also *Romaines*, whiche in manhode and fortune dydde excel, and ouercame them all, eyther at the firste or at the seconde battaile. Hys armye not being inuincible, as *Alexanders*, for in *France*, *Cotta* and *Titurius* hys lieutenants were euidently ouercome with a greate losse, and in *Spaine*, *Petreius* and *Affranius* helde hym besieged. In *Dyrrachio* and *Libya*, they fled fowly awaye, and in *Spaine* they were afraide of young *Pompey*. But *Cæsar* himselfe was euer voide of feare, and in the ende of euerye warre, had the victorie.

Cæsar had losse sometymes.

The Romaine Empire from the weaste to the floude *Euphrates*, by force, or by fayre meanes he obtayned, muche surer and stronger than *Sylla*.

Euphrates a floud of *Macedonia*, running into the redde Sea by *Babylon*.

He shewed hymselfe to be a King in spight of them although he woulde not receiue the name. And he also hauing made determination of other warre, was taken away. Beside forth, their armies were alike: prompte to them bothe with a beneuolente minde: and in fighte, of lyke fiercenesse: disobedient many times to them both, and ful of sedition for their long labours. Neuertheless, when they were deade, bothe after one sorte did lament and mone, and thought them worthy diuine honors. They were both in body of good complexion and fayre: bothe of them hadde

Cæsar and Alexander lyke.

their petigrée from *Iupiter*, *Alexander* from *Aeacide* and *Hercules*, and *Cæsar* from *Anchises* and *Venus*. As both were destrous to conquere with whome they contended, so easy to be entreated and to forgiue them whom they had subdued, and beside forgiuenesse, woulde do them good also, seeking nothing else but victory.

Alexander and Cæsar vnlyke.

Thus farre they were alyke, but in rising to their rule, they were not of lyke power: for the one rose from a Kingdome encreased by hys father *Phillip*, the other from a priuate estate, yet noble and renoumed, and very needy of mony. Of tokens, whiche to them both were great, they were alyke contemners, yet neyther of them angrye wyth the Diuiners, that diode foreshewe their death. The tokens were like many times to them both, & to like effect. Twice to them bothe were vnluckye signes, in the whiche the first shewed to them both doubtfull danger. *Alexander* among the *Oxidianes*, scaling the wall before the *Macedonians*, being vtterly destitute by breaking of the ladders, leapte boldly among hys enimies within, where he was sore hurt in ỹ breast, & in the necke, & beaten down with a mighty mace, so as he was hardely saued by the *Macedonians*, that for very shame burste open the gates. *Cæsar* in *Spaine*, when his army was very feareful of *Pompey* the young, and refused to go to the fight, ran betwéene them both, & receyued. ij. C. dartes vpon his Target, his armye ran in for feare and shame, and saued hym. So the firste vnlucky sacrifices diode signifie perill of death to them both, and the seconde, death it selfe indéede.

These people be of *India* and called *Malli* of *Plutarech*.

Perill of *Alexander*.

Peril of *Cæsar*.

Pythagoras a Sothsayer, tolde *Apollodorus* that was afraide of *Alexander* and *Ephestion*, that he shoulde not néede to feare, for by the sacrifice, he founde that both of them shoulde shortely bée dead. And comming to passe, that *Ephestion* died by and by after, *Apollodorus* was afraide that some treason had bin wroughte against the King, and tolde hym what the Sothsaier had sayde: he smiled, and asked of *Pythagoras* what the token did pretende, he aunswered *the laste day*, whereat he smyled agayne, and thanked *Apollodorus* of hys faithfulnesse, and the Sothsayer of his confidence. To *Cæsar* (as we haue sayde) the laste tyme that hée

went

wente into the Senate, the same tokens happened. Whereat he laughed, and saide: The like was seene in *Spaine*, and when the Diuinour aunswered, that then he was in daunger, but nowe the token signifieth more certaine death, then relenting somewhat to this free speeche, he sacrificed againe, till he tarryed so long aboute the sacrifices, that he was angry, and went in and was kylled.

The like happened to *Alexander* when he came from *India* to *Babylon* with his army, where being nigh, the *Chaldeans* exhorted hym to refraine at this presente, to whome hee rehearsed a verse.

The best Prophet is he, that coniectureth honestly.

Then the *Chaldeans* warned hym the second tyme, not to go wyth his army on ẏ weast side, but to compasse & take the City on the Easte, and stay there: with that (they say) he was content, and beganne to go about, but being angry at the mory and fenny way, he contemned the seconde warning, and went in at the Weaste. Then he sayled vpon *Euphrates* to the floud *Pallacotta*, that receyueth *Euphrates*, and runneth into the Fennes, whereby *Assyria* is kept from ouer-flowing. He minded to haue defended thys floud with a wall, and whiles he was sayling vpon it, they say he scorned the *Chaldeans*, bycause he safely had entred *Babylon*, and was come forth againe to saile, but it was but deferred till he came againe, for then he dyed out of hande.

Alexander contemneth tokens.

Euphrates & Pallacotta, floudes.

The lyke contempt *Cæsar* seemed to vse, for the Sothsayers hadde appoynted the daye of hys death, and saide hee shoulde not passe the Ides of March: & when that day was come, he laughed at hym, and sayd, the Ides were come, but that very day he was kylled. Both they despised ẏ Propheties alyke, but were not angry with the Prophets, yet they both dyed as they were tolde. They were both studious of learning and vertue, aswel of their own coũtry, as of Greek & other strãgers. *Alexãder* delighted in

Cæsar contemneth tokens.

Brachmães vver the vvise Philosopers of India, chosen to it by consent.

the *Brachmanes*, whiche among the *Indians* be reputed moste learned and wise men, as the *Magies* among the *Persians*. *Cæsar* dealte with the *Aegiptians*, when he putte *Cleopatra* in hys kyngdome, wherby he directed many ciuil things in *Rome*: among other, he turned the order of the yeare, being without certaintie, bycause of the odde moneths (for they measured it by the Mone) to the course of the Sunne, as the *Aegiptians* doe. It was hys happe that none dyde escape that soughte hys death, but by hys heyre receyued worthye punishemente, as *Alexander* dyde them, that kylled *Philippe* hys father. Howe that was done the bookes in order shall declare.

(.·.)

The end of the second booke of Ciuill dissentions.

Dissention.

THus *C. Cæsar*, ỳ was most worthy of rule among ỳ *Romaines*, was slayn of his enimies, & buried of the people Of al his killers punishment, & how the best of them sonest receyued it, this Booke & the next shal declare, & likewise comprehende al the other Ciuill strifes, that the *Romaines* had among thẽselues.

The Senate blamed *Antony* for the funerall of *Cæsar*, by the which the people was so stirred, as they did forthwith despise the law of Oblition, and ranne with fire to the houses of the strykers. This vnkindnesse, with one inuention, he turned into beneuolence. *Amatius*, a coũterfaite Mariane, pretending to be *Marius* sonne, was for that name accepted of the people, & by this counterfaiting, being taken as a kinsman to *Cæsar*, he made most mone for his death, and set vp an Aulter where he was buried. He had a rowte of Ruffians about him, & was euer terrible to the killers, of the whiche some were fled out of the citie, and so many as had by *Cæsar*, the gouernment of prouinces, were gone to their charges. *Decimus Brutus* was gone to *Fraunce* next *Italie*: *Trebonius* into *Asia* aboute *Ionia*: *Tullius Cimber* into *Bythinia*. But *Cassius* & *Marcus Brutus* with whome the Senate bare most, and were likewise chosen of *Cæsar* to be Presidents for the yeere to come, as *Cassius* in *Syria*, & *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, being yet officers in *Rome*, of necessitie and law, (as Pretors) must attend vpon the dispatch of thẽ that should haue places appointed to liue in, & gaue audience to anye other that made sute to sell the partes of their places, which by law was forbidde to be done within .xx. yeres. With these *Amatius* did conspire, & only erspected occasiõ. At the talke of this cõspiracy, *Antony*, as Consul, came vpon them, & apprehended *Amatio*, & without iudgemẽt, put him to death very stoutly. The Senate marueled at this matter, as great & besides law, yet the commoditie of it, they embraced very ioyfully: for without such stoutnesse, they thought *Brutus* & *Cassius* could not be in saftie. The companions of *Amatius* and other people with them, for the

Tumult.
Amatius the coũterfeyte *Marius*.

Lombardy.
Asia the lesse.

Amatio put to death by *Antony*.

loue of him, were much greued at this fact, chiefly that *Antony* should so dispatche one that was honoured of the people. They could not abide so to be despised, wherefore, with shoutes they went crying out of *Antony*, & commaunded the Magistrate to erect an aulter to *Amatio*, & there to make the firste sacrifice to *Cæsar*. They were driuen out of the common place by the souldiours that were sent of *Antony*, wherewith they were more greued and made greater noyse: some of them brought forth the settles of *Cæsars* pictures pulled downe, and whereas one sayde he could bring them to a shop where his images were defaced, they straight way followed him, & when they saw it, they set al a fire, till other were sent of *Antony* which killed parte of thē that stode to their defence, and parte they toke, & as many as were bonde they hanged, and the frée men, they threw downe headlong: and thus, this tumult ceased. But extréme hate of excéding loue, was now wrought in the people, agaynst *Antony*. The Senate was glad, as though there was none other feare to be had touchyng *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

The complices of Amatius punished.

And further, where *Antony* purposed to call home *Sextus Pompey*, some to *Pompey* the great, who yet was loued of al mē, out of *Spayne*, where still he made warre with *Cæsars* Capitaynes, and for his fathers goods confiscate, to giue him of the common, fiue thousand millions of Drammes of *Athens*, and to make him admirall of the sea as his father was, and to vse the *Romaine* nauies, where so euer they were, to al occasions: The Senate not a litle marueled, & accepted his offer, spending an whole day in the prayse of *Antony*, for they knewe no man more accepted, nor better beloued of the people than *Pompey*.

Antony pretendeth to call home yong *Pompey*.

Millions be here ten thousande.

Brutus and *Cassius* the most honorable of all other, & of *Pompeis* faction, thought to holde their safetie with sure hande, and that the course that they had take shoulde preuayle, and the peoples authoritie be surely cōfirmed, and that their estate should stande. *Cicero* for this, made continuall prayse of *Antony*, and the Senate considering that the people euidently did meane euill to him, gaue him leaue to chose him a gard for his person of the olde Souldiours that resorted to him: he, eyther bycause

Cicero prayseth *Antony*.

The Senate giueth a garde to *Antony*.

he

he had done all to this ende, or for that he would embrace this occasion so fauourable, picked out at length a garde of .vj.M. not of the common Citizens, whom he knew he might haue at his pleasure at any other time, but of all the leaders and Captaynes of experience and estimation in *Cæsars* army. Of these, hée chose chiefe officers in comely order, whome he vsed honorably, and made them partakers of ordinary Counsels. The Senate driuen into a iealousie for this number and choyse, counsayled hym to reduce this garde as enuious, to a conuenient number: he promysed so to doe, when he had quieted the tumultes of the people.

Antony choseth a legion for his garde.

The Senate in a ielousie of *Antony*.

Nowe where by decrée he had stablished all that *Cæsar* had done and would doe, and had the writings of memoriall in his custodie, and *Phaberius Cæsars* Secretary at his commaundement, for *Cæsar* goyng away, lefte all his determinations with *Antony*, he added many things to the behoofe of many men: he gaue graunts to Cities, Princes, and to his owne garde. And he made knowne to all them, that coulde clayme any thyng by *Cæsars* assignation, that they takyng the benefite, might yelde him the thankes, and by this meane he brought many into the Senate and degrée to himselfe, & the other, he wan with faire promise, that they did no more maligne agaynst his garde.

Phaberius.

Antony abuseth *Cæsars* testamẽt.

Brutus & Cassius perceiuing nothing, neither of the people, nor of the souldiours to appeare peaceable for thẽ, neither vnlikely but ẏ cõspiracie of *Amatio* might be done against thẽ by some other, neither well abiding variable *Antony*, that bare himself so boldly of his army, nor seyng that the peoples rule could be cõfirmed by these doings, but suspecting that *Antony* wrought against it, they put their chiefe trust in *Decimo*, who had thrée Legions, lying in the sides of *Italy*. They wrote secretely to *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and to *Tullius* in *Bythinia*, to gather money closely, and loke aboute for an armye. They were desirous to take the prouinces that *Cæsar* had appointed thẽ, but ẏ time did not yet suffer them. They thought it not conuenient to leaue their office in the Citie, before the end of the same, and to run into suspition of desire of rule of nations. They chose rather for

the

their necessitie, to spende the meane time, as priuate men, than to be officers in the Citie, where they could neyther be sure of themselues, nor do anye thing to their honour, in the seruice of their countrey. Being in this case, and the Senate perceyuing their minde, they thought good to make thē purueyers of grain for the Citie, from euery countrey, til the time might serue thē to take the charge of their prouinces: and thus they did, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* shoulde not seeme to flée. So great a care and reuerence was there of them, that for them chiefly they maintained the other killers. When *Brutus* and *Cassius* wer gone out of the Citie, and *Antony* nowe alone ruled all, he coueted the presidentship of some prouince, and the armye therof: he was chiefly desirous of *Syria*, but knowing he was alredy suspected, he thought he should be more, if he required any, for the Senat had secretly wrought *Dolobella* to be against him, who was the other Consul, and always at strife with *Antony*. *Antony* seing that *Dolobella* was a yong man and ambitious, perswaded him to aske *Syria*, in *Cassius* place, and their army that was made against the *Parthians*, but not to aske it of the Senate, (for that was not expedient) but of ỹ people, by a law. He was perswaded by and by, and propounded the lawe. The Senate aleaged that he brake *Cæsars* actes: he answered, that the war of *Parthia*, was appointed to no man by *Cæsar*, and that *Cassius*, who was sent to *Syria*, was the first that had altered *Cæsars* decrées, in giuing leaue to them that wer assigned dwellings in the coūtry, to sel their portions before twenty yeares determined by law: & that he could not take it wel, being *Dolobella*, not to be thought worthy of *Syria*, before *Cassius*. The Senate persuaded *Asprina* one of the Tribunes, to find a fault in the assēbly by some tokē, hoping that *Antony* would haue allowed it, being Consul, and officer of the tokens, and stil (as they thought) at variance with *Dolobella*.

Brutus and *Cassius* made purueyers.

A deuice to defeate a lawe.

The electiō now being come, & *Asprina* affirming the tokē to be vnlucky, & then the maner was to send other into it, *Antony* was angry at the subtilty, & cōmaunded the cōpanies to make choyce for *Dolobella*. And so was *Dolabella* made president of

Dolabella president of Syria.

Syria,

Syria, and generall of the army against the *Parthians*, and of the legions that *Cæsar* had gathered for this purpose, and left in *Macedonia*. This was the first time that *Antony* seemed to fauoure *Dolabella*. This being done of the people, *Antony* required *Macedonia* of the Senate, thinking they would be ashamed to denye it him, seeing *Dolabella* had *Syria*, and nowe voyde of an office. The Senate gaue it him vnwillingly, and marueiled that he woulde deliuer the armye that was there to *Dolabella*, whome yet they were glad shoulde haue it before *Antony*. Nowe *Brutus* friendes thought good to aske *Antony* other prouinces for *Brutus* and *Cassius*, so *Cyrene* and *Creta* was giuen them, or as some saye, both *Creta* and *Syrene* to *Cassius*, and *Bythinia* to *Brutus*. And these were the doings at *Rome*.

Macedonia giuen to *Antony*.

Cyrene a Citie and a prouince in *Affrica*, nowe *Coreiria*.

Creta, an Iland in the middest of the Sea, nowe *Candia*.

Syrene and *Creta* to *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Octauius, *Cæsars* sisters nephew, was made of *Cæsar* generall of the horsemen for one yeare, and this honor *Cæsar* vsed to gyue to his friends from yeare to yeare. He being yet yong, was sent of *Cæsar* to *Velona* to apply his booke, and to be trayned in feates of warre, there to remayne whilest he wente againste his enimies, and to exercise himselfe with the bands of Horsemen that came from *Macedonia*, with other great Captaynes of the armie that resorted thither to visit hym, as *Cæsars* kinsman, whereby he was knowen to many, and wanne the loue of the army, for he receyued them that came to him with great curtesie. Hauing bin nowe fyre monethes in *Velona*, about the euening, it was told that *Cæsar* was slayne in the Senate house, of them that he loued best, and might doe most with hym. Of further matter nothyng being yet tolde, he stode in feare and doubt, whether it were the whole publike worke of the Senate, or some priuate practise, or whether the doers were punished of the more parte, or whose acte it was, or whether the multitude did ioyne with them. After thys, his friendes sente to hym from *Rome*, wishing him to goe to the host of *Macedonia* for his suretie, in the which place, after it shuld be knowen, that it was no common fact, he might be a terror to his enimies, in reuenging of *Cæsar*, and diuers of the Captaynes promised him, that if he woulde come to them, they woulde see hym safe. His Mother, and *Philip* his Father in lawe wrote vn-

Octauius Cæsars nephew, at *Valona*, which is on the other side of the gulfe of *Venice*.

to him, to take nothing vpon him, nor to be encouraged, remembring that after *Cæsar* hadde ouercome his enimies, he was thus vsed of his deerest friendes. The priuate life at this present was further off from perill, and nowe rather to be chosen, and if he were with them at *Rome*, he should be well kept. *Octauius* by these persuaded, without further knowledge, what was done after *Cæsars* deathe, embracing the Captaynes, sayled ouer the *Ionian* Sea, not taking land at *Brunduse*, bycause he did not trust the army that was there, and therefore was well ware: but at another Citie not farre off, called *Lupio*, where he stayed, and receyued aduertisementes from his friends, of *Cæsars* deathe, of the peoples tumult, of the publication of his testamente, and of the orders taken, and was aduised to beware of *Cæsars* enimies, bycause he was named his sonne and heire, & counselled him not to take the inheritance vpon him. But he thinking it a dishonor, as wel of this, as not to reuēge *Cæsars* death, wēt to *Brunduse*, sēding afore to search, that there should be none of the strikers in anye awaite. The army of that place did mēte him, and receyued him as *Cæsars* sonne, where with good courage he made sacrifice, and straightway accepted the name of *Cæsar*, for the *Romaines* vsed to giue their name to them whome they made their children by adoption, which he did not only admitte, but changed his name frō *Octauius*, *Octauius* sonne, to *Cæsar*, *Cæsars* sonne, which continued till his ende. By and by was there great repaire of mē to him, some as *Cæsars* friendes, some as his seruantes, and freemade men, and some souldioures with them, some bringing preparation & money toward *Macedonia*, and some other reuenues of other prouinces to *Brunduse*. He then trusting vpon the multitude that came vnto him, and in *Cæsars* glory, and in the beneuolence of all mē to him, toke his iourney toward *Rome*, accompanyed with a conuenient number, which dayly like a streame did increase, being safe from open force, by the multitude of people, not without suspitiō of deceypt, bycause all that came with him almost were of newe acquaintāce, and euery citie did not fauour him. But *Cæsars* souldioures, and such as were by his appoyntmēt placed, came from the habitations to the fauour of this yong man. They lamented

Octauius sayleth into *Italy*.

Lupie Lezze, a port Towne.

The army at *Brunduse* receyueth *Octauius*. Adoption.

Octauius receyued the name of *Cæsar*.

Resort to yong *Cæsar*.

for *Cæsar*, and complayned of *Antony* that woulde not reuenge so great a mischiefe, affirming that they, if any man would be their guide, would reuenge his death. *Octauius Cæsar* gaue them great prayse, and willed thē to be quiet for the time, and came to *Terracina*, about fiftie miles from *Rome*, where it was told him, that *Syria* and *Macedonia* was taken from *Brutus* & *Cassius* by the Consuls, and that to comforte them, *Creta* and *Syrene* were graunted them, and that certayne banished men were reuoked, and that *Pompey* was restored, and that many were made Senatoures by *Cæsars* determination, and diuers other things. Being come to *Rome*, his mother, & *Philip*, and their friendes came vnto him, and againe prayed him, not to dissente from the Senate, bycause it was decréd, that there shoulde be no question of *Cæsars* deathe. Further, they feared *Antony* and his power, who neyther came himselfe to méete *Cæsars* sonne, nor sent any man to receyue hym, all the whiche *Octauius* toke very temperately, and said, it was méete that he should goe first to *Antony* as a yong man to an elder, and a priuate man to a Consul, and that he would obserue ỳ Senate as should be conuenient. And though (quoth he) there be a decrée, that no man should persecute the killers, and yet if anye mā durst take it in hand, both the people and the Senate by law, and the gods by iustice, yea and peraduenture *Antony* also wyll be helps to it, & if he did refuse the inheritāce & adoptiō, he should offend againste *Cæsar*, & defraude the people of their distribution. In the end he knit vp his spéech, that it was not onely honest for him, to put himselfe in dāger for this matter, but also if néede be, to lose his life, other wise he should séeme vnworthy the choyce ỳ *Cæsar* had made of him in so great matters, séeing he himself was wont to contemne all maner of perill. Then turning to his mother, he rehearsed those words that *Achilles* spake to *Thetis*.

Terracina, sometime *Anxur*.

In desire of *Octauius*.

Octauius words to his mother.

I do rather wish of my life an ende,
Then I should leaue reuengement of my friend.

This word (quoth he) did winne *Achilles* immortall fame, but much more the déede, and that he ought to reuenge *Cæsar*, not as a friende, but as a father: not as a fellowe Souldiour, but as a Generall: not dying by lawe of warre, but murthered

wickedly in the Senate house. For this speche, his mother, from feare, turned to you, embraced him, affirming he only was worthy for *Cæsar*. This talke being ended, she prayed that all myghte haue lucky and prosperous successe with spæde, yet she perswaded him at the firste, rather to vse policie and sufferance, than playneneſſe and boldneſſe, when he commending hir, aunswered he would so do. In the nighte, he sent to his friendes, and prayed them the nexte morning to be with him in the cõmon place wyth the other multitude. In that place meeting with *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Marcus Antonius*, a Pretor of the Citie, he sayde vnto him, that he did accept the adoption of *Cæsar*, for it was the manner of *Rome*, that the adopted children should exhibite testimonie to the Pretors, which beyng registred, he straighte wente out of the common place to *Antony* the other Consull, who was then in *Pompeys* gardings, whiche *Cæsar* had giuen him: and when hée had tarryed at the gate a long whyle, he entred into a suspition of *Antonies* alteration. Being at length lette in, due salutations and intretaynmẽts were betweene them, and bycause they must talke of things that were expedient, *Octauius Cæsar* sayd thus.

Adoption.

The meeting of *Octauius* and *Antony*.

Octauius Oration to *Antony*.

"I (Father *Antony*) for the benefites that *Cæsar* shewed to thée, and the thankes thou gauest to him, requiring thée to be a father to me, do prayse thée for the things thou hast done for him, and I will be thy debtor of thankes for them, but wherein I may blame thée, I will speake it frankely, for dolor doth thereto driue me. When he was slayne, thou wast not present, the quellers holding thée without the doores, for eyther shouldest thou haue saued him, or haue bin in the like daunger thy selfe of the whych if the latter must haue happened. It is well now that thou wast absente. When some decréed them to be honored as againste a Tyrant, thou denyedst it effectually, for the whych I know thou deseruest clére thankes: but if thou knowest that those men did conspire thy death, not as one that would reuenge *Cæsar* (as we thinke) then were they not Tyrantkillers, and for that they fled to the Capitoll, as to a Sanctuary like offenders crauing mercye, or into a fortè, as enimies for their strength, wherefore oblition and acquitall of the murther was required for thé, though some

But as a successour of his tyranny as they say.

some of the Senate or the people were corrupted of them, and if, thou hadst bin otherwise minded, thy office did require thee to, punish so great a fault, and to correct them that did erre, yet didst thou send pledges of thine owne into the Capitoll, for the assurance of the manquellers. Well, graunt the corrupted sort did, force thee to it, but when *Cæsars* Testament was redde, and thou, madest his funerall Oration as righte was, and the people for, the fresh memorie of *Cæsar*, carryed a fire againste them, and for, their neyghboures sake, spared them: and agayne, they were in, armes twice the next day, why didst not thou help the people as, their leader, with fire or armoure, to punishe the murtherers? if, any punishment ought to be of them that are euident offendors, by thee, a friende to *Cæsar*, a Consull, and *Antony*. *Marius Amatius*, by commaundement of thy great power, was put to deathe, but the quellers thou sufferedst to flee, and to runne to certayne, prouinces, which wrongfully they holde, hauing killed him that, gaue them. *Syria* and *Macedonia*, thou and *Dolabella*, doyng well, when thinges were setled, toke from them, for the whiche I, would thanke thee, if thou hadst not straight appoynted them to, *Creta* and *Cyrene*, and thought fugitiues worthy prouinces, euer, to be as garrisons againste me. *Decimus* hauyng *France* our neybour, you haue suffered, he also being made ruler of that, and other by my father, but some will say, the Senate did determine, it, yea and thou didst confirme it, and satest as chiefe in that Senate, the which thou chiefly of all others for thy selfe, oughtest to, haue resisted. To giue them oblision of their faulte, was as a, granting only of their liues, but to assigne prouinces and honor, was a contumelie of *Cæsar*, and an ouerthrow of the iudgement. Therefore as passion dothe carrie me peraduenture beyonde the, due respect of my yeares and reuerence to thee, I will speake it, both as to a sure friende of *Cæsar*, and of him, though worthye, much honor and power, and also, as to one, that mighte haue bin, his heire, if he had knowen that thou hadst come of *Aeneas*, rather than *Hercules*, for that did he muche consider, when he toke, order for his succession. But for the tyme to come, O *Antony*, for the Gods of friendshyp, and for the dutie to *Cæsar*, if thou wilt,

‹ change any of the things done, as thou must if thou wilt, if not, at
‹ the leaſt helpe to further me, that minde to be reuenged of ẏ quel-
‹ lers, with the people, and ſuch of my fathers friends as I haue:
‹ and if any reſpect of men, or of the Senate doth moue thée, be not
‹ angry with me. Thou knoweſt what a charge I and my houſe
‹ haue about theſe matters, for the performing of the diſtribution
‹ that my father gaue to the people, and for the care thereof, that
‹ by delaying of them, I might not ſéeme vnthankefull, nor they ẏ
‹ ſhould receyue habitations in the countrey, ſhoulde be conſumed
‹ by me, tarrying in the Citie. Of al that was to thée brought im-
‹ mediately after ẏ death of *Ceſar*, to be in ſafetie for danger of his
‹ houſe, the iewels & apparel, I thinke good thou ſhalt haue, and al
‹ other things which thou wilt, but for the diſtributiõ, giue me the
‹ coyned gold which he had gathered for his determinate warres,
‹ which ſhall ſuffice me to deuide amõg thrée hũdred thouſand mẽ.
‹ The reſidue of the charges, if I may be ſo bold, I will eyther of
‹ thée, or by thy helpe, borowe it of publike money, and forthwith
‹ make ſale of my priuate ſubſtance. Whileſt *Ceſar* ſpake thus,
‹ *Antony* was aſtoniſhed at his courage and boldneſſe, farre be-
yond the opiniõ of his yeares, and being gréeued with his ſpéech
made without reuerence of him, & ſpecially for that he required
the money, he anſwered him ſharply after this maner.

Antonyes anſwvere to Octauius.

‹ If *Ceſar*, togither with his inheritãce and name (O ſonne) had
‹ left thée alſo the ſtate, thou mightſt well haue required an ac-
‹ compt of common things, and I muſt haue aunſwered: but if the
‹ *Romaines* haue by oth decréed, that no man ſhall receyue rule by
‹ inheritance, nor no man be a ſucceſſour to Kings, whome they
‹ did expell, whiche was chiefly obiected againſte the father of the
‹ quellers, affirming they killed him as a King, and not as a Cap-
‹ tayne, I ought not to aunſwere thée touching any of theſe pub-
‹ like cauſes, and by the ſame reaſon, I do deliuer thée of the gy-
‹ uing of thankes, whiche thou oweſt to me therefore, for it was
‹ done not for thy ſake, but for the peoples, yet one of the grea-
‹ teſt actes that euer was done for *Ceſar*, and for thée: for if I of
‹ mine owne boldneſſe and hate to them, had ouerpaſt the honors

for

for the ſtriker, as killers of a Tyrante, *Cæſar* had bin iudged a, Tyrant, to whome, neyther glory, nor honor, nor eſtabliſhmente, of his actes had bin made, neyther Teſtament, ſonne, or ſubſtãce, had bin ſtayd, nor his bodye bin thought worthy buriall, no not, as a priuate man, for the law doth commaund the bodyes of Tyrants to be caſt vnburied, their memorie to be raced, and theyr gwdes to be made common, all the which I fearing, did contend, for *Cæſars* immortall glorye, and for his publike buriall, neyther, without perill nor enuie of mine owne perſon, of men fierce and, full of bloudſhed, and as thou mayſt know, conſpiring agaynſte, me, and of the Senat that could euill beare thy fathers gouerne-, ment: but I thought rather to offer my ſelfe to peril and trouble, than to ſuffer *Cæſar* to be diſhonored and vnburyed, the beſt of all, other men, moſt fortunate in his affaires, and of all other vſing, me moſt honorably. By theſe mine onely perils, thou haſt pre-, ſently theſe ſingulare benefites of *Cæſar*, his bloud, his name, hys, dignitie, and his ſubſtance, for all the whyche, thou oughteſt ra-, ther to giue me thankes, than to reprehende me for anye thyng, done for the appeaſing of the Senate, for the recompence of ſuch, as had deſerued, or for other commodities and conſiderations, ſeeyng thou art yong in reſpect to me: therefore this ſhall be ſuf-, ficient, for that thou ſpakeſt heerein. Thou doeſt glance at mée, as though I were deſirous of rule only, which I neuer coueted, and yet haue bin thought not altogither vnworthy of it. Thou, ſayeſt I am ſorry, for that I was not made heire by his teſta-, ment, yet by thine owne confeſſion, I am content with the peti-, gree of *Hercules*. For thy neceſſitie, that thou wouldeſt borrow of, the common treaſure, I thinke thou didſt but diſſemble, becauſe, thou canſt not be ignorant, that all is cõſumed, & that thy father, had ỹ receypt of all the reuenue, ſince he came to his authoritie, being brought to him in ſteade of ỹ treaſure houſe, & to be found, in his ſubſtance, whẽ we had determined to ſearch for thẽ. This, cã be no wrõg to *Cæſar* being dead, nor be called vniuſt, though he, wer aliue, ỹ being required, would yéeld thée accõpts: & whẽ thou, ſhalt find ỹ many priuate men will cõtend wt thée for hys gwdes, thou ſhalt wel perceiue thou cãſt not obteine thẽ without great,

contro-,

'controuersie. As for the money which thou sayest was left with
'me, neyther was the summe so greate, nor nowe they be in my
'handes, for all were distributed to officers and magistrates, as
'Tyrants goodes, *Dolabella* and my brethren onely excepted, and
'by me bestowed vpō such purposes, as *Cæsar* had appointed: & whē
'thou shalt haue the rest, thou shalt bestow it rather vpon thē that
'may hinder thee, thā on the people, if thou bēst wise, whome they
'will sende away (if they be wise) to their habitations. For the
'people as thou ought'st to know (being lately trayned in Grēke
People vnstable. 'letters) is vnstable, and euer mouing as waues in the Sea, now
'comming, now going. After the which sorte, the people haue set
'aloste oure ambitious men, and brought them downe as lowe
'agayne.

Octauius beyng grieued with many of these things that tended to contumelie, wente his way, often calling vpon his fathers name. He put to sale his whole substance by and by that came vnto him by inheritance, coueting to winne the people by thys liberalitie, because *Antony* appeared a manifest enimie vnto him. The Senate intending to make enquirie by decree for the publike treasure, many of them were afrayde of yong *Cæsar*, for the benevolence of his father had with the Souldyers and the people, and for the present largesse in alluring of them, by consuming of his substance which was verye greate, many thinkyng that he woulde not liue in the rate of a priuate man, and chiefly for that *Antony* woulde agree with him, because he was yong, famous, and rich, and would still vsurp *Cæsars* former dominion. Some were ioyfull of these things, that these men shoulde be at variance, and by the inquisition of the moneys, *Cæsars* ryches should waste, and they haue abundance of the common treasure, because muche of the publike store would be found among *Cæsars* goodes. Many of them called *Cæsar* into the lawe for their lands, euery one clayming his owne, and for that muche was common, by reason of condemned, banished, and attaynted men. These controuersies they brought before *Antony*, or before *Dolabella*, the other Consul. If any matter were heard before other Iudges, *Cæsar* had euer the worst, because of *Antonyes* friend-

Octauius selleth his substance.

ship,

ship, albeit he shewed by record what his father had purchased, & that al his acts were ratifyed by the last decree of the Senate. Many other actions of iniurie were put vp againste him: extraordinarily, and they grew infinit, in so much as *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, to whom *Cæsar* had giuen a portion of land, complayned of *Antony* for themselues and for *Cæsar*, as they that suffered wrõg by the Senates decree, affirming he ought to reiect onely matters of despight, and al other of *Cæsars* doings he should confirm. He answered, that things done peraduẽture, had some contrariet ie with the Senates decree, and (quoth he) the decree may be written contrary to the meaning. For where only obliuion of iniuries was graunted, there was no alteratiõs of the former procedings, neyther for his sake, nor to be playne, for anye of their sakes, rather than a deuice to apease and stay the people which was in tumulte, and that it were more iuste to vse the meaning of the decree, rather than the wordes: neyther was it mete to resist so many men, that by sedition were fallen from their owne, or their auncestours possessions, for one yong man that beyonde all hope had gotten so muche of other mens substaunce, and none of his owne, vsing fortune not for honoure, but for insolencie. Yet he sayd he would fauour them, whẽ they had diuided with *Cæsar*. Thus did *Antony* answere *Pinarius*, who streight made diuision, least their partes shoulde be consumed in sutes, not for themselues but for *Cæsar*, whom not long after they must gratify in all.

The time of playes drew nygh, which *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antony*, should exhibite for *Brutus* as Pretor, being absent, in as good sorte as might be, bicause *Brutus* had made great preparation for the same, thinking by this liberality & passime, the people would be wonne to cal him and *Cassius* home again. But new *Cæsar* working ỳ multitude to the contrary, did giue among the ambitious sort (as euery man first came) al the money that he had got by his sale, to preuent the others whole purpose. He went into euery common market, commaunding to be proclamed, ỳ they should sel al his goods, thoughe that he had were neuer so good cheape, bycause of the doubtful and suspitious

Playes for *Brutus*.

pitions controuerſie of the lawe and of his harte. Where by hee turned all the people to beneuolence and pitie, as vnworthye to ſuffer ſo muche. For whereas beſide his owne heritage he had ſolde his priuate ſubſtaunce that came to him by his father *Octauius*, or by any other waye, and all that his mother and hir husband *Philip* hadde, and clayming a portion of more goods of *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, he determined to ſell all, as though *Cæſars* ſubſtaunce woulde not ſuffice, onely bycauſe of his oratiõs. The people thinking no lõger ẏ to be *Cæſars* gifte, but *Octauius* liberalitie, they had inwarde compaſſion of him, wondring at his great attemptes, and well perceyuing that he would not long paſſe for *Antonies* diſpleaſure.

The playes diſturbed.

Now were the playes of *Brutus* ſhewed in moſt ample manner. When certaine hyred men, did cry that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* might be called home, and the reſt of the Theatre did agree vnto them for their pardon, the other ruſhed in by heapes, and marred all the playe, and quenched their inſtant requeſt. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* vnderſtanding that *Cæſar* had daſhed their hope in the ſhewe, they determined to goe to *Syria* and *Macedonia* by force, as prouinces appointed to them before *Antony* and *Dolobella*.

This being euident, *Dolobella* alſo went into *Syria*, and made haſt by the way, to make money in *Aſia*. *Antony* deſired much to haue the army of *Macedonia*, as very fit for the maintenãce of his power, being in vertue beſt, and in power moſt, (for they were fiue legions) beſide other number of Archers, Darters, and light armed, with many horſemen and other greate furniture for the warre, al the whiche he feared ſhould follow *Dolobella* into *Syria*, going againſt the *Parthians*, whether *Cæſar* had appointed them. He minded to haue them himſelf, bycauſe they were nyghe to the ſea of *Ionia*, frõ whence he might ſone bring them into *Italie*. In the meane time a ſodaine rumor came, that *Geetes*, knowing of *Cæſars* death, did inuade *Macedonia*. Wherefore *Antony* required his armie of the Senate, that he myght punish the *Geetes*, bycauſe they were firſt appointed againſt thẽ of *Cæſar*, & ſo that all was nowe quiet wyth the *Parthians*. The

The *Geetes*, bee a people of *Sythia* in *Europe*. The name nowe is turned into the *Thracians*.

Senate

Senate suspected this rumor, and sente to vnderstande the certainty of it.

Antony deuiseth to stoppe the creation of a Dictator.

Antony, to deliuer them of feare and suspition hereof, decréed that for no cause it should be lawfull to create a Dictator, nor that any man should take it, though it were giuen him: and if any man did perceyue anye to contemne this order, it shoulde be lawfull to kill him whersoeuer he were mette. By this meanes he did temper the hearers, and practising with *Dolobellas* friend to giue him one legion, he was chosen captaine of the army, & Lieuetenant of *Macedonia*. Hauing now what hée would, he sent his brother *Caius* in al hast to cary the decrée to ỳ army.

They that wente to vnderstande of the *Geetes* being returned, affirmed that they sawe no *Geetes* in *Macedonia*, but they added (either saying true, or being taught of *Antony* what they shold say:) It was to be feared, if the army were taken away, the *Geetes* would ouerrunne *Macedonia*.

Dolobella kept out.

Ephesus, now Egle in *Ionia*.

Dolobella taketh *Smyrna*.

Whiles this was doing in *Rome*, *Cassius* and *Brutus* did gather money and men, and *Trebonius* that was gouernour in *Asia* did make Cities strong for them, and woulde not admit *Dolobella* neither at *Pergamo* nor at *Smirna*, onlyhe appointed him a market place out of ỳ wals as to a Consul. He therfore went about with anger to winne the walles: *Trebonius* not obtayning, promised he should be receiued at *Ephesus*: he going thither, *Trebonius* sent certaine alwfe to sée his doings: who, when night was come, séeing him going on, not suspecting anye thing elfe, lefte a fewe to followe hym, and returned to *Smirna*. *Dolobella* hauyng layde wayte for thys matter, turned vppon these fewe, and slewe them, and streight in that nighte came to *Smirna*, whyche findyng without watche, he toke wyth a scale. *Trebonius* was founde in bedde, and desyred hée might bée broughte to *Dolobella*, and that hée woulde wyllingly followe them. One of the Captaynes loked on hym, and sayd: Come on, giue vs thy heade, for thy heade, not thée, are we commaunded to bring: and when he had thus sayde, he stroke off hys heade streighte. When daye was come, *Dolobella*

caused *Trebonius* heade to be set vp ouer the iudgemente place wher he was wõt to giue audiẽce. The army (in fury) ẏ folowed ẏ cãpe, & the people (bicause *Trebonius* was priuy to *Cæsars* deth, and helde *Antony* with a tale without, when they killed *Cæsar* in the Senate house) did vse his body very spightfully, & threw his head vpon a pauemẽt of stone, like a bal frõ one to another, which, whẽ they had scornefully vsed, they crushed and brake it a pieces. And this was the first of *Cæsars* strikers that receiued this punishment.

Trebonius killed and spightfully vsed.

Trebonius one of the conspirators vvas the first that vvas killed.

Antony intended to bring the army from *Macedonia* into *Italie*, and wanting other pretence therunto, desired the Senate, that in steade of *Macedonia* he might haue Fraunce within the *Alpes*, of the which *Decimus Brutus Albinus* was ruler, remembring that *Cæsar* brought his army from thence, when he ouercame *Pompey*: but when it was perceyued, that he minded to bring that army not into *Italy* but into *Fraunce*, and the Senat considering that part of *Fraunce* to be as a strong fort for thẽ, was grieued, and now vnderstode the deceytes of *Antony*, repenting they had giuen *Macedonia* vnto hym. Therefore they sent priuie messengers to *Decimus*, to kepe his prouince strongly, and to gather other army and money, that he might resiste *Antony*. So muche were they troubled and in anger against *Antony*. And he, contrary to the Senats minde, entending to aske it of the people by lawe, as *Cæsar* once obtayned it before, and as *Dolabella* had *Syria*, now of late And to affray ẏ Senate, he commaunded his brother *Caius* to transport the army of *Macedonia* by the *Ionian* Sea to *Brunduse*, and there to doe what *Antony* should require.

Celtica nowv Lombardy.

Senate vvorketh secretly against *Antony*.

Critonius shevvs

Edilis Cerealis, & of houses as vvel profane as holy.

Nowe was there playes to be shewed by *Critonius* the ouerseer of victuals. At the whiche *Cæsar* hadde prepared a crowne and a chayre of golde for his father, as in al shewes they had ordeyned, so to honour him.

Critonius sayde he wouilde not admitte *Cæsar* to be honored in the charges ẏ he should make. Wherefore *Octauian* brought him before *Antony* the Consul: *Antony* sayd he would put it to the Senate. Whereat *Octauian* being offended, Doe

is

so (quoth he) and I will set the Chaire till thou hast made the decree.

Antony was angry and forbad hym. He forbadde it also in other playes after to be made, and that was somewhat vnreasonable, for *Octauius* hymselfe did exhibit it, being instituted of hys father, to *Venus* his parent, to whome in the common place, hee builded a Temple wyth a Courte. *Antony* against *Cæsar.*

Of thys did manifeste hate growe agaynste *Antony* of all men, as thoughe he did not rather enuy *Octauius Cæsar* now, than contemne the former vnthankfully. Young *Cæsar* with a multitude as a guarde wente among the people, and such as had bin benefited by hys father, or serued hym in the wars enuiously, hee besoughte them, that they woulde not suffer hym thus, to be so many waies despised, but both reuenge *Cæsar* their chiefetayne and benefactour so dishonoured of *Antony*, and defende themselues, who should haue none assurance, vnlesse the things that he had decreed were established. He went vp to euery highe place of the Citie, and cried vpon *Antony*: Hate against *Antony*: *Cæsar* to the people:

Be not angry with *Cæsar* for me, nor dishonor him that hath moste honoured thee O *Antony*, and was moste affectionated to thee, do me what iniury thou wilt, but saue his substaunce from spoile, till the Citizens haue their parte, all the reste take vnto thee. It shal be sufficient for me, though I be poore, to be successor to hys glorye, so thou wilte suffer the people to haue their portion. *Cæsars* exclamations against *Antony.*

After these wordes, there was euident and continuall exclamation against *Antony*, and although he sharpelye threatned *Octauius*, and that hys threats were openly known, yet did they the more stirre at it. Wherfore the chiefe of the Capitains that serued in *Antonies* guard, in great estimation wyth hym, and had bin before with *Cæsar*, desired him he woulde leaue his displight, as well for their cause, as for his own, hauing serued vnder *Cæsar*, and receyued so many good turnes of him. The Capitaines of *Antony* in fauour of *Octauius.*

Which things *Antony* considering, and confessyng them to be true, and halfe ashamed they shoulde be layde vpon hym, and nowe shoulde haue néede of *Octauians* helpe, for the prouince of

Antony retireth

France, he beganne at lengthe to bée quiet, and to shewe, that some thynges were done againste hys wyll.

But bycause the young manne was so hawtie at those yeares, hée dydde reuoke certaine thynges, for that he hadde no regarde nor reuerence to the Capitaines and olde officers: yet for theyr sakes he woulde refraine hys anger, and returne to his olde conditions, if hée also woulde leaue hys insolent behauiour.

Reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octauius*.

The Captaines being gladde of this, brought them togither, & when they had declared their griefs they set them at one. Now was the law called vppon for France, the Senate being against it, and entending to prohibite it, if *Antony* woulde propounde it to them, and if hée didde not, but require it of the people, they woulde set the Tribunes to be againstit, and some there were, that woulde haue it frée from al Lieutenants ouer that nation, so muche afraide were they of it.

Antony did obiect vnto them, that they would truste *Decimus* with it, that was one of *Cæsars* killers, and distrucke hym that did not kill hym that wanne that prouince, and made it fall to his knées, calling forth openly against them al, as though they had bin desirous of that was done to *Cæsar*.

The Senate tasketh a guarde.

The courte daye being come, the Senate willed the assembly of the companyes to be gathered, and in the night, they sette vppe Tentes in the common place, and called a bande of Souldioures to defende them from all happes.

Octauius nowe speaketh for *Antony*.

The people being offended, laboured for *Antony* by the helpe of *Octauio*, that sate among the Tentes, who entreated for hym: for hée was very much afraid, least *Decimus* shoulde be Gouernoure of a Prouince of suche importaunce, and an armye so greate, beeyng one that hadde kylled hys father: and for thys cause hée beganne to fauoure *Antonie*, wyth whome he was reconciled, trusting to gette some good at hys hande.

Tribunes corrupted.

The Tribunes being corrupted of *Antony*, and keping silence, the lawe toke place, and the armye being nowe at the sea,

was

was for reasonable consideration assigned to *Antonie*.

One of the Tribunes being dead, *Octauius* much fauoured *Flaminius* against the next election, and bycause the people thought himselfe woulde haue the office, but refused to aske it, bycause of his yong yeares, they determined neuertheless at the election, to make him Tribune. The Senate had enuy at his encrease, & were afraide, if he were Tribune, he would accuse his fathers killers to the people. And *Antonie* not regarding to breake friendship with *Octauius*, whither it were to please the Senate, and to quiet their minds, for the late lawe made for hys Prouince, or for their sakes that shoulde go to inhabite as Consull, hée decreed that *Cæsar* shoulde deale with no man but lawfullye, otherwise he woulde further by al meanes his auctoritie against hym.

Flaminius. The people minded to make *Octauius* Tribune.

Antony against *Octauius* againe.

Thys declaration beyng vnpleasaunte to *Cæsar*, and contumelious bothe to hym and the people, they were angrye, and entended to make stirre at the election, and to affraye *Antonie*, and by the helpe of the other Tribunes, to reuoke the decrée.

Sedition procured.

Octauius Cæsar, as one euidently deceyued, sente manye to the Cities that hys father made for to inhabite, to shew them how hée was vsed, and to knowe their minds therin.

He sent some also as cariers of victual into *Antonies* campe, to mingle among them, chiefelye to deale wyth the boldest of them, and among the reste to scatter libells: and thus hée dydde.

The Capitaines and chiefe men with *Antony*, finding time conuenient, saide thus vnto him:

The oration of the Capitaynes to *Antony*.

Wée (O *Antonie*) that wyth thée haue serued *Cæsar*, and gaue to hym chiefe auctoritie, and till this daye haue remayned as assured seruauntes of it, haue knowne that hys killers and the Senate fauouring them, didde as muche hate and seeke to dispatch vs. But when the people did disturbe them, we were encouraged agayne, bycause wée sawe that *Cæsar*,

was

'was not forgotten lacked no friendes, nor destitute of fauoure: 'yet did we put all our truste in thée, as in *Cæsars* friende, and 'nexte him, most acquainted in the seruice of warre, and nowe 'our Generall and for al respects most fit for it. When our ene- 'mies did rise, and boldly force *Syria* and *Macedonia*, and prepared 'mony and men against vs, and the Senate maintainyng *Decimus*, and thou consuming the tyme in contention with *Cæsar Octauius*, not without cause, we were afraide, that in tyme to come, 'thys dissention betweene you, woulde raise a greater warre 'than hathe béene, and gyue occasion to our enimies to do what 'they woulde against vs: all the whyche, séeyng thy selfe doest 'understande, we beséeche thée, that for *Cæsars* sake, and for oure 'loue, whiche hath done nothing to offend thée, and for the com- 'modities that may rise both to thée and vs, that whilest thou 'mayest, thou wouldest agrée with *Octauius*, whiche onlye is suf- 'ficient, entending to be reuenged of the strykers. The whiche 'thing, cleare of all care, shall stay thée in authoritie, and place 'vs in securitie, that now are in doubt both for thée, and for oure 'selues.

The chiefetaynes hauyng sayde thus muche, *Antony* thus aunswered:

Antonies aunswreare to the Capitaynes.

'What benéuolence and loue I haue euer borne to *Cæsar*, 'in all hys causes, offeryng my selfe to moste perills of all o- 'ther, you that haue béene in Souldiour fare with me, and pre- 'sent to euery thing that hathe bin done, can well testifie. How 'muche loue and good will he shewed to me, euen till his last day, 'I shall not néede to repeate. For his quellers, waying both 'these, meante to haue kylled me with him: as thoughe I be- 'ing aliue, they coulde not thinke their intentes to consiste 'in safetye. And if anye manie dydde affraye them from 'that myndc, it was not done for desire and care of my 'life, but for a respecte onelye that they woulde not sérue 'to persecute their enimies, but to dispatche a Tyran. Who 'then can thinke that I doe forgette *Cæsar* my benefactour, or 'haue more estéemed his enimies than him, or woulde willingly 'forgyue them his death, that haue sought mine, as this new *Cæ-*

sar

Cæsar thinketh? How then commeth the oblíuion of his deathe, and their aduancemẽt to prouinces: for this he obiecteth against me, and not the Senate? Heare you then how it hathe come to passe. *Cæsar* being slayne in the Senate house, euery man was afrayd, and I most of all for *Cæsars* friendship, and ignorance of the facte, for I neyther hearde of the coniuration, nor vnderstode howe manye were of the conspiracie. The people was in tumulte, and the strikers with the swordplayers toke the Capitoll, and made themselues fast, and the Senate was of their side, whyche is nowe more euident, bycause they decreed honors to them, as to the killers of a Tyrant, and if *Cæsar* were a Tyrant, then must we haue bin destroyed strayght, as friends to a Tyrante. So I beeyng troubled with tumult, with feare and sorrow, coulde not vse reason, nor bee without perplexitie, as you maye perceyue, if you will consider, for on the one side, was neede of boldnesse vehemente, and on the other dissimulation extreame. Firste thys was to be done (the residue easlie followyng) to take away the honor to be gyuen to the strikers, againste the whiche I onely standyng, resisted both the Senate, and them, and broughte to passe with greate payne, vsing euidente courage, onely offering my selfe to that perill, supposing that wee, *Cæsars* friendes, should be in suretie, if hee were not condemned as a Tyrant. The lyke feare troubled our enimies and the Senate, that if he were not iudged a Tyrant, they shoulde be accompted manquellers. And for thys contention, I thoughte it best to gyue place, and to allow oblíuion of hys death, in stead of honor to be giuen to them, that I mighte wynne of them, as muche as by necessitie I coulde. And this was the manner of my doings, that neyther I dyd suffer *Cæsars* name to be abolished, nor his substance to bee confiscate, nor his adoption (in the whiche this man nowe most gloryeth) to be dissolued, nor his testament to be frustrated. Hys bodye I caused to be buryed princely, and honoures due vnto him before, to be consecrated as immortall, and all his actes and decrees to be kept firme and sure, and hys sonne and our friends the Captaynes and the Souldioures, to be in good safetie, and to liue in honor in stead of rebuke. Thinke you the obteyning of

'these thynges of the Senate for Oblíuion, were but small and
'trifles? or doe you thynke wythout Oblíuion the Senate would
'haue graunted them? whyche for these causes (I thynke) is
'playnely to bée performed, for a true dealyng wyth the strikers,
'and for an immortall glory of *Cæsar*, and all oure weale and sure-
'tie. The whyche I haue not done of that purpose, but to turne
'the course to the contrarye. For when I hadde brought the Se-
'nate to that that was profitable to vs, and allowed the killers
'to remayne in quiet, I did ouerthrowe the Oblíuion, not by de-
'crée nor statute (for that I coulde not) but by an earnest iealou-
'sie of the people, bringing *Cæsars* bodye to be buryed in the com-
'mon place, and causing hys woundes to bée séene of the multi-
'tude, shewyng his vesture bloudy and mangled, and declaring his
'vertue and beneuolence to the people, wéeping when I made the
'mourning Oration. I called hym by the name of a kylled God.
'These were my wordes and workes, whereby the people was so
'prouoked, as in stead of Oblíuion, they toke fire, and wente to
'the quellers houses, and in the ende droue them out of the Citie.
'Howe thys was contrarye to the Senate, they béeyng grieued
'wyth it, it was euidently séene. For they accused me first of am-
'bition, and appoynted prouinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria*, and
'*Macedonia*, whyche were full of greate armyes. And least they
'shoulde séeme to make hast before theyr tyme, they gaue them
'pretence to prouide grayne for the Citie. Wherefore a greater
'feare dyd yet trouble me, for lacke of an appoynted armye,
'as meme naked to fyghte wyth so manye well armed, my fel-
'lowe béeyng a man suspected, and disagréeyng from me, and
'one of the conspirators agaynste *Cæsar*, and appoynted to bée
'héere at the daye of hys deathe. For these thyngs béeyng in great
'trouble, and séekyng with spéede to disarme oure enimies, and
'to arme oure selues, I kylled *Amatius*. I thoughte good to call
'home *Pompey*, that by thys meane I mighte ioyne the Senate a-
'gayne. Yet not much trustyng them, I persuaded *Dolobella* to
'aske *Syria*, not of the Senate, but of the people, by a lawe to bée
'made: and in hys sute I furthered hym, of a friende to make
'hym an enimie to the strikers: and that it shoulde séeme verye

vnlyttle

vnfytte for the Senate to denye me *Macedonia*, seeyng they hadde graunted *Syria* to *Dolobella*, for otherwise woulde they not haue graunted mée that prouince, nor delyuered me that armye, excepte they hadde firste graunted to *Dolabella* the same, to goe agaynste the *Parthians*: nor they woulde not haue taken from *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria* and *Macedonia*, vnlesse they hadde appoynted some other prouinces to them for theyr suretie. Nédes must they appoynte one for another, but what manner ones, *Cyrene* and *Creta*, voyde of armies, whyche they oure enimies, in contempte, haue lefte as vnprofitable, and by violence, haue entred the other, whyche wée toke from them. Thus was oure armye putte from oure enimies to *Dolabella*, by deuice and sleighte, and exchange of other prouinces: for where warre was not, there must thinges bée done by lawe. This béeyng thus brought to passe, and oure enimies gathering another armye, I hadde néede of the same my selfe, that was in *Macedonia*, yet wanted occasion to require it. When the fame came that the *Getes* woulde inuade *Macedonie*, whyche not béeyng beléeued, espies were sente to vnderstande the truth, I decréed, that no man ought to aske the Dictatorshippe, nor to take it though it were gyuen hym. By the whych thyng they béeyng chiefly allured, appoynted me the armye, and then dyd I thinke my selfe equall with mine enimies, not these that be euidente, as *Octauius* thynketh, but other moe in number, greater in power, and not yet appearing. When I had done this, one of the strikers remayned still hard at our sides, *Decimus Brutus*. He béeyng a gouernoure of a greate countrey, and a mighty armye verye bolde, I deuised to take hys prouince from hym, yet wyth a regarde of the Senate, promising to delyuer *Macedonia* voyde of armye. The Senate takyng the thyng euill, and perceyuing some deuice to bée hadde, what and howe greate matter was written to *Decimus*, you knowe, and to stirre the Consulles agaynste mée, wherefore wyth the more boldenesse dyd I practise to wynne that prouince, not by the Senate, but by the people and lawe, and to haue the armye of *Macedonia* come to *Brunduse*, to

'vse at all opportunities, and with the Gods help, we will vse them
'as necessitie shall compell vs. Thus from muche feare, wherein
'we were at the first, we be turned into safetie of them that haue
'to doe wyth vs, and into boldnesse agaynste oure foes, whose
'courage beginnes to shrinke, and ours to increase. You see what
'repentance they make of their decrees, and what payne it was
'to mee to take *France*, gyuen to another man. You knowe what
'they wrote to *Decimus*, and what they persuaded the Consuls a-
'gaynste me for that matter, but wyth the Gods of oure Coun-
'trey, wyth dutifull mynde, and wyth oure valiante actes, by the
'whyche *Cæsar* was a conqueroure, wee wyll reuenge him, labou-
'ring with our bodyes, and counselling wyth oure mynds. These
'thyngs (O Souldioure fellowes) I woulde haue secrete, al-
'though howe I haue done them, I haue tolde you, with whome
'I will participate all thyngs both in worde and deede, the which
'you may shewe to any other that do not knowe it, onely *Octauius*
'except, who is most vnthankefull to vs.

When *Antony* hadde thus saide, it seemed to the Captaynes that he had done all things with great art and policie, to deceiue the quellers whome he hated, and therefore they were desirous to reconcile them with *Cæsar* once agayne, and persuaded them to meete in the Capitoll.

Newe despighte of *Antony* against *Cæsar*.

Not long after, *Antony* did cause some of his gard to be apprehended by his friendes, as entised by *Octauius* to destroy him, eyther to discredite *Octauius*, or for that he thoughte it true, learning it of such as were sente to hys Campe. He declared this to be done by all coniecture, to dispatche hys person, whiche matter beeyng quietly heard, caused muche adoe and indignation among the people. A fewe that were grounded vppon reason, were glad that *Antony* myghte doe *Cæsar* good, and also hurte at hys pleasure, bycause hee was terrible to the strikers, and if hee were once dispatched, they myghte wyth the more securitie, doe theyr feates, bycause the Senate chiefly fauoured them. Thus the wyser sorte did thinke: but the multitude seeyng that despight and hynderance was dayly offered to *Octauius*, they thoughte it not vnlike to be a calumniation, and yet supposed it not good

nor

noz honeſt, that *Antony* beyng Conſull, ſhoulde bée in daunger of hys perſon. *Octauius Cæſar* with greate anger and furie wente among them that were of thys opinion, and cryed, that hœ was circumuented of *Antony*, foz the frendſhyppe that he onely had with the people, and ranne to *Antonyes* houſe, and there he exclaymed and called the Gods to witneſſe, with all execrations and othes, pzouoking hym to come to tryall: and bycauſe no bodye came to hym, he ſayde to hys friendes, I am contente to bée iudged by hys owne people. And with that, he bzake in at the dozes, but bœyng kepte backe, he ſware, and rebuked them that kepte the gates, bycauſe they ſtopped hym from making further tryall wyth *Antony*. He wente hys way, and pzoteſted to the people, that if any hurte came vnto hym, it ſhoulde come by *Antonyes* meanes.

Cæſar exclaymeth agaynſte *Antony*.

Hauyng ſpoken this with greate vehemencie, it grœued the people, and ſome of them repented of theyz fozmer opinion. Some ſtode in doubte, and truſted neyther of them. Some thoughte it a diſſimulation betwœne them, the better to bzyng to paſſe, that they had agrœd vpon in the Temple againſte their enimies: and ſome thought *Antonie* deuiſed it, to haue a greater garriſon about him, and to turne mens good will from *Octauius*.

Nowe was there ſecrete intelligence gyuen to hym, that the armye at *Brunduſe*, and the ozdinarie Souldioures, were angrye with *Antonie*, bycauſe he neglected *Cæſars* death, and that they woulde reuenge it to their powèr, and that *Antonie* was gone in haſt to *Brunduſe* foz this cauſe. *Octauius* was afrayde, leaſt he returning with his armye, ſhoulde finde hym vnpzouided. He toke mony, and wente to *Campania*, to winne the Cities that were inhabited by ſuch as had ſerued his father, and firſt he perſuaded *Celatia* and *Silio*, two Townes about *Capua*. He gaue euerie man fiue hundzed dzammes, and had tenne thouſande menne, neyther armed, noz diſtributed into due bands and ozder, but only as a gard of his perſon vnder one enſigne. They in the Citie were afrayde of *Antonies* commyng with his army, and when they heard that *Octauius* was comming with another, they were in a double feare, and ſome toke it well, that they mighte vſe

Antonyes armye at *Brunduſe* diſcontented.

Antonyes goyng to *Brunduſe*, ſuſpected to *Cæſar*.

Octauius goeth to make men. *Celatia* in *Latio*. *Silio*, *Caſilinum* in *Campania*, not farre from *Capua*.

Feare in the Citie.

Octauius against *Antony*. Some that sawe theyr reconciliation in the Capitoll, thought it but a dissimulation, and a recompence of the one to be in authoritie, and the other to persecute the quellers.

Carnutius.

In thys disquietnesse, *Carnutius* the Tribune, enimie to *Antony*, and friende to *Octauius*, wente to knowe the truth, whyche beeyng done, hee declared to the people that there was playne variance betweene *Antony* and *Octauius*, and that it stode them in hande to make *Octauius* theyr friende, seeyng they had none other armye to resist *Antonyes* Tyrannie. When he had sayde thus, he willed *Octauius* to enter, who lay a little without the Citie at the Temple of *Mars*. Hee dyd so, and came to the Temple of *Iupiters* chyldren, about the whyche the Souldioures stode with theyr weapons openly. *Carnutius* spake firste against *Antony*. Then *Octauius* hymselfe reuiued the memorie of hys father, and shewed what iniurie *Antony* hadde done hym, whereby he was forced to gette an armye for hys suretie, wyth the whyche he woulde obey, and serue his Countrey in all thyngs, nowe readye agaynste *Antonie*. When he hadde thus sayde, the Counsell was broken vp.

Carnutius a Tribune, receiueth yong *Cæsar* against *Antony*.

Octauius to the people.

The armye that thoughte otherwyse, bycause of theyr reconciliation, and that they were onely broughte to preserue *Octauius* person agaynste hys quellers, seemed to bee greeued, that suche wordes shoulde bee spoken agaynste *Antonie*, then beeyng a Generall of an armye, and Consull of the Citie: and some desired to goe home, as to arme themselues, for they coulde abyde none other, but theyr owne armies: and some tolde the very truth.

Octauius army goeth from him.

Octauius beganne to doubt agayne, seeyng it came otherwyse to passe than he thought, and therefore gaue place to the occasion, trustyng to wynne them rather by gentlenesse than by force, wherefore some he sente to bee armed, and some to theyr home agayne, promising them all for theyr labours, and hydyng hys griefe, he gaue them newe giftes, and promised them more liberally to requite them, and that he woulde vse them in all hys enterprises, rather as hys fathers friendes, than as hys

Octauius gineth place to the Souldyoures.

Soul-

Souldioures: When he hadde so sayde, one thousande, or three at the most (for in thys the Writers vary) he wanne to tarrie, the rest wente awaye. They remembryng the toyle of tyllage, and the gayne of warfare, and the wordes of *Cæsar*, that easilie dyd drawe them, and the giftes they hadde receyued, with the hope of that they shoulde receyue, as the variable nature of people is, beganne to repent, and turning occasion to dutie, they armed themselues, and returned to him, and he went to *Rauenna* for more reuenue, and when he hadde gone ouer the Countrey, and gotten more menne one after another, he sente them to *Arezzo*.

Octauius armye returneth to him.

Arelium a Citie in *Tuscane*, thirty myles from *Florence*.

In this meane time, of the fiue Legions of *Macedonie*, foure were come to *Antonie* to *Brunduse*, accusing him, as one that neglected *Cæsars* deathe: and bycause they gaue no greetyng to hym when they broughte hym to hys seate, as to beare somewhat firste sayde of themselues, he was offended with their silence, and coulde not refrayne, but rebuked them of vnthankefulnesse, that where by hym they were called from the iourney into *Parthia*, to remayne in *Italie*, they did not acknowledge anye thanke for it. Then he blamed them for bearing with the rashe yong man, (for so he called *Cæsar*) that they woulde not discouer to hym suche persons, as he had sente to make difference betweene them: but he woulde fynde them out hymselfe, intendyng to leade them to the wealthie prouince of *Celtica*, and to gyue euery one that woulde abide with hym, one hundred drammes. The Souldyoures laught at his miserable offer, and the more he was angry, the more were they in disorder and tumulte, wherefore he rose and sayde, *You shall learne to be ruled.*

Antony offended vvith the Souldioures.

A mutiny in *Antonyes* Camp.

The Souldyoures laughe at the miserie of *Antony*.

Then he enquired of the Chiefetaynes, who were the seditious? (for among the *Romaines* they vsed to note euerye manne by writing) and by lawe of warre he chose them out, but hee dyd not kyll euery tenth manne, but parte of them, thinking by a fewe, to affray the rest. They, not to feare, but rather to anger and hate, tourned his doings, whiche thyng when they perceyued, that were sente thyther by

Octauius,

Octauius, they threwe billes aboute the Campe, conteyning the niggardnesse and crueltie of *Antonie*, with an vnthankefulnesse to *Cæsar* that dead was, and the liberalitie and gentlenesse of him that now they might help. *Antonie* with great diligence sought out the authors, with threatning of greate payne to them that dyd not disclose them, but when he coulde not finde anye out, hée was muche offended, that the whole army should fauoure them: and when he hearde of the extraordinarie bands that were gone to *Cæsar Octauius*, and what was done for him at *Rome*, he was troubled, and came agayne to the army and sayde. It did grœue him to doe that he had done for the necessitie of Souldious discipline, taking but a few, in stead of many, according to the lawe, and that they did well knowe, that *Antonie* was neyther cruell, nor sparing, but (quoth he) let anger go, let this be ynough, both of punishment, and of offence, and as for the hundred drammes, he meante it not as a gifte, (for *Antonies* fortune requyred otherwyse) but as a welcome of fyrste acquayntance betwéene them, rather than a gifte, hée wylled them to haue it, and that by the lawe of their Countrey and Souldyoures order, they oughte to bée obediente to hym in thys, and in all other thyngs.

The practises of Octauius against Antony in his Camp.

Antony to his Souldyoures.

Thus he sayd: yet dyd he not adde anye more to the somme, leaste the Captayne shoulde séeme to giue place to the Souldioure, and they eyther for repentance or for feare, accepted it, and hée changed the officers of hys Campe, eyther for the displeasure of thys sedition, or for some other suspition. The rest, with suche furniture as he had, deuiding his hoste, he sent by sea to *Arimeno*.

He takyng one bande of the moste likely men, both in bodye and obedience, wente towarde *Rome*, from thence to goe also to *Arimeno*. Hée proudely entred the Citie, leauyng one bande without the Citie in Campe, and wyth them that were aboute hym armed, hée causeth hys house to bée garded in the nyghte for hys safetie, to whome he gaue watchwordes, in dyuers parts, as a garrison in the Citie. He assembled the Senate, intending to haue accused *Octauius* for his doings, but at hys

Arimeno in Romagna.

his entry, it was tolde him that the martiall legion by the way was gone to *Octauius*. And as hée stode in doubt and feare what to doe, it was also shewed hym, that the fourthe legion following the Martials example, was likewise reuolted to *Octauius*. Being much troubled, he entred, and made a shew as he had called the Senate for an other purpose, & tarried not long there, but went to the gates, and from thence to the Cittie of *Alba*, to stay the reuolters. But being put from the walles, hée returned, and to the other legions hée sente fiue hundred drams a man, and with them that he hadde, hée wente to *Tiburo*, hauyng suche prouision as they bée wonte that goe agaynst theyr enimies.

Two legions reuolte to *Octauius* frō *Antony*.

Tibure, now *Tiuole*.

Nowe was it euident that warre woulde followe, for *Decimus* meante not to leaue hys Prouince.

Antony béeyng in thys place, almoste all the Senate, and manye of the Gentlemen came to do hym honor, and so dyd a great part of the people, fyndyng hym gyuyng othe to hys Souldiors that were presente, and of other that hadde serued him béefore, whyche resorted to hym in greate number. And they frely sware to *Antony*, that they woulde not breake faith and beneuolence wyth hym. So as nowe a man mighte doubte, who they were, that a little before hadde spoken againste *Antony* for *Octauius Cæsars* sake.

The Senatoures and Citizens sworne to *Antony*.

Antony thus wyth great pompe, approched *Arimene*, where was the beginning of *Fraunce Celtica* his armye. Beside these newe Souldioures, was thrée legions from *Macedonia*, for nowe all were come vnto hym, and the olde Souldioures that then serued, were counted twice so good as the yong.

So hadde *Antony* an armye of foure legions of experte Souldioures, beside suche as bée wonte to followe as venturers, and the olde guarde of hys person, wyth other newe chosen.

Antonies armye.

Lepidus in *Iberia*, hadde thrée legions, *Asinius Pollio*, two, and *Plancus* in further Fraunce, thrée, all the whyche séemed to take *Antonies* parte.

Lepidus. *Asinius Pollio*. *Plancus*.

Octauius Cæsar had two choise legions that wente from *An-*

tony, one of yͦͤ ſouldiors, and two of them that ſerued him firſt, neyther full in number, nor furniſhed in armoure, yet ſupplyed of the newe commers. He gathered theſe togither at *Alba*, and ſent them to the Senate.

The Senate miſliked of *Octauius* and *Antony* bothe.

They dydde ſo muche reioice in *Octauius*, as a man myghte doubte that anye dydde before honoure *Antony*: yet were they not content that the legions that went from hym, ſhoulde goe to *Octauius*, and not to them. Neuertheleſſe, they prayſed them and *Ceſar*, promiſing ſhortly after to determine by decrée what was to bée done, when the newe Magiſtrates hadde theyr offices.

It was euident in the ende, that they woulde bend againſt *Antony*, and bycauſe they had no army, and coulde gather none wythout the Conſuls auctoritie, they deferred all till the newe election.

Ceſars army offred him Maces and Sergeants prepared, and prayed him to take vpon hym the Lieutenantſhip and leading of their warre, they being euer vſed to ſuch auctoritie.

He thanked them for the honoure, but referred the matter to the Senate, & them that wolde haue gone by heaps for this purpoſe, he forbad, and ſtaied them that would haue ſent Ambaſſadours, that the Senate (quoth hée) maye take order for it of themſelues, vnderſtanding of your offer, and my refuſall. They hardly beyng contented this ways, and the Capitaines conſtruing it as men had in ſome ſuſpition, he declared vnto them, that the Senate dyd not rather encline to him for good will, than for feare of *Antony*, and want of army, til we (quoth he) haue diſpatched *Antony*.

The murtherers being friends and kinſemen to the Senate, wil'gather power for thē, whych I perceyuing, wil pretend to obey them. And this is not to be diſcloſed, for if we take power vppon vs, they will call it violence and contumelie: but if wée make daunger of it, they will peraduenture giue it vs, fearing otherwiſe wée ſhal haue it by you.

When hée hadde thus ſayde, hée ſawe the two legions that

that came to him from *Antony*, shewing the shape of battayle, contending togyther in as vehement wise, as thoughe they hadde bene fighting indede (kylling onely excepted) and hee being delighted with this feate, and glad to take the occasion, dide gyue to euery man other fiue hundred drammes, and if anye necessitye by the warre shoulde followe, hee promised to them, hauing the better hande, fyue thousande drammes a man.

A shewe of fight by twoo legions.

Thus did *Cæsar* with liberalitie of rewarde, winne them that were hys hyred menne, and these were the doyngs in *Italy*.

In *Fraunce*, *Antony* commaunded *Decimus* to go into *Macedonia*, to obey the people, and saue himselfe.

Antony warneth Decimus oute of his Prouince.

Decimus sente him the letters of the Senate verye well written, signifying, that as well oughte hee to obey the Senate, as he the people. *Antony* appoynted hym a daye when hee woulde vse hym as an enimie. *Decimus* required hym to appoynt a longer daye to hymselfe, that hee shoulde not too soone be made an enimye to the Senate. *Antony*, that was too good for hym in the fielde, yet thoughte it better to goe vnto the Cities, and they receyued hym.

Decimus beeyng afrayde that hee shoulde not when hee would, enter anye of them, fayned he hadde receyued letters from the Senate, to returne to *Rome* wyth hys army, and so as one goyng home into *Italy*, he was receiued in euery place.

But when he came to *Mutina*, a plentifull Citie, he shutte the gates, and commaunded the Citizens to bring all thynges forthe, that was necessarye for foode, and caused al their beastes to be kylled and poudred, for feare the siege woulde lasse long, and so he tarryed for *Antonies* comming.

Mutina a Citie in Lombardy, now Modena.

Decimus taketh Modena for hys defence.

Hys armye was a number of Sworde-players, and three legions armed, whereof one was of new Souldiours without experience, the other two of former seruice, and verye faithfull to hym.

Antony with anger came againſte *Decimus*, and caſte a trenche aboute the Cittie, and ſo was *Decimus* beſieged. In *Rome*, the Conſuls accoꝛding to the yeare, being choſen, dyde ſtraighte aſſemble the Senate with ſacrifices in the Temple againſte *Antony*.

Cicero againſte *Antony*.

Cicero and his friends, did require he might be iudged an enimie, bycauſe, he by foꝛce of armes, dide take the Pꝛouince of France, contrarie to the Senats pleaſure, to trouble hys countrey, and bycauſe he had bꝛought that army into *Italie*, that was appoynted hym againſte the *Thracians*.

They alleadged alſo againſte hym, that after *Cæſar* he ſought to rule, being armed in the Citie with ſo many band-leaders, and vſing his houſe as a foꝛte full of Souldiours and Enſigns, and in all hys dooyngs moꝛe inſolent, than became a yearely officer.

Lucius Piſo againſte *Cicero*.

Lucius Piſo, one that fauoured *Antonies* faction (and a man verye notable among the Romaynes) and other that fauoured *Piſo* foꝛ *Antonies* cauſe, required hée myghte bée called into iudgement, bycauſe it was not the manner of theyꝛ countrey to condemne anye manne beforе hée were hearde, noꝛ conuenient, that hée that was yeſterdaye a Conſull, ſhould thys daye be an enimy, eſpecially hauing bene ſo ofte pꝛayſed bothe of *Cicero* and of other.

Senate againſte *Antony*.

The Senate ſtode doubtfull in the cauſe all the night.

The nexte day in the moꝛning, bëeyng agayne aſſembled, the *Ciceronians* wyth greate inſtaunce, hadde decrëede *Antony* an ennimye, hadde not *Saluius* the Tribune diſſolued the counſell till the nexte daye. In theſe offices hée hathe moſte power that maye pꝛohibite.

Adira againſte *Antony*.

The *Ciceronians* dydde ſpitefully laboure againſte hym, and ranne among the people, to ſtyꝛe them vppon hym, and cited *Saluius* to aunſwere. He wythoute feare came foꝛthe, till the Senate ſtayed hym, fearing leaſte he ſhould incenſe the people to dꝛawe them to the memoꝛye of *Antonie*, they were not ignoꝛaunte, that they condemned a noble manne wythout iudgement, noꝛ that the people had gyuen hym France: but

Saluius.

but for feare of the strykers, they were angry with hym, bycause he first brake the lawe of *Oblivion*, & therefore they chose *Octauius*, agaynst him before, who not being ignorant therof, was desirous to dispatch *Antony*.

The Senate being thus affected, the voyces notwithstanding were deferred to the Tribunes. Yet it was determined, that *Decimus* shoulde be prayed for that he had not giuē, place to *Antonie* in *Celtica*: And that *Cæsar* with the Consuls *Hircius* & *Pansa*, should ioyne with such armies as he now had, & that an Image of gold should be made to honour him, & that he might giue voyce among the Senatours, and be allowed to be Consull ten yeares before the lawe: and that the legions that went from *Antony* to him, shoulde haue as muche giuen them of the Treasure, as *Cæsar* had appointed to them after the victorie: all the which being decreed, they brake vp, euen as already *Antony* had, being an enemy in deede, no Tribune daring speake for him the nert daye. Honours giuen to *Octauius*.

Wherefore his wife, and hys mother, wyth his sonne being yet yong, and his other friendes and familiars, all the night went to the great mens houses, to beseech them, and the nert daye came to the Senate house, suing to euerye man, falling to their feete, with weeping and wayling in blacke habite, they cryed out at the counsel doze: and some, for the lamentable voyces and behauiour, & for the sodennesse of the matter, were moued with compassion: wherefore *Cicero* being afrayde, he spake thus vnto the Senate.

What we ought to decree of *Antony*, yesterday we did determine, for when we gaue honour to his aduersaries, we cōdemned him as an enimie. *Saluius*, was only an impediment against vs, eyther for that he thinketh himselfe more wise than we, or for the friendship he beareth to *Antony*, or for ignorāce of the matter. Euerye one of these, is to our great shame, that al we should haue lesse wit than one: and also to *Saluius*, if he do prefer his friendship before the cōmon wealth. But whē he hath not well vnderstand this present case, he should haue giuen credite to the Consul, the Pretors, and to the Tribunes, *Cicero* against *Antony*.

‘ his fellowes, and to the other Senatoures in number and wor-
‘ thinesse so manye, who for ourt age and experience, ought to
‘ knowe *Antonie* better than *Salust*. In publique causes and
‘ iudgementes the more parte euer hath the right, but if causes
‘ muste bee knowne, and nowe learned agayne, I wyll re-
‘ peate them briefelye, and touche the moste principall mat-
‘ ter.

‘ When *Cæsar* was deade, *Antony* toke awaye oure com-
‘ mon money, the rule of *Macedonia* he hadde by vs, but into
‘ Fraunce he entred violently without vs. The army that was
‘ delyuered hym againste the *Thracians*, hee brought into *Italie*
‘ againste vs, requiring these deceitfully of vs, and not obtay-
‘ ning, hee did them of himselfe. At *Brunduse* hee ordained
‘ a princelye bande to be aboute hym, and openlye in Rome,
‘ men in armour dyd guarde and watche hym vnder ensignes.
‘ He brought from *Brunduse* an other armye to the Cittie
‘ readye to all attemptes, aspiring to the things that *Cæsar*
‘ (whom hee lamented) coueted: and when yong *Cæsar* prepa-
‘ red againste hym another armye, hee was afrayde and
‘ wente into Fraunce, as a place fittest to vse force a-
‘ gainste vs, bycause *Cæsar* from that place did inuade vs,
‘ and got the rule ouer vs, and giuing terrour to his armye,
‘ that they might sticke to him in all hys vnlawfull do-
‘ yngs, by lotte, hee caused them to dye, neither making
‘ anye mutinie, nor forsaking their charge and order in
‘ battell, for the whiche onelye the lawe of armes, (I
‘ thinke,) hath appoynted that punishemente, whyche, fewe
‘ Capitaynes scarcelye in greate perills woulde vse for ne-
‘ cessitie: But hee at a worde and a ieste giueth death
‘ to Citizens, and death not of them that deserue, but
‘ of suche as he woulde chose: wherefore they that coulde,
‘ haue forsaken hym, and you yesterdaye dyd determine
‘ to rewarde them, as those that hadde done well. They
‘ that coulde not escape awaye, for feare doe dwell with
‘ him, and as enimies inuade youre lande, and besiege
‘ youre armye: and youre generall, and whom you appoynted

to remaine in Fraunce, *Antony* commaundeth hym to departe.

Whether then haue we iudged *Antony* an enimye, or doeth hée vse vs as enimyes? Oure Tribune wyll not know this, tyll *Decimus* be deade, and tyll that prouince so greate and so nygh vnto vs, and after the prouince, the armye also of *Decimus* maye be in *Antonies* power, to worke hys hope agaynste vs. For by lyke the Tribunes wyll not to soone decrée hym to be an enimye, tyll hee bée Lorde ouer vs.

Whyle *Cicero* was thus saying, hys friendes made a greate noyse continuallye, and would not suffer anye manne to speake agayne, tyll *Piso* rose vppe, when as the Senate for the reuerence of him commaunded silence, and then the *Ciceronians* stayde, and *Piso* thus begaune to speake:

Piso against Cicero

The lawe, (O Senatours) doth allowe the accused to haue hys cause heard, and when he hath aunswered for himselfe, to be iudged accordynglye: *Cicero* the moste vehement Oratoure, I doe chalenge, who durste not accuse *Antony* when he was presente, and in hys absence hath layde greate matter to his charge, the greatest and doubtfullest whereof I wyll note, and wyth shorte aunswere shewe them to bée false.

Hee sayeth, that *Antony* after *Cæsars* deathe, dyd take the publique money as hys owne, the lawe calleth suche one a Théefe, and not an enimye, appointyng the payne. Therefore when *Brutus* hadde slayne *Cæsar*, and accused hym to the people, for spoyling the common money, and leauing the Treasure nothyng, *Antony* by and by did decrée, that the matter shoulde be searched: you approued hys sentence by publique proclamation, appointyng a rewarde of the tenthe parte, to them that woulde declare it, whych we wyll double if any man can accuse *Antony* of that. And thus much concerning the money.

The

‘ The prouince of *Fraunce* we did not appoint to *Antony*: the
‘ people did by lawe, *Cicero* being present, in such sort as manye
‘ other be giuen, and heretofore gaue the same to *Cæsar* in like
‘ maner. Part of the decrée is, that *Antony* should make warre
‘ vpon *Decimus* if he would not giue place vnto him, and that the
‘ army prepared against the *Thracians*, (who stirreth not) shoulde
‘ be led against him, if he resisted. *Cicero* doth not iudge *Decimus*
‘ an enemye that maketh warre againste the lawe, but
‘ *Antony*, that obeyeth the lawe. If he condemneth hym,
‘ hee condemneth them that made the lawe, whome hee
‘ ought by persuasion to pacifie, and not to prouoke by contu-
‘ melie. Neither ought he to credite that place to *Decimus*, whō
‘ the people haue banniſhed for murder, & discredite *Antony*, to
‘ whom the people haue giuen it by law. It is no good counsel to
‘ make diuision with the people, especially in daūgerous times,
‘ nor to forget, that this belongeth chiefly to the people, to iudge
‘ of friendes and foes: for by the auntient lawes, the people only
‘ is Lord of war and peace, in the whiche at this time notwith-
‘ standing they haue not appointed, nor commaunded, nor vsed
‘ their priuiledge ouer vs. But (he saith) *Antony* killed certain
‘ Souldiours, being general and appointed therevnto by you.
‘ Neuer was there Captaine generall, that was charged wyth
‘ that offēce. For the lawes haue not thought it mēte, that the
‘ Captaine should be subiect to the Souldiours: and there is no-
‘ thing worse in a campe, than disobedience, by the whiche some
‘ conquerours haue bene ouerthrowen. None of them that were
‘ punished, haue complayned, nor none of their frīendes or kins-
‘ folke. But *Cicero* hath accused, and finding fault at their death,
‘ in stead of such honor as hath ben wont to be giuen to such ex-
‘ ecutors, he wil haue *Antony* exclaymed an enimy. How *Anto-*
‘ *nies* army was disordered, & how they disdayned hym, it is evi-
‘ dēt, by the two legions ẏ are fled frō him, whō you cōmanded
‘ to serue vnder him: & they, contrary to ẏ law of souldiers, haue
‘ not fled frō him to you, but to *Octa. Cæsar*, which *Cicero* prayseth
‘ also, & yesterday would haue thē rewarded of ẏ commō Trea-
‘ sure, whiche example I pray God you do not one daye repent,

to

to suche inconuenience hath enmity caried *Cicero*. He accu-
seth *Antonies* Tyranny also, and murder of souldiours, wher-
as they that sæke mischiefe to their countries, euer do please
their armies, and not so punish thē. And bycause he can accuse
Antony of none other matter of Tiranny after *Cæsars* rule, go
to, I wil aske him questions of euery thing. Whom hath *An-
tony* killed vnharde, as a Tyrant, who now him selfe vnhard is
in daunger to be condemned? whome hath he banished? whom
hath he cast out? hath he bin so to euery particular man? hathe
he layde traynes for vs all at once when (O *Cicerò*) he decreed
forgetfulnesse of all things done? or that no man shoulde prose-
cute the murder? or that a search shoulde be made of common
Treasure? or when he called home *Pompey*, your *Pompeis* sonne?
or when he wished he might be recompenced of the common,
for his fathers substaunce? or when he dispatched the counter-
fayte *Marius*? whom then you al praysed and now only, in that
Cicero will not, you dispraise? or when he determined that no
Dictator should be created or spoken of: or when he ordayned
that he that would, shoulde dye for it. These were the things
that *Antony* did to vs in two monethes, when he alone re-
mayned in the Cittie after *Cæsar*: when by and by the people
pursewed the strikers, when by and by we were afrayde of
things to come. When, if he woulde haue taken his occasion
and haue bene vniust, he coulde not haue had a better, yet hée
dyd not vse hys power to the contrary. What did not he alone
rule, when *Dolobella* was gone into *Syria*? What dyd not he
vse hys army preste, to al purposes in the Citie, whyche you
appointed to hym: did he not watch the Citie? was not he him-
selfe garded by night for feare of his enimies? had he not occasiō
by *Cæsars* death, his friend, and benefactour, and most deare to
the people? Had he not another, more nere whē his body was
laid for mē, of whom he neyther banished, nor put to death
any but rather fauoured them as much as by reasō & honesty
he coulde, not enuying them? These you sée, O *Romaines*,
be the greatest, and most doubtful matters that *Cicero* hathg a-
thered against him, and to hys accusations he ioyneth deuina-

'tion: as thoughe *Antony* woulde haue broughte so greate 'an armye, againste the Cittie, but that hee was a- 'fraydc of *Octauius Cæsar*, that preuented hym wyth an 'other armye. If to entende onely so, bee the parte of 'a manne that is an ennimye, why doeth hee not counte 'hym one that came and encamped in the Cittye, and 'gaue you no warnyng of it? If *Antony* woulde come, 'howe hapte it hee came not? was hée afrayde of *Cæsars* 'thrée thousande vnarmed, he hauyng thirtye thousand well ar- 'med? They came onely to *Cæsar* for to helpe to a pacifycation 'betwéene them, but when they saw that warre would follow, 'they forsoke hym. If he were afrayde when hée had thyrtie 'thousande? howe came he hither with one thousande? with 'the whyche goyng to *Tibure*, howe manye dyd wee sende 'vnto hym? howe manye of vs wente to bee sworne of 'hym, that were not sworne before? what prayses dyd 'Cicero make of hys good gouernemente and vertue? howe 'wouloe *Antony*, if hee hadde knowen thys, haue lefte 'wyth vs the pledges that nowe bee without the Senate 'house, hys mother, hys wife and hys young sonne, 'whyche lamente and feare nowe, not of *Antonies* doyngs 'in the common wealthe, but for hys ennimyes po- 'wer.

'Thys I haue rehearsed vnto you, as an example 'of *Antonies* innocencye, and *Ciceros* mutabilitye. And to 'them that well wyll consyder, I wyll giue thys exhorta- 'tion: neyther to charge the people nor *Antony*, ney- 'ther to bring in generall enimetie and daunger, the com- 'men wealthe, beyng sickely, and wantyng them that spé- 'dilye might relieue it: but to make the Cyttie strong 'before they abroade doe stryre anye tumulte, whereby 'wee maye resiste anye that wyll ryse againste vs, and 'iudge of them as wee shall thinke good, and performe 'what wee haue iudged. But howe can thys bée done? 'If wee can suffer *Antony* for the loue or fauour of the

people

people, to haue Fraunce, if wee call home *Decimus*, wyth hys three legions, and when hée is come, sende hym into *Macedonia*, retayning hys legions, and calling for the two legions that wente from *Antony*, wee doe require them (as *Cicero* sayeth of *Cæsar*) to bee in the Citie, so as hauyng fiue legions, wee maye confyrme what wee will by decrée, and not be driuen to hang of anye mans hope.

Thys haue I spoken to the hearers, without enuye or emulation. But for them that inconsiderately and vnaduisedly séeke to trouble you for priuate grudge or displeasure, I shall beséeche the Iudges not to bée to quicke nor swifte against so greate men, and leaders of so mightye armyes, that they doe not force them to make warre against their wyll, remembryng *Marcus Coriolanus*, and the late *Cæsar*, whom, bringing an armye likewise, and offring verye good conditions of concorde, wee rashelye condemned as enimye, and of necessitie made him to bee so indéede. Let vs beare wyth the people, that while earst did stirre against the strykers of *Cæsar*, that we séeme not, to hys reproch, to giue them prouinces of nations, nor prayse *Decimus*, bycause hee despiseth the peoples lawe, and condemne *Antony*, bycause hee receyueth Fraunce by the peoples order. And it behoueth them that bee of good iudgement, to redresse them that goe astraye, and the Consuls and Tribunes to prouide for the daungers of the present state.

Thus dyd *Piso* speake in defence, with cries and sharpe wordes, and was the onlye cause why *Antony* was not iudged a rebell. Yet coulde he not obtayne that hee shoulde haue the prouince of Frenche *Celtica*. For the friendes and kinsefolke of the killers for feare did lette it, leaste the warre shoulde ceasse, and hee bee at one with *Octauius*, and they both reuenge *Cæsars* deathe. Wherefore theyr practise and deuise was to kepe *Antony* and *Octauius* styll at debate.

It was decréed that *Antony* shou ld receiue *Macedonie*, in stead of *Lombardie*. Al other orders, eyther of ignorannce or of purpose, they committed to *Cicero* to appoint, and to giue answers to Embassadours. He hauing this sentence, dyd thus determyne.

The decrees of *Cicero* against *Antony*.

That *Antony* shoulde streight departe from *Modena*, and leaue *Celtica* to *Decimo*: and to be within the compasse of the floud *Rubicone* (which diuideth *Italie* from *Lombardie*) by a daye prefixed, and committe all his matters to the Senate.

Thus *Cicero* ambitiously and vniustly dyd appointe his determinations, not for anye so great priuate enmitie, but as it shoulde séeme, by destinye that was determined to trouble the state with mutation, and bring himselfe to some euill happe in the ende.

At this instante they were come that broughte the ashes of *Trebonius*, and the despight vsed to him, which being throughly knowne, the Senate did easilye decrée *Dolobella* to bée a rebell.

Dolabel'a declared a rebel.

When the messengers were come to *Antony*, they were ashamed of their strange commission, and sayd nothing, but deliuered the decrée vnto him. He with great anger did inueigh against the Senate & *Cicero*, marueling that they would thinke *Cæsar* a Tyranne or a king: that had so muche augmented the state of *Rome*, and not accompte *Cicero* so, whome *Cæsar* toke in warre, and yet did not kill, whereas *Cicero* doeth preferre hys killers, before his friendes, and hated *Decimus*, when he was trusty to *Cæsar*, and loued him euer since he was a killer of him, & would ayde him, that only by *Cæsar* kept *Celtica*, & iudge hym a rebell that had it by the people. To the legions that were assigned by decrée, and reuolted, the Senate giueth rewarde, but none to them that remayne in their duety: and so corrupt (quoth he) the discipline of war, not belonging to me, but to the Citie. To the quellers, he could graunt oblision of the facte, to whiche I consente for two noble mennes sake: but *Antonye* and *Dolobella* hee iudgeth enimyes, bycause

The answere of *Antony* to the decree.

we

wee kéepe that was giuen vs, for that is the verye cause. But if I leaue *Celtica*, I am neither enimy nor tyranne. I protest I will dissolue that forgetfulnesse, that shall not be verye acceptable to hym. *Antony* to the Senate.

Many things after this sorte spake *Antony*, and wrote thys aunswere to the decrée, that to the Senate he woulde obey as to hys Countrey, but to *Cicero*, that wrote the commaundement, thus he spake: *Antony* to Cicero

The people haue giuen me *Celtica* by lawe: *Decimus*, that wil not obey, I will remoue, and reuenge the matter of murther in hym for all, that the Senate may be purged of the taulte they be in, whereof they be ful for *Ciceros* sake, to helpe *Decimus*. When *Antony* had thus saide, he wrote it by and by. Wherefore the Senate iudged hym an enimy, and the armye with him, vnlesse they wente from hym. *Antony* condemned.

Macedonia and *Illiria* with the armies of both, they appointed to *Marcus Brutus*, till the common wealth were brought to better state. He had an armye of hys owne, and had receyued one of *Appuleius*. He had shippes bothe gallies and hulkes, and sixtéen thousand talents of money, and greate plenty of armour, which he founde in the Citie of *Demeatride*, layde vp there by *Cæsar*, all the whiche the Senate confirmed by the decrée, that hée mighte vse to the benefit of hys country. The povver of *Marcus Brutus* in *Asia*, *Macedonia* and *Slauonia*.

Demeatride, a tovvne in *Thessalie*, that vvas called *Pagasa*, novve *Demeatrida*.

Syria was by the Senate appoynted to *Cassius*, and commaunded to make warre vppon *Dolobella*, and all that had prouinces or armies of the Romaines from the *Ionian* Sea to the Easte, were charged to obey *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Wherefore *Cassius* and *Brutus* estate was sodainely in great fame. *Syria* appoynted to *Cassius*.

When *Octauius Cæsar* vnderstoode these thynges, hée was in doubt, for where he thought the lawe of Oblition to procéede of a conuenience of humanitie, and a respect of pitie of their kinsfolke that were men in like authoritie, and therfore had appointed them to prouinces for a shorte tyme for their securitie, as *Celtica* to *Decimus*, to note *Antony* of Tyranny, and by that deuice to induce hym againste *Antony*.

Nowe that *Dolobella* was condemned as a rebell, for killing

one of the quellers, and that mightye nations were giuen in prouince to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and manye armies wyth greate spéedinesse appointed to them, with abundaunce of money: and that they were made Generalles of all the people from *Ionia* to *India*. He perceiued that all this tended to the aduauncement of *Pompeys* parte, and to the vtter destruction of *Cæsars*: And that the Senate wente aboute to deceyue hym as a youngman: (the plotte wherof he conceiued in his mynd,) and that when he was made a Capitaine against *Antony*, it was meant to take his armye from him, and that the Consulls being in the fielde, there was no néede of any other Capitayne, and that onely honours were gyuen to the Souldiours that reuolted from *Antony*, and hys vnhonoured: and that this warre would worke his infamy, beyng vsed to none other intent of the Senate, but to the destruction of *Antony*. He kept the considerations secrete to hymselfe, and makyng sacrifice for the charge gyuen hym, he thus sayd to hys armye.

When they decreed an Image and an office vnto him.

Octauius to the souldiours.

« This honour, (O fellow Souldiours) I may thanke you for, not onelye nowe, but from the tyme you gaue mée power. « For your sakes the Senate haue gyuen it me, and therfore, for « this also you know I am youre debtor of thankes, whiche, if « the Gods shall gyue vs good lucke, I will requite abundantly. « Thus did he speake to wynne hys armye and marched forth.

Pansa, one of the Consuls, lead his army, ouer *Italy*, *Hirtius*, the other Consull, diuided with *Cæsar*: and as he was secretely instructed of the Senate, he required in the diuision, the two legions that went from *Antony*, bycause they were counted the best Souldiors. *Cæsar* did grant euerything, and when they had diuided, they encamped togither that wynter.

Octauius deliuereth two legiõs to *Hirtius* the Consull.

At the ende of winter, *Decimus* begame to lacke victual, wherefore *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* wente to *Mutina*, that *Antony* shoulde not get from them *Decimus* armye oppressed with famine. *Antony* holding *Mutina* straighte, they with all their forces woulde not fight with hym, but tarried for *Pansa*. Diuers skirmishes were made, in the whyche, thoughe *Antony* hadde the greater number of horse, yet the narrownesse of the fielde, and the

The siege of *Modena*, one of the olde Cities of Italy, and nyde an inhabitaunce of *Rome* vvith *Pesaro* and *Parma*.

the ditches about the riuers, did kéepe backe the multitude of horsemen. And thus went the matter at *Mutina*.

In *Rome* in the absence of the Consuls, *Cicero* dydde al, as the peoples ruler. He assembled the Senate euerye daye: hée made prouision of armour, compelling workemen without payment: He gathered money, and putte great impositions vppon *Antonies* frendes. They suffered it patiently to auoide displeasure, til *Publius Ventidius* that had serued vnder *Cæsar*, and was friende to *Antony*, could not abide the sharpenesse of *Cicero*, but wente to *Cæsars* habitations, where he was well knowne, and gotte two legions, whyche he ledde to *Antonie*, by *Rome*, to take *Cicero*. Great trouble grew of this, insomuche as manye wente awaye wyth their wiues and children for feare, and *Cicero* fledde oute of the Cittie, whyche when *Ventidius* knewe, hée tourned straighte to *Antony*, and being stepte by *Cæsar* and *Hirtius*, hée wente to *Picene*, where he gathered another legion, and stayed to sée what would come.

Cicero ruleth all at *Rome*.

Ventidius maketh *Rome* afraid and *Cicero* to flee.

Cicero fleeth.

La Marca de Ancona the coūtry of *Ancona*.

The Consull and *Cæsar*, séeing that *Pansa* drew nighe with hys hoste, sente *Carsuleius* the leader of *Cæsars* chiefe bande, and the Martiall legion to helpe him to passe the straights.

Carsuleius.

Antonie dydde not muche care for the passage, so he might otherwise hinder them, and being desirous of the fight, could not vse his horsemen in the playne, bycause of the Fenny place full of ditches. He hidde two of hys beste legions in the Fenne, the waye béeing made by hande, and straighte, and on both sides couered with réedes.

The stratageme of *Antony*.

Carsuleius all the nighte passing thys place, by the breake of day, was come to the way made with hand. With the Martialls Souldiours and fyue other bandes, they wente vppon the made way, being cleare of enntimyes, and beheelde the Fenne on euerye syde, and when they sawe the stirring of the réedes, and some glittering of targats and headpéeces, they began to suspect, when as the chiefe band of *Antony* sodainelye appeared afore them.

The Martiall legion being on both sides beset, and hauing no

no rowmth to shifte abroad, forbad the newe souldiours to take anye paines wyth them, leaste for lacke of experience they shoulde trouble them, they placed *Cæsars* chiefe bande againste *Antonies*, and they diuiding themselues to two, encountred with bothe legions. *Pansa* was Capitaine of the one parte, and *Carsuleius* of the other. And bycause there was two Fens, there was two fights: and bycause of the straight place, the one could not see the other: and vppon the verye waye, the two chiefe bandes beganne another fight betweene themselues. *Antonies* men entended to be reuenged of the Martialls, bycause they were fugitiues, and to vse them as traytoures. The Martialls woulde bee reuenged of them, as suspected of theyr fellowes deathes at *Brunduse*. Beeyng thus priuie one to anothers doings, and that they were the strength of eyther armye, they hoped by thys onely feate, that the warre woulde be determined. The one was ashamed that two legions shoulde be ouercome of one, the other sought glorye, that one legion shoulde defeate two: and so they ioyned battel for anger and emulation, rather of themselues, than of their Capitaynes, trying now their owne matter. And for their experience, they neyther made crie, as though they had not stroken one another, nor in the fight any of them vttered anye voyce, neither when he had the better, nor when he had the worse. They fetched no compasse nor course, but stode firme, as in Fennes and ditches, where they could not one put another backe, but with their shorte swords, they clasped togither, as in a wrestling place. No blowe was giuen in vaine, but either woundes or slaughter followed, and only sighes in steede of voice. He that fell had straight another putte in hys place. There was no neede of exhortation or calling on, euerye man by his owne experience was a Captayne to hymselfe. And when they had ouerlaboured, they woulde staye to take breath, as men do in places of exercise, and straighte close agayne.

The notable fighte of the Martiall legion againste twvo of *Antonies*, and the twvo chiefe bandes of *Antony* and *Octauius*. This battell is declared in the tenth booke of *Cicero* hys Epistles.

The young souldiours stode in a maze to see thys feate done with so good order and silence: all these continuing beyond mans nature, the chiefe band of *Cæsar* was all slaine. The Martialls vnder *Carsuleius* badde rather the vpper hande of their enimies,

who

who not disordredly but in ray, withdrew theselues. They vnder *Pansa* dyd abide it out, and equally stode to it on bothe sides, till *Pansa* was wounded with a darte in the belly, and was caried to *Bononia*. Then they, at the firste retyred in order, but after they turned more swiftely as flying, which when the yong Souldiours sawe, they fled with confusion and crie to the campe: which *Torquatus* the Pretor had prouided whyles they were fightyng, soresèeing the nède of it, to the whiche the new Souldiours ran with great violence, beyng *Italians* as well as the Martials, but exercise maketh them of one nation so much to differ in vertue. The Martials dyd not enter the trench for dishonour, but stode before it, and weary though they were, remayned ready to resist any assaulte, and to abide the ende of the matter. *Antony* dyd not touche the Martialles, bycause he knewe them valiant, but the young Souldiours he chased, and made greate slaughter among them.

Pansa the Consull is vvounded.

Bononia, nowv *Folegna la grassa*, The olde name vvas *Felsina*.

Torquatus.

Exercise.

Hirtius, at *Mutina*, hearyng of the fight, beyng aboute eyght myles distant, came in haste with the other legion that was fled from *Antony*. The sunne was now goyng downe, and *Antonies* Souldiours hauing the victory, went singing to their camp. *Hirtius* appeared to them, he beyng in good order with one legion founde and valiante, and they out of order. Wherefore of necessitie, they placed themselues in due sort, and shewed many valiant and noble feates: but although they were coragious, yet beyng weary, they were ouercome of the other that were freshe, and the most parte slayne of *Hirtius* in this feate: albeit he did not folow them, for feare of the Fennes, and the night comming on, did seuer them. The Fenne in most places was filled with harnesse and dead men, and with half dead and wounded. They that were safe, dispaired of themselues for wearinesse. But the horsemen of *Antony* rode about al night, and gathered them togither: some they caried themselues: some they brought home on horseback: some they badde take holde by the horse tayle, to goe the faster, and sèeke to saue themselues. Thus *Antony* hauyng fought very nobly, losse his force by the commyng of *Hirtius*: wherefore he abode in a village in the fielde without a campe.

Hirtius.

The fight vvith *Hirtius* and *Antonies* men.

Antonies men ouerthrovven.

The horse men of *Antony*.

Forum Gallorum. Forum Cilicum nowy Cenit.

The Village is called *French Market*. The halfe of eyther syde was slayne, and *Cæsars* bande of his person vtterly destroyed. Of *Hirtius* Souldioures few were left, all the which the nexte morning remoued their Camps to *Mutina*.

After this losse, *Antony* determined no more to giue battell to hys enimies, nor to admitte any attempt to the same, but with his Horsemen only to molest them daye by day, till he had gotten *Decimus* to yelde, being driuen by hunger. For this cause *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* the rather prouoked hym to fight: and whereas they did perceyue, that *Antony* woulde not come forth, kéepyng his men in order, they went to the other side of the Citie, whych, (bicause it was the harder to approch, was the lesse kept) yᵗ with their whole army they myght enter by force. *Antony* made resistance only with his horsemen, but they being put backe by other horse, and the army passing as it would, *Antony* was afrayd of the Citie, and brought forth two legions. They glad of thys, retired, and foughte with them, and whilest *Antony* fram other campes sent for moe legions, as in a troubled time of so greate and suddayne attempt, the whiche being long a comming, *Cæsars* men ouerthrew *Antonies* in the fight, and *Hirtius* droue *Antony* to his Campe, where fighting manfully before *Antonies* Tente, he was slayn, whose body *Cæsar* louing, in great speed recouered, and gote the Campe, till shortlye hée was repulsed by *Antony*. Both of them watched all night in armoure. *Antony* being fallen with this seconde losse, streighte after the battell called hys friends to counsell. They thought, according to his former meaning, to kéepe still the siege at *Modena*, and not to come to anye fight, for both the losses were like, *Hirtius* slayne, and *Pansa* hurte. In Horsemen, he the better, and *Mutina* broughte to extreame want, must nédes shortly giue ouer. Thus his friends thoughte good, and it was best indede, but *Antonie* (God now striking him) was afrayde least *Cæsar* shoulde procéede to the obteyning of the Citie, as he did the day before, or by making walles entrenche hym, hauing many pioners for the purpose, and then his Horse

The third fight vvhere *Antony* lost the fielde, and the Consull vvas slayne.

Hirtius slayne.

Antonyes determination.

‘ should do him no good: he said, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* wil despise me,
‘ as one ouercome, but if we goe frō *Modena*, *Ventidius* wil streight

come

come to vs with three legions, from the marches of *Ancona*, and then being so strong, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* will take my part. Thus he said, and as a man not afrayde in perils, he leuyed his siege, and went straight toward the Alpes. When *Decimus* was delyuered of the siege, he began to feare *Cæsar* as an enimie, bycause both Consuls were now gone, wherefore he brake the bridges of the riuer before day, & sent to him, both acknowledging hym the author of his saftie, and prayed him, that hauing the floude betwixte them, he woulde come to a talke, with witnesse of Citizens, where he would let him vnderstand, that very wicked Fortune forced him to conspire against *Cæsar*, being thereto driuen of other. *Octauius* angerly aunswered the messengers, refusing the thankes that *Decimus* gaue him, for I (quoth he) came not to saue *Decimus*, but to ouerthrow *Antonie*, with whome to be reconcyled, there is no reason, but to come to speech or sighte of *Decimus*, his nature abhorred it: let him therefore kepe himselfe, so long as it shall so seeme to them of the Citie. When *Decimus* heard this, not being farre from the floud, he called to *Cæsar* by name, and with a loude voyce, redde vnto him the Senates letters, by the which they had giuen him the prouince of *Celtica*. And he forbad also *Cæsar*, that without the Consuls, he shoulde not passe the bridge into any others prouince, nor follow *Antonie*, for he was able ynough to do it. *Octauius* seeyng him in such boldnesse by the Senate, when he mighte by his commission haue taken him, hee spared him, and wente to *Bononia* to *Pansa*, from whence he wrote to the Senate of all things, and so did *Pansa*, whose letters *Cicero* did reade to the people of *Rome*, as from the Consull, but *Cæsars*, were redde to the Senate onely. There was decreed generall Processions of fiftie dayes agaynste *Antonie*, the like whereof was not done of the *Romaines*, neyther for the warre of *Fraunce*, nor none other battayle.

Decimus sendeth to *Octauius*.

Octauius aunswere to *Decimus*.

The Consuls letters are redde openly.
Cæsars to the Senate only.
Supplications of fiftie dayes.

The Consulles armyes were appoynted to *Decimus*, *Pansa* beeyng yet aliue, but not lyke to scape, and *Decimus* made generall alone agaynste *Antonie*, and publike Prayers were made, that *Decimus* myghte ouercome *Antonie*: so greate an hate and displeasure was growen agaynste *Antonie*.

Decimus made generall.

To the two legions that fledde from *Antony*, was confirmed to euery Souldiour accordyng to the former promise, fiue thousand Drammes of the common treasure, as to Souldiours of conquest: and it was graunted them in solemne feastes to weare a crowne of Olyue leaues. Of *Octauius* nothing was mentioned, not so much as his name, so sone dyd they contemne him, as though *Antony* had bene vtterly destroyed. They wrote also to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius*, to fight with *Antony*, when they should be nygh hym. These were done in *Rome*. *Pansa* beyng at poynt of death by reason of his wounde, said thus to *Cæsar* sittyng by him:

Crowne of Olyue.

The Romaines vsed to honour their Captaines or Souldiours with crownes or garlandes.

The Counsell of *Pansa* the consull, to *Octauius*, whiche was the cause of all mischief.

« I was a friende to thy Father as to my selfe, whome I coulde not reuenge beyng slayne, not able to resiste so many, whome, « thou also hast done wisely to obey, although thou haddest an « armie. They at the firste fearyng thée and *Antony*, a manne « moste ambitious, and enclinyng towarde *Cæsars* sentence, haue « bene content to suffer you to be at variance, and consume your « selues, and when they sawe that thou wast Lorde of an army, as « a yong man, they set thée forth with some countenance and slen« der honours. After thou wast stronger and of more estimation, « and that thou wouldest not receiue the autority vnder the army « that they gaue thée, they were troubled, and they appoynted thé « to ioyne with vs, that wé mighte take from thée the two legi« ons, which were moste practised, hopyng that if any of you were « ouercome, the other alone shoulde be the more weaker, and af« ter hym destroy al *Cæsars* friendes and set vp *Pompeys*. This was « the summe of the determination. I and *Hirtius* haue done our cō« mission, to represse *Antony* that grewe into suspition. Now that « he is ouercome, wé thought it beste for thée to be at one with « him, doyng thée this benefite, in remembraunce of *Cæsars* amitie, « onely that whiche we supposed will further thy felicitie in tyme « to come. Afore this time to haue giuen thée this Consell had not « bene fitte, but nowe that *Antony* is broken, *Hirtius* dead, and I « not like to liue, opportunitie serueth to speake, not that thou shoul« dest thanke me when I am dead, but that thou beyng borne to « great felicitie (as thy déedes do shewe) mightest knowe what is « beste for thée, and the choyse and destiny of *Hirtius* and mé.

The

The armye that thou gauest vs, we thinke it most fitte to gyue
thee agayne, and so we do. The yong Souldyoures if thou coul-
dest keepe, I would also giue thee, but it would much offende the
Senate, bycause the officers of them, were sent as keepers to vs,
and it would worke thee enuie, and put thee to more trouble than
nedes, therefore *Torquatus* the Pretor shall haue them. When he
had thus sayd, and deliuered them to *Torquatus*, he dyed: and they
as the Senate commaunded, were sent to *Decimus*. *Cæsar* deliue-
red *Hirtius* and *Pansa* to their funerall with greate honor, and
sent them to *Rome* with great shew. In *Syria* and *Macedonia* at
this time diuers things happened.

Pansa the Consul dyeth.

The Consuls buryed honourably.

Iulius Cæsar when he passed by *Syria*, left a Legion there, mynding then to go against the *Parthians*. *Cecilius Bassus* had the charge thereof, but *Iulius Sextus*, a yong man, and allyed to *Cæsar*, had the dignitie, who ledde the legion without order, to delitious and licentious life, the which when *Bassus* reproued, he vsed him wyth despightefulnesse, and *Bassus* againe calling him, and he grudging at it, he commaunded he should by force be broughte before him. At the which whē tumult and fray was made, the army not bearing this despighte, killed *Iulius*, whereof they streighte repented thē, for feare of *Cæsar*. Then making oth one to another, that vnlesse forgiuenesse and faith were giuen them, they woulde fyght to deathe, and compelling *Bassus* to that oth, they gathered another legion, & trayned them to their exercise. Thus some do write of *Bassus*. But *Libo* writeth, that *Bassus* was of *Pompeys* parte, and after the battayle, liued priuately in *Tyro*, where he did corrupte some of the Legion, who killed *Sextus*, and after obeyed *Bassus*. But howsoeuer the matter wente, they valiantly resisted *Sextius Murcus*, that was sente of *Cæsar* with three Legions, till *Murcus* did call to *Minutius Crassus*, that was ruler of *Bythinia*, who came into his ayde with three other Legions, and when *Bassus* was besæged of these, *Cassius* came in great hast, and receyued by and by the two legions of *Bassus*, and also wanne the fire legions that besæged him, by friendshyp, who obeyed him as vnder-Consul. For (as I sayd before) it was decréed, that all should obey *Cassius* and *Brutus*.

Cecilius Bassus.

Iulius Sextus.

The mutiny of the army in *Syria*.

Iulius kylled.

Sextius Murcus.
Minutius Crispus.
Bythinia in *Asia* the lesse, nexte *Troy*.
Cassius obteyned the Legions.

Albienus.

Albienus at that time, being sente of *Dolobella* into *Aegipt*, brought from thence foure legions, whiche being scattered after the ouerthrowe of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, or else lefte of *Cæsar* wyth *Cleopatra*, *Cassius* comming suddaynely vpon hym, compelled him to deliuer his Legions in *Palestina*, being afrayd with foure Legions to fighte with eyghte. So *Cassius* beyonde expectation, was Lord of twelue full Legions, and *Dolobella* going out of *Asia* into *Laodicea*, where for frendshyp he was receyued, he followed and besæged, whiche thyng when the Senate hearde, they were glad.

Palestina nexte *India* and *Arabia.*

Cassius, Lord of twelue Legions.

Laodicea, a noble Cirie in *Asia*, nigh the floud *Lycus.*

In *Macedonia*, *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antonius Marcus*, dyd make warre with *Brutus*, hauing one Legion of armed Citizens, and being inferioure to *Brutus*, he layde traynes for hym, which *Brutus* escaping, did catch him with the like traynes, and doing nothing to him nor them that he had taken, he badde his owne Souldioures to be familiar with their enimies, but they refusing that familiaritie, and not admitting their conuersation, he suffered them freely to departe, when he had them at aduantage. They goyng another way, he appeared suddaynely vnto them in another straight, where he dyd not touche them, but gently receyued them. They remembring that he was euer thought to be the most courteous Citizen, and worthy the opinion that he had of wisedome and mildenesse, they accepted hys courtesie, and gaue themselues vnto him. *Caius* also yelded to hym, and was in honor with *Brutus*, till he was founde manye times corruptyng the army, and so put away.

Brutus getteth legions in *Macedonia.*

Brutus the gētle.

Thus *Brutus* to his former army, had syxe Legions, and praysing the *Macedonians*, he gathered of them two legions more, whome he exercised after the Italian manner.

These thyngs were done in *Siria* and *Macedonia.*

In *Italie*, *Cæsar* toke it euill, that *Decimus* was made Generall agaynste *Antonie* before him. He hidde hys anger, and desired that hée myghte make a Triumph for the feates hée hadde done, and béeing reiected of the Senate, for requiring greater thynges than belonged to hys age, hée

Decimus desireth Triumph.

The Senate denyeth Triumph to *Decimus.*

hée was afraide, least if *Antonie* were ouerthrowen, they woulde more despise him, and therefore desired to haue conference with hym, as *Pansa* counselled hym when hée dyed.

All the Souldioures and Captaynes of *Antonies* that he had taken, hée vsed courteously, and toke them as hys owne, and them that woulde, he sente to *Antonie*, as a signification, that he was no enimie to hym. *Cæsar* vseth *Antonyes* Souldioures vvell.

To *Ventidius* that was friend to *Antonie*, and hadde broughte three legions, he drewe nygh wyth hys army, and when he had made hym afrayde, he did nothing to hym, but graunted hym eyther to ioyne with hym, or to goe to *Antonie* freely with hys armie, and to protest, that for lacke of knowledge, he had omitted the common profite. When *Ventidius* heard thys, he wente to *Antonie*. *Octauius Cæsar* practiseth vvith *Ventidius*, *Antonyes* friende.

In the meane tyme, *Octauius Cæsar* honoured *Decius*, one of *Antonies* Captaynes whome hée hadde taken at *Mutina*. He gaue hym leaue to goe to *Antonie* if he woulde, and he demaunding of hys mynde towarde *Antonie*, hée sayde, he had shewed sufficiente and manye tokens to them that coulde perceyue, and to them that woulde be ignorante, more woulde not suffice. *Octauius* saying to *Decius*, a Captayne of *Antonyes*.

Thus dyd *Cæsar* signifye to *Antonie*.

To *Lepidus* and *Asinius* he more playnely signifyed of the despight againſt hym, and of the myghtie preparation of the kyllers, makyng them afrayde, that to increase *Pompeis* faction, all *Cæsars* friendes one after another, shoulde be serued as *Antonie* was, whych he, through ignorannce and suspition of a feare, did longer suffer. He allowed well they shoulde obey the Senate for a fashion, but for theyr owne suretie they shoulde agrée togyther whyleſt they myghte, and that they shoulde hérein reprowue *Antony*, and to vse the manner of the legionaries, not to departe from them when the seruice was done, nor to leaue the trade of warre and diſſeuer, (leaſte thereby the Enimie myghte take some aduantage,) but *Octauius* dealeth vvith *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Octauius* practiſe vvith *Antonyes* friends.

but rather togither inhabite others places, thereto desirous for their power, than seuerally euery man in his countrey consume his owne. This did *Cæsar* send to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Decimus* army olde and famished, was full of sickenesse, and lasenesse of bodye, and the newe Souldioures were yet vnexercised: but *Plancus* with his ordinarie armye drew nigh vnto him, & *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Antonie* shoulde be caught in his snares, being tyred with things past.

Decimus army after hunger, falleth sicke for plenty.

Plancus ioyneth vvith *Decimus*.

Pompeys friends hearing of this, did maruellously reioyce, crying now to be time, to restore their Countreys libertie. Euerye man made sacrifices, and elected tenne men to punishe *Antonies* power. And this was a forme to abolish *Cæsars* decrees, whiche *Antonie* put in vre by his remembrances, doing little or nothing of himselfe: whiche thing the Senate well perceyuing, did by occasion disanull some, and so they hoped to dissolue all: and the tenne men did commaund, that whosoeuer hadde receyued anye thing by *Antonies* authoritie, contrarye to the Senate, they should restore it, and declare it, and to them that disobeyed, a punishment was threatned. *Pompeys* secte required the rule of Consuls, in stead of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, for the rest of the yeare. *Cæsar* did the like, not of the Senate, but of *Cicero*, priuately sendyng to him, and exhorting him to be in office with him, bycause he was more sage, more experte, and better acquainted with the office than he, and that he only would thinke it a benefyte to beare the name, that he might haue an honest pretence to leaue his armye, for the which cause he had required a triumph.

A creation of tenne men in *Rome*.

Edict of tenne men.

Asinius requireth to be Consull vvith *Cicero*.

Cicero hereby being blowen vp with ambition, sayde, he perceyued a conspiracie to be wrought by the Captaynes abroade, and therefore he thought good to pleasure this yong man, beeyng not well intreated, and Lorde of a greate armye, and rather to graunte him an office in the Citie before his time, than to force him to be in armes, least he might do something that should not content the Senate, and wished some of the wise antients might be appoynted, as a maister of his yong yeares. But the Senate laughed at *Ciceros* ambition, and the kinsmen of the killers were against it, fearing that *Cæsar* would accuse them when he should be

The ambition of *Cicero*.

Cicero is laughed at.

be Consull, and for diuerse lawfull causes made delay in the election.

Antonie in this tyme passed the mountaines. Hauing persuaded *Culeo* a Capitaine of *Lepidus*, and keper of the passage, to credite hym, he drewe nighe the floude where *Lepidus* was, and lay without trenche or ditche, bicause he would shew he was friend to him. Diuerse messages were sent betwéne them. *Antony* recording diuers friendshippes and pleasures, affirmed, that if he woulde not agrée, all they of *Cæsars* amitie, shoulde be broughte to the like calamitie.

Culeo suffereth *Antony* to passe the mountaines.

Practise betweene *Antony* & *Lepidus*.

Lepidus being afraide of the Senate, that hadde commaunded hym to make warre vppon *Antonie*, affyrmed yet that he did it against his will. Now *Lepidus* his army reuerencing the dignitie of *Antonie*, and perceiuing the messengers betwéne them, and delighting in the quietnesse of his souldiours, secretly firste mingled among thē, & after openly, as with their fellow citizens and souldiors: and when they were forbidden by the Captains, they making no accompte of their commaundemente, made a bridge of boats ouer the riuer, that they might the better come togither: and the legion called the tenth, sometime wont to bée led of *Antonie*, prepared for him in their tents.

The tenth legiō begamne to reuolte from *Lepidus*.

Laterensis, one of the noble Senatoures perceiuing thys, opened the matter to *Lepidus*, who giuing no credite to hym, willed the armye to bée deuided into diuerse partes, as to be sent to diuers vses to trie their treason or faith. *Lepidus* deuided them into thrée, and commaunded them in the nighte that they shoulde conduct a Treasourer of the armye that was comming at hand. They passing the last watch, and arming themselues as to a iorney, went to the strongest parte of the campe, and opened the gates to *Antony*, who ranne into *Lepidus* Tentes, all the armye bringing hym and praying *Lepidus* of mercie and peace for the afflicted Citizens, *Lepidus* leapte oute of hys bed without his clothes, and promysed so to doe, and embracing *Antony*, excused the necessitie. Some saye he dydde knéele to *Antonie*, as one that was a cowarde and of small experience, the whyche all writers doe not allowe, nor I

Laterensis.

Lepidus souldiours lets in *Antony*.

Antony and *Lepidus* agree.

Antony hathe greate powver agains.

thinke it to be probable, for hée hadde done no parte of an enmitye againste *Antony*, whereby he should bée afrayde of hym.

Thus *Antony* was risen agayne to greate power, and bécame moste fearefull vnto his enmityes, for hæ hadde the Armye that hæ ledde from *Modena*: hée hadde receyued thrée legions by the waye, of *Ventidius*, and nowe hadde the fellowshippe of *Lepidus*, wyth seauen legions, armed wyth all kynde of furniture, and preparation requisite.

Lepidus bare the name among them, but *Antonie* had the direction of all.

When this was shewed at Rome, a maruellous and suddayne mutation of mindes followed: some, from greate boldenesse fell to feare: some from great feare were lifted vppe to courage.

Alteration in *Rome.*

The decrées of the tenne men were broken wyth spighte, and the creation of Consulles was instantelye called for.

The Senate stoode in doubte what to doe, and feared that *Cæsar* and *Antonie* woulde agrée.

The Senate sẽdeth *Lucius* and *Pansa* to *Brutus* and *Cassius.*

They sente secreatelye *Lucius* and *Pansa*, to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, as to viewe publique playes, that they sette forthe in *Grecia*, and secreatlye required them, that as sone as might bée, they woulde come to helpe them.

From *Libya* they called two of the thrée legions vnder *Sextius*, and the thirde, they commaunded to be gyuen to *Cornificius*, that was ruler of the other *Libya* that obeyed the Senate.

The feare of the Senate.

They were afrayde of these, when they remembred they hadde serued vnder *Iulius Cæsar*, and were enclined to hys doings.

Nevve *Cæsar* chosen lieutenãt to *Decimus.*

This doubtefulnesse droue them to this pointe, that bycause they feared newe *Cæsar* woulde consente wyth *Antonie*, they chose hym agayne verye vnfitlye lieutenaunte vnder *Decimus*, but *Cæsar* for anger, as continuallye vsed with dispight,

stirred

stirred his armye, that they shoulde be sente to a nædye iorney before they were paide the fyue thousande drammes, promised them for the fyrste, and counselled them to sende to the Senate for it, and they sent the Captaines of the bandes.

Caesar stirreth his souldioures againste the Senate.

The Senate knowing wherefore they were taughte to some, aunswered they woulde sende their Ambassadoures vnto them, whome they thus instructed.

That they shoulde priuately speake to the two legions that wente from *Antonie*, and teache them not to putte their truste in one, but in the Senate onelye, whose power was eternall, and that they shoulde goe to *Decimus*, whither they woulde sende them their money, and pretended they hadde readye to gyue them the one halfe, and that tenne men shoulde be appointed for the payment, not namyng *Caesar* for the eleuenth.

Senate sendeth to the souldiors

The Messengers, bycause the legions would not be spoken to, without *Caesar* returned in vaine.

Caesar woulde no more haue other to speake to the Souldiours, nor tarrye anye longer, but himselfe wente to the armye beeyng assembled, and shewed what despight the Senate had done him, and that they ment to destroy euerye one of *Caius Caesars* friendes.

He badde them beware of them, that woulde haue them tourne to a Capitayne, by sentence of gods iudged an ennimy, and so from one ennimye to another, eyther to bee vtterlye destroyed, or to be at debate among themselues, for the feate at *Mutina* being common, rewarde is onelye appointed to two legions, to worke strife and discorde among them.

Octauius stirreth his souldioures againste the Senate.

You knowe (quoth hee) why *Antonie* is persecuted, and what the *Pompeyans* haue propounded in *Rome*, agaynste them that haue receyued giftes by *Caesars* appointement. What truste can you haue, eyther of the lande, or the money that hee gaue you, or of my safetye, so long as the kyllers kinsemen doe beare rule in the Senate? As for my selfe, I am readye to take suche ende as shall happen vnto

'me, and it shall be myne honoure to suffer for my fathers de-
'fence: but for you, so manye and so worthye men, my whole
'care is, beyng in perill for my fathers sake and mine. You
'know that I am cleare from al ambition, since I refused the au-
'thoritie that you woulde haue giuen me, with the ceremonies
'of a Magistrate. Nowe I see that bothe oure safeties dooth
'consist, if I be of you declared Consull, for so shall the things
'be made sure vnto you, that my father hathe giuen you: the
'landes and habitations that be due vnto you, you shall obtaine,
'and all youre giftes to the vttermoste: and I seeking the pu-
'nishment of the strikers, will, wyth you, dispatche our other e-
'nimies,

Octauius desi-reth to be decla-red Consull by the Souldioures.

When he hadde thus saide, the armye chearefully made a noise, and sent the Capitaines againe to *Rome* to require the Consullshippe for *Cæsar*. When the Senate obiected against hys age, the Captaines, as they were instructed, saide that in olde tyme *Coruinus* was Consull before hys tyme, and after hym *Scipio*, both the firste and the seconde, and by their youth, the Countrey was aduaunced. Comming to later tyme, they broughte forth *Pompey* and *Dolobella*, and *Cæsar* himselfe, to whom it was graunted to be Consull temne yeares beefore hys tyme.

Consulls vnder age. Coruinus. Scipio.

The Capitaines speaking thus with much boldenesse, some of the Senatoures coulde not abide, that they beeyng but bandleaders, should vse suche free speech before the Senate, and rebuked them, as menne more insolent than became Souldioures ducty.

The Senate re-buketh the Souldioures.

When the whole armye heard this, they were more angry, and desired they might straighte be led to the Cittie, that they might make *Cæsars* sonne a Consull by a famous election, whose father they extolled with immortall praise.

Octauius goeth against the citie.

When *Octauius* sawe this vehemencie, by and by from that assemblye, he marched forward with eight legions of footemē, and a sufficient number of horsemen, and all prouision accordingly, and when he was passe the floude *Rubicone*, from *Celtica* into *Italy*, as his father did afore, whē he moued ciuil war, he deuided his army into .ij. parts, ỳ one he commaūded to follow at

leysure,

leysure, the other and ỳ better, he toke with him, & made much spéede, minding to take them vnprouided. He met with part of the money that the Senate had sent the souldiours for a reward, and being afrayde of the bringers of this gifte, he sente secretlye some afore to afrape them, whereby they wyth their money fledde awaye. When the report of his comming was at *Rome*, great was the trouble and tumulte, running hyther and thyther to sende their wiues and children, and to carye their chiefe substaunce, eyther into the countrey or to the strongest parts of the Citie. For it was not throughly known, whyther he came onlye to aske the Consulshippe. But when they heard that he came as an enimy wyth an angry armye, they were afrayde of al hands. The feare at *Rome*.

The Senate was greatly stroken that they had no power sufficient, and as in suche feare happeneth, one of them accused an other: some, bycause they toke awaye the army from *Antony* wyth suche dispight: some, bycause they had suspition of the Triumphe, whiche was but right: some for hatred and diuision of the money: some, bycause he was not appointed the eleuenth manne in the distribution: some, bycause the rewards were not giuẽ, neither sone ynough, nor ful ynough, sayd the army was become their enimy. & blamed this contention so much out of season, *Brutus* and *Cassius* being so farre off, and *Antonius* and *Lepidus* their enimies so nygh, whome perceyuing to be redy to agrée wyth *Cæsar*, made the feare to grow the greater. Alteration in *Rome*.

Cicero, that before was the great styrrer, did nowe no where appeare. In euerie manne was maruellous mutation in euerye matter: and for the two thousande and fiue hundred drams that shoulde be giuen to two legions, to giue fiue thousande drammes to eight legions, and in stéede of teme men, to make *Cæsar* the distributour alone, and to graunte hym to aske the Consulshippe in his absence. Ambassadours went in haste to make thys message with diligence, who were not out of the towne before the Senate repented them, as they that ought not so cowardly to be troubled, nor to receiue an other Tyran *Cicero* not seene.

Inconstancie of the Senate.

without bloudshed, and that it was not the vse to aske the Consulshyp by force, nor that Captaynes shoulde rule the Countrey at their pleasure, and that they in the Citie shoulde arme themselues, and alleage the lawes againste them that came to inuade the Countrey: and if they woulde nedes procede, rather to suffer the seege till *Decimus* and *Plancus* myghte come: and better to defend themselues to death, than willingly to receyue seruitude without redresse.

They recyted the olde examples of the *Romanes* in sufferance and Counsell for their libertie, whiche they woulde in no wise giue ouer. And when the two legions called from *Libya*, dyd that day arriue at the porte, they thoughte that the Gods did exhort them to mainteyne their libertie: and repenting now themselues, they woulde reuoke all that they had done, (*Cicero* now appearing among them.) Therefore all men that were of age, were appoynted to serue.

Cicero seene agayne.

The two Legions that came from *Libya*, and wyth them a thousande Horse, and one Legion that *Pansa* lefte them, were putte togither, all the whiche was deuided. One parte kepte the hyll *Ianiculo*, where all theyr money lay. Another kepte the passage of the floud, by the officers of the Citie deuiding themselues: and some hadde brought their moneys to the porte in Shippes and boates, that if they were ouercome, they myght escape by Sea.

Two Legions arriue agayne.

Thus they dyd with greate boldnesse and spéede, trusting thereby to affray *Cæsar*, or to moue hym without his army to aske the Consulshippe of them, or manfully to defende themselues, and that the state myghte change to contrarie fortune, whyles they did fyght for their libertie.

Cæsars mother and his sister they coulde not fynde, neyther by priuie nor open search, wherefore they made a greate stirre, beeyng spoyled of so great pledges, and thoughte that the *Cæsarians* did not encline to them, bycause they had so surely hid them from them.

Cæsars mother and sister sought for.

Some of the messengers remayning yet wyth *Cæsar*, the contrarye determination was tolde him: wherefore they departed

parted from him with shame: he with the armye beeyng the rather styred, came forwarde wyth greate hast, fearing the women myghte take hurte. And to the people that was in tumulte, he sente hys Horsemen afore, willing them no more to bee afrayde: whereat euery man reioysing, he take the places aboue Mount *Quirinale*, no man daryng to encounter or resiste hym.

Mount *Quirinale*, one of the seuen hilles of *Rome*.

Wherefore an other maruelous mutation was seene of the sodayne. So many noble menne that wente vnto hym and receyued hym, the common people folowyng and vsing the Souldiours in battayle raye, as men quiet in peace, hee leauyng hys armye in that place, the nexte daye came into the Cittie with a sufficient Garde aboute hym: they of the Cittie mette wyth hym all the waye on euery side, and saluted hym, omittyng no parte of humanitie nor humble seruice. His Mother and hys Sister from the Temple of *Vesta* wyth the holy Nunnes, ranne out to embrace hym. The three legions dispising theyr Capitaynes, sente Embassadours vnto him to yelde themselfe. *Cornutus* one of theyr chiefe Capitaynes, killed hymselfe, the other trusted to hys promisse and fayth.

Mutation in *Rome*.

Honour gyuen to *Octauian*.

Legions of the Senate goe to *Cæsar Octauius*.

Cornutus himself.

Cicero hearyng of these promyses, practysed to come before hym by hys friendes, whiche beyng done, he excused hymselfe, and extolled the perswasion that hee had vsed to the Senate for hys Consulshippe: he answeared onely with a taunt, that he was the laste of hys friendes that came vnto him.

Cicero tasted.

In the nyghte a sodayne rumour was raysed, that two legions of *Cæsars*, the Martiall and the fourth, were reuolted to the Cittie, as grieued they should be brought to betraye their countrey. The officers and the Senate gaue fayth vnto the rumour very lightly, and though the other army was at hand, they thought with these menne so valiant, they might resist the reste of *Cæsars* hoste, till more power mighte come to them from other place. And in the nyghte, to be sure, they sente *Acilius Crassus* into *Picena* to gather an armye, and they commaund

Light credite to a vayne rumor.

Ancona.

commaunded one *Apuleius* a Tribune to runne to the people wyth thys ioyful tydings: and the Senate that night, came to the Counsell, *Cicero* standing at the doze and receyuing them with greate ioye and gladnesse: and when it was knowne it was but a false rumoz, he fledde his waye in a waggon.

Caesar laughing at them, broughte his armye nygher the Citie, to the place called the fielde of *Mars*. He hurt none of the officers, not so much as *Crassus*, by was posting into *Picene*, al- *Acilius Crassus.* thoughe hee was broughte vnto hym in a seruile habite, but spared all, to the opinion of hys humanitie, albeit, not long after, he put them to death.

Octauius dealing in the Cities. The common treasure founde in *Ianiculo* oz in any other place, he commaunded to be brought togither: and al that was afoze appointed by *Cicero*, he distributed to his army, two thousande and fiue hundzed dzammes to euery man, the residue he pzomised to giue them. When he had done this, he retyzed from the Citie, till the election of the Consuls, when, he was *Octauius* and *Q. Pedius* Consuls. chosen, and with him, *Q. Pedius*, as he desired, who had left a poz- tion of *Caesars* inheritaunce vnto hym.

A token of xii. *Vultures.* When he came into the Cittie as Consul, and sacrifised. And there appeared to him twelue Gripes, as did to *Romulus* when he builded the Cittie. The sacrifices being ended, he gaue himselfe in adoption, to his father, accozding to the lawe *Curiate*, that is, to be confirmed in adoption by the people.

Curiæ. Phratriæ. Foz the *Romaines* call *Curias*, companies oz wardes of the peo- ple deuided, as the *Grecians*, do call *Phratria*, fellowshippes and *Fraternities*. This vse among the *Romaines*, was most effectuall in the lawe foz them that be without fathers: and they may as well as *Legitimate* childzen commaunde the kinsefolke and free made men of them that doe adopte them. And it was one of *Caius Caesars* glozies, that he had manye riche free made men: and chiefly foz this cause peraduenture, thys *Caesar*, in his first adoption by testament, had neede of this also.

He dissolued by a newe lawe that *Dolobella* shoulde not be iudged a rebell, and that the lawe mighte pzoceede foz *Caesars* killing.

Wherfoze

wherefore accusations were written agaynste them by *Cæsars* frends, to them as strikers, to the other, as priuie only: for thys was obiected againste some of them, and to some, bycause they woulde not be seene when *Cæsar* was kylled. And to all these, a day certayne was assigned by Proclamation, when they shoulde appeare to make their answere, all the whyche fayling at the day, *Cæsar* himselfe markyng the iudgementes, none was pardoned of the faulte, but one noble man, who then had no hurte, but shortly after was condemned to deathe wyth the other. And at thys tyme *Q. Gallius*, brother to *Marius Gallius*, *Antonyes* friende, beyng a Pretor in the Citie, dyd desire of *Cæsar* the Lieutenantshippe of *Libya*, whyche when he hadde obteyned, he wroughte wyles agaynste *Cæsar*. The other Pretors deprined him of hys office, and the people and the Senate condemned him to deathe. *Cæsar* commaunded hym to goe to hys brother that was wyth *Antony*, and when he had taken Shyppe to goe, he was neuer seene after.

Accusations against the strikers of *Cæsar*.

Many condemned for *Cæsars* death.

Q Gallius condemned.

When *Cæsar* had done these greate thyngs, he enclined to pacification with *Antony*. When he had hearde that *Brutus* hadde twenty Legiõs, againſt ỹ which he would haue *Antonyes* help, he wente out of the Citie towarde the *Ionian* Sea, and makyng small iourneys, he tarried to see what the Senate would do. *Pedius* when *Cæsar* was gone, perswaded that before grudge shoulde growe to extremitie, they woulde agree *Antony* and *Lepidus*. And although they perceyued that this agreement was not for theyr sake, nor for their Countrey, but onely to helpe *Cæsar* agaynste *Brutus* and *Cassius*, yet did they by necessitie determine it, and reuoked the sharp decrees made againſt *Antonie* and *Lepidus*, and all the Souldiours vnder them, and to sende them other more fauourable, for the whyche *Cæsar* wrote his letters of congratulation vnto them, and promised to helpe *Antonie* againste *Decimus*, if neede were. The Senate vsed lyke friendly manner toward him, and gaue him their harty thãkes, and *Antonie* wrote that he would plague *Decimus* for *Cæsar*, and *Plancus*, for himselfe, and ioyne with *Cæsar*. Thus they wrote one to another.

Pedius counsell.

Pacification of *Cæsar* & *Antony*.

Whilest *Antonie* pursued *Decimus*, *Asinius Pollio* came vnto

Planeus reconcyled with *Antony*.

him with two Legions, and practised to haue him pacifyed wyth *Planeus*, and *Planeus* with three Legions agreed with *Antony*, in so muche as nowe *Antony* hadde a moste myghtie power.

Decimus hadde tenne Legions, whereof foure moste warlike being feebled with hunger, were yet vexed with sickenesse.

Of newe taken, there was syxe Legions, but vnexperte and fearefull. Wherefore *Decimus* doubting to fyghte, determined to flee to *Brutus* into *Macedonia*, and not to passe by the Mountaynes, but by *Rauenna* and *Aquileia*. And bycause *Cæsar* was comming that waye, hee tooke a longer and an harder iourney to passe by *Rene*, and goe to the wilde places of barbarous people, where the newe Souldioures, oppressed with wante and heate, forsoke hym, and wente to *Cæsar*, and after them the foure Legions of older Souldioures wente to *Antony*. Then to the other multitude (the Frenche Horsemen men, beeyng the gard of hys person only except) he gaue leaue (if they would) to goe euery man to hys owne, and gaue them such golde as he hadde, so as when he came to the *Rene*, he had but three hundred, where, bycause the passage was hard, they all forsoke hym saue a fewe, whyche fewe also shortly byd leaue hym, and wyth tenne onely, changing hys garmente lyke a French man, whose language he couldespeake, he wente forthe as one of that nation, not with hasty iourneys, but easlie to *Aquileia*, thynking with so fewe he myghte wel escape: but beeyng taken of Theeues and bounde, he asked what Prince was Lorde of that parte, they sayde *Camillus*. He muche estéemyng the name of *Camillus*, desired he myght be broughte to hym, who when he sawe hym in apparance, spake fayre to hym, and rebuked the takers, that without regard, hadde so euill entreated so noble a man, but priuily he sent vnto *Antony*, and *Antony* moued with the mutation, coulde not abyde to see him, but willed *Camillus* to kyll hym, and sende hym hys head, whyche when he sawe, he commaunded it to be buryed.

Decimus is driuen to flee, and hys army forsaketh him.

Rauenna.

Aquileia.

Reno is a floud in *Italy*, that runneth not farre from *Bononia*.

Decimus forsaken.

Decimus is taken vvith theeues.

Camillus.

Barbarous treason.

Decimus is killed of one *Camillus*, by the commaundemente of *Antony*.

Thys ende hadde *Decimus*, a Captayne of *Cæsars* Horsemen,

and

dna by hym made Ruler of olde *France*, and for the yeare to come elected Consull, and Gouernoure of the other *Fraunce*, and was the seconde of the kyllers that nexte *Trebonius* was punished, a yeare and a halfe after *Cæsars* deathe. And this verye tyme *Minutius Basilles* one of *Cæsars* quellers also was killed of hys owne seruauntes, bycause he had made some of them Eunuches for punishmente.

Minutius Basillus killed of his owne men.

(·,·)

The ende of the thirde Booke of Ciuill dissentions.

¶ The fourth Booke of *Appiane* of Alexandria, of the Ciuill dissentions of Rome.

THus two of *Cæsars* killers, being ouerthrowen in their prouinces, had their punishment, *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Decimus* in *Celtica*. Nowe, how *Cassius* and *Brutus*, chiefe of the conspiracie against *Cæsar* were plagued, being Lordes of all the lande betweene *Syria*, and *Macedonia*, hauing mighty power both by Sea and land, with twenty armed legions, beside Horsemen and Shyppes, and money at will, thys fourth Booke of Ciuill discorde shal declare. And with the same, the inquisitions, and the searchers of them that were appoynted to dye by proscription, and the lamentable afflictions on euerye syde, suche as neyther among the *Greeke* seditions or tumultes, nor among the *Romaines* themselues hadde bin done by any remembrance, sauing onely of *Sylla*, who was the fyrste that by Proclamation condemned hys foes to dye: for *Marius* did onely seeke to punishe them whome he founde: but *Sylla* with greate rewardes and lyke punishmentes of them that did conceale, proscribed menne to be killed, as they were caughte. What *Marius* and *Sylla* dyd, it is shewed before in that matter, nowe the rest shall follow in order.

Proscription, is a condemnation vvithout lavve, to kill men vvhersoeuer they be founde.

Cæsar and *Antonie*, of enimies, were made friendes, aboute the Citie of *Modena*, in a little playne Ilande of the floude *Labinio*, eache of them hauyng fyue armed Legions, whiche beyng placed one ouer-agaynste another, eyther of them wyth three hundred, came to the bridges of the Riuer. *Lepidus* beeing come afore to searche the Ile, made a token wyth hys cloke to them both to come. They lefte theyr companyes wyth theyr

The agreement of *Octauianus*, *Antony* and *Lepidus*. *Labinio*.

friendes

friendes at the Bridges, and came into the myddeſt, to a place that myghte bée ſéene, and ſate all thrée downe, *Caſar* in the myddeſt, bycauſe of his office. Two dayes from morning tyll nyghte they conferred, and made thys determination.

1 That *Caſar* ſhould gyue ouer hys Conſulſhippe, and *Ventidius* receyue it for the reſt of the yeare.

That a newe office ſhoulde be inſtituted by lawe, for redreſſe of ciuill troubles: and that *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Caſar*, ſhoulde haue that authoritie for fyue yeares, wyth the ſame power that Conſulles haue: ſo it was thought beſt to name it, peraduenture bycauſe of *Antonyes* decrée, forbiddyng anye man to bée Dictator.

That they ſhoulde by and by appoynte the offices of the Citie from yeare to yeare, duryng the fyue yeares, and diuide the Prouinces.

That *Antony* ſhoulde haue all *Fraunce* on thys ſyde the *Pirenei* Mountaynes, excepte that whiche they call olde *Celtica*. Nouv Narbona.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde rule that and *Spayne*.

That *Caſar* ſhoulde gouerne *Lybia*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicelie*, and anye other Ilande there.

Thus did theſe thrée diuide the *Romaine* Empire, leauing the prouinces beyonde the Sea, bycauſe of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* that were Gouernoures there.

That *Antony* and *Caſar* ſhould make warre vpon *Brutus* and *Caſſius*.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde be Conſull for the time to come, and remaynie in the Citie for all occaſions, and gouerne *Spayne* by Deputies.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde reteyne thrée Legions of his owne armye for the defence of *Rome*.

That the other ſeauen ſhoulde be diuided betweene *Caſar* and *Antony*, that *Caſar* ſhoulde haue thrée, and *Antony* foure, that eyther of them myghte leade twentye Legions to the warre.

That they shoulde encourage their armyes as well with rewardes of victorie, as other giftes, as by the promise of eyghteene Cities of *Italie*, excelling in substance, soyle, and fayre buyldings, and that both landes and houses of the same shoulde be deuided vnto them, as though they had bin taken by warre. Amongst the rest these were the chiefe, *Capua*, *Reggio*, *Venusia*, *Beneuente*, *Nuceria*, *Arimeno*, and *Vibona*. Thus were the fayrest partes of *Italie* assigned to the Souldioures.

Cities of *Italy* deuided to spoyle.

It was also agreed, that euery of them shoulde dispatche hys priuate enimies, that no trouble myghte come by them, after that they, vppon these determinations, shoulde bee gone farre off, to make a long warre out of their Countrey. All these thynges were signed wyth their handes. *Cæsar*, as Consull dyd declare them to the armye, sauyng onely theyr names that were appoynted to dye. When the Souldioures hearde it, they were glad, and embraced togither for ioy.

Tokens in *Rome*.

These beeyng done, many monsters and terrible tokens were seene in *Rome*. Dogges yelled like Wolues, a fearefull warning. Wolues ranne about the common place, a beast, not wonte to be seene at *Rome*. An Oxe sounded a mans voyce: and a childe spake as soone as it was borne. Some of the Images sweate. Some dyd sweate bloud. Greate voyces of men, noyse of harnesse, and running of Horses, were hearde, and nothyng seene.

Aboute the Sunne, there were manye vnpleasante sightes. Stormes also of stones. Continuall lightnings fell vppon the Temples and the pictures.

For thys cause, the Senate sente for Southsayers and Prophetes out of *Toscane*, the most auntiente, of the whyche, affirmyng that the olde Kyngs shoulde returne, and euery man be in bondage but himselfe alone, he shutte his mouth, and stopped hys breath tyll he dyed.

A rare example of a Southsayer.

These three men beyng thus alone by themselues, dyd appoynte them that shoulde dye. They suspected some for their power,

wer. Some they registred as theyr priuate enimies, and some theyr owne familiars and frendes they gaue to dye, to serue eache others turne, both then, and afterwarde. And so were men condemned one after another, some for enemitie: some onely for a little offence, as for louing hys enimies, or hatyng hys friendes, or for beeyng to riche, bycause they wanted much money to mayntayne the warre. *Brutus* and *Cassius* receyuing the rentes and Tributes of *Asia*, and beeyng also holpen by the Kynges and Princes there, and for asmuche as they were in wante, bycause *Europe*, and chiefely *Italie* was wasted wyth warres and paymentes, they dyd put a greeuous imposition vpon the common sorte of menne and women, and made the artificers and workemen to pay them tribute, and some was proscribed for the goodnesse of hys lands & houses. And thus all these were condemned to dye, and to bee confiscate, whereof there were three hundred Senators, and two thousande of them that bee called Gentlemen, among the whyche were the brethren and vncles of these that hadde condemned them, and some that ruled armies vnder them, and as many as hadde displeased them or other that were leaders vnder them. And intendyng to condemne the multitude after this conference, at theyr beeyng in *Rome*, they appoynted twelue of the suddayne (or as some say) seauenténe of the chiefest to bee kylled, whereof *Cicero* was one. And by and by they sente aboute it, and foure were straight kylled at theyr tables, or where they were mette, the other were soughte in houses and Temples, so as there was a sudden trouble al that night among them, with cries, running, and yelling, as in a Citie taken. For when it was knowen that menne shoulde bee apprehended, and no certenty vppon whome the proscription woulde fall, euery man thoughte himselfe to bee sought of them that made enquirie. Wherefore in this confusion some hadde determined to burne their owne thynges, and some to sette publike places all on fyre, intending by good reason to doe some notable feate, before they woulde suffer. And they hadde done it out of hande, hadde not *Pedius* the Consull gone aboute with Proclamation, and comforted them

Equites.

Miserie of Rome

them to tarrie, till the truth were throughly knowen. When morning was come, *Pedius* according to the sentence of the three men, did condemne seauentéene, as only supposed chiefe authors of ciuill euils, and onely condemned: whereof he gaue his faith publikely to the rest, not knowing what was done, and he for the labour he toke in the nighte, dyed. The three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, entred *Rome*, each one by himselfe in three seuerall dayes, with the gardes of their persons, and one Legion a peece, in order of battell.

Pedius Consull dyeth.

When they were come, the Citie was full of Souldioures, and ensignes placed, where was fytte, and by and by there was an assemblie, in the whyche, *Publius Titius* Tribune of the people, dyd by lawe confyrme the newe rule, by the appoyntemente of them presente, for fyue yeares of three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, with equall power as Consuls (whyche a man myghte call reformers, after the *Greeke* manner, and that name the *Lacedemonians* gaue to them that directed their state, neyther any respite being gyuen for the approbation, nor a speciall daye appoynted for voyces to be vsed. But of hande the lawe toke place, and that nyghte condemnations of thirtie, beside the seauentéene, and of one hundred more, were sette vp in many places of the Citie, and shortlye after, another hundred and fiftie, and euer some were added more in the booke, to them that were firste condemned, or kylled, as by ignorance, that it myghte bée thoughte they were worthy to dye. It was ordered, that all theyr heads shoulde be brought to the three men, and a rewarde appoynted. A frée mans rewarde was syluer, a Seruantes, libertie and syluer, and who receyued a condemned man, or concealed, or hindred the search, should bée punished with lyke payne, and euery man myghte declare agaynste whome hée woulde for the same rewarde. The Proclamation was after thys sorte.

Publius Titius propoundeth the newe rule of the three men.

Αρμοσαὶ vvas the name among the *Lacedemonians*, vvhich vvere rulers of Cities and Castels.

Encrease of condemned mē.

Revvards.

And that all men should suffer their priuate places to be searched. *Marcus Lepidus*, *Marcus Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæsar*, chosen reformers and directoures of the Common wealthe, saye thus: If the vnfaythfull, euill disposed menne, badde

The Proclamation of the three men.

not

not bene pitied when they néded, and being so, had not become enimies of their benefactours, and after cõspired against them, they had not slayne *Cæsar*, whome he toke by warre, and saued by mercy: accompted them friends, and plentifully aduaunced them, with offices, honours and giftes: nor we should haue ben compelled thus violently to vse them, that haue with suche despite, made proclamations of treason against vs: but now by their euill meanings towarde vs, & their worse working toward *Cæsar*, perceyuing that by humanitie, their malice is made obstinate, we haue chosen rather to preuent them than to be taken tardy of them. Let no man thinke our act vniust, cruell or to sore, considering what *Cæsar*, what we haue suffered at their handes. *Cæsar* being chiefe ruler, and prince of holy things, Conquerour and ouerthrower of nations, most terrible to the *Romaines*, and the first man that beyond *Hercules* pillers did prone the sea not sayled before, and founde lande vnknowen to the *Romanes*, in the middest of the sacred place, called the Senate house, in the sight of the goddes, they haue enuiously killed with.xxiij. woundes, whom he toke prisoners in warre, and not onely saued their liues, but made some of them heyres of his liuing. The reste of them through the same wicked purpose haue sente these detestable offendours, in stæde of punishment, to the rule of Prouinces and armies, whiche they abuse in spoyling of common treasure, in gatheryng one army against vs of them, and requiring an other of the *Barbarians* alwayes enimies to this state. Certaine Cities belongyng to the *Romanes*, refusing to obey them, they haue burned, spoyled or raised: others oppressed with their terrible threatnings, they sore agaynst their countrey and vs. Wée haue already punished some of them, and by the helpe of God, ye shall some see the rest haue their iuste deserte. The greatest matters touchyng *Spayne*, *Fraunce*, and here at home, we haue at our commaundement well dispatched. Neuertheless wée haue an harde and sharpe worke in hande, to make warre agaynst the murderers of *Cæsar* that be beyonde the seas: and bicause wée shall make this warre abrode, we do not thinke it sure, neyther for vs nor,

‘ for you, to leaue enimies at home, that might disturbe vs in
‘ our absence, and wayte theyr times as the warre shoulde haue
‘ successe, neyther to make any delay in this hasty expedition,
‘ but rather to ridde them at ones, they hauyng begonne the
‘ warre agaynst vs, and iudged vs and our armies, traytours
‘ to our Countrie, not regardyng neyther the enuy of manne,
‘ nor the reuengment of God, in destroying so many millions of
‘ their Citizens.

‘ Wée are not offended agaynst the multitude nor will take
‘ them all as enimies, that haue bene so to vs, nor altogither
‘ weigh riches, substaunce or dignities, nor kill so many as an
Sylla. ‘ other chiefe ruler haue done before vs, who redressed the Ci-
‘ tie in lyke Ciuill dissentions, whome, for his lucky doings
‘ you did call *Happie*, (although there muste nédes be more e-
‘ nimies to thrée than one) but onely the worste and moste wic-
‘ ked sorte, as well for you as for our selfes, wée entende to
‘ correct otherwise by our contentions, you all, betwéene vs,
‘ muste nédes be vtterly destroyed, and of necessitie, our armie
‘ that hath bene so iniuried and despighted, as they haue bene
‘ proclaimed publique enimies, must nédes some way be com-
‘ forted at our hande.

‘ And where as wée might lay handes vppon the condem-
‘ ned, where wée wouldo, yet we thought it better to pronounce
‘ them, than at all aduentures to oppresse them, and that for
‘ your sake, least the rage of the Souldiours might exceede
‘ vppon them that are not touched, and that their names beyng
‘ comprehended in a certayne number, they might leaue the rest
‘ by the decrée.

‘ Then that good Fortune may come by them that be con-
‘ teyned in this writing: Lette no manne receyue any manne,
Penaltie. ‘ nor hyde, nor sende away, nor be wonne for money. For if a-
‘ ny doe saue, helpe, or be founde priuye: him, will we, with-
‘ out all excuse and pardone, put among the condemned
‘ sorte.

‘ Of them that shall bryng the heades of suche as they

shall

shall kyll, before vs, a free manne shall haue xxv. thousand drammes of *Athens* for euery heade, a seruaunt shall haue his lybertie and tenne thousande, and his Maysters place in the Cittie, and the same shall they haue that shall enforme, and none of theyr names that receyue these rewardes, shall bee noted in our bookes, that they may not be knowen. Reuvarder.

This was the proclamation of the three men, as I coulde translate it out of Latine into Greeke.

Lepidus was the firste that dyd condemne, and the firste of the condemned was *Paulus* his brother. *Lepidus* condemneth his brother

The second that did condemne, was *Antony*: and the second that was condemned, was his vncle *Lucius*, for they firste condemned these as enimies. *Antony* cõdemneth his vncle.

The thirde and the fourth was of them, whiche in an other booke, were appoynted to be Consuls in tyme to come. *Plotius*, brother to *Plancus*, and *Quintus*, Father in lawe to *Asinius*: and these were not the rather putte before other bycause of theyr dignitie onely, but as muche for terrour and desperation, that none shoulde hope to be saued.

Thoranius was among the cõdemned men, who, as some say, was Tutor to *Cæsar*. *Thoranius* tutor to *Cæsar* condẽned.

By and by after these cõdemnations, the gates were kept, and all other passages and portes of the Cittie, Fennes also and Mores, and any other place suspected to bee fitte to flee vnto, or for them that fledde, to be hydden in.

The Capitaynes of the bandes were commaunded to raunge the fieldes abroade, and to searche diligently, and all this was done at once.

Forthwith, bothe in the countrie and the Cittie, as menne were taken, there was greate suddayne slaughter, and diuerse kyndes of murders, & cuttings off of heads to be shewed for rewardes sake.

Then was there hasty fleyng, and vnseemely light of them,

that before were goodly to be seene: some leapte into puddles, some into ditches and sinckes most vncleane: some got vppe to the smoky rouffes and chimnies, or sat close with deepe silence vnder heapes of tyles: some were as muche afrayde of their wiues or children that bare them no good will, as they were of the killers: some of their free made mē: some, of their bondmē: some creditours, of their debtours: some of their neyghbours, coueting their grounds: what soeuer had bin kept in before, thē it burst forth: a cruell and confused mutation of Senators, of Consuls, of Pretours, of Tribunes, of newe elect to those offices, or of them that had borne office. It was to see them fal at a slaues feete with teares, namyng him sauiour and good maister: and more pitifull it was, that when they hadde done all this, they could get no grace, there was all shapes of miserie: not as in sedition or sacking of a Cittie, where men myghte feare their foes and enimies, and truft their families, but here they were more afrayde of them, than of the killers: The whiche beyng voyde of feare, otherwise than in tumulte and warre, they sodainelye of frendes were made enimies, eyther for hydden hate, or for the proclaymed rewards, or for the gold and siluer in their houses: for by thys occasion, euerye man wared extremely vnfaythful to his maister, and their reward did ouerwhelme naturall dewty toward the same, and he that was faythfull and wel-willing, was afrayde to help, to hyde, or conceale, for the crueltie of the punishment.

The former feare of the seuenténe men did amaze them againe, for then none being named, but many sodaynly taken, all were afrayde of the like, and therefore sought togither for defence. For vpon these proscriptions, some were by and by giuen in pray to euery man, and some being sure of themselues and desirous of the gains, hunted out the other, to haue reward of the killers. The reste of the common sorte, some spoyled the houses of them that were killed, which prouft drew their minds from common feeling of present mischief: some more temperate and mylde, were astonished and amazed. It seemed wonderful

to

to them to consider, that other Cities being vndone by sedition, haue bin preserued againe by agreement. This Cittie, the deuision of the rulers hadde consumed, and their agreement, brought it to desolation: some dyed resisting the killers, some without reuenge, as not knowing by whome they were maimed. There were some that killed themselues with voluntarie hunger, some vsed halters, some drowned their bodies, some threwe themselues downe from the house toppe, some leapt into the fyre, some offered themselues to the strykers, some tarryed when they were called, some hid and disgraced themselues vnsemelye, some resisted the euill, and thoughte to haue boughte it out: some beside the sentence of the three men, of ignorance or deceit, were dispatched (as it did appeare) by one that was slaine and not condemned, when the head was shewen. Contrarie effect to former calamitie.

The condemned persons heads were brought before the seats in the common place, that they that had brought them, might receiue their goods.

On the other syde, there was as much care and vertue, bothe of women, children, brethren and seruauntes, sauing and shifting for many, and dying with them, if they could not bring to passe what they ment, and some killed that came to kill them.

Of them that fledde, some were drowned in the Sea, Fortune being in all againste them: some beyonde all hope, retourned to offices in the Cittie, to be Capitaines in warre and triumphes. Suche demonstration made that season of things to be wondred at. And these were done, not in a priuate Citie, nor in a weake and little kingdome, but in the moste mightye, and the Ladye of so manye nations, bothe by lande and sea. God himselfe did stirre it, to bring it to that good order, that nowe it is in. God vvoulde haue it so.

There were suche thinges done of *Sylla*, and before him, of *Marius*, the chiefe of the which, I haue shewed in their liues, and then men laye vnburyed. But these doings for the worthynesse of these three men, especiallye for the vertue and fortune of one of them whiche brought the Empire to a sure seate, and left, a stocke and name to them that now remaine after him, a man *Sylla. Marius.*

may worthily think to be far of more importance, which, as they were more or lesse notable, and be more fresh in memorie, and lately done, I wil declare, yet not al (for they be not worthy the telling, that touche the simple death & fleeing, of them that were pardoned of the three men, whiche after they retourned, liued a life vnknowne) but the moste maruellous, that may make a man afrayd, and cause credite to that is spoken before. They be manye, and manye of the Romaines haue in many bookes, written these of themselues, of the which I wil shew briefely a fewe of the greateste in euerye sorte, for the relefe of the same, and for the happynesse of the tyme that now is.

The euil began at the firste brunte, of them that were yet in office. And *Saluius* the Tribune was the firste that was kylled, whose power was sacred and sure by lawe, exceeding the reste, so as the Tribunes haue committed some Consuls to prison.

Saluius. Authoritie of Tribunes.

This was the Tribune that fyrste forbadde that *Antony* shoulde be declared an enimye, after the whiche tyme he stucke altogither to *Cicero*.

Vnderstanding the intelligence of the three men, and their approche to the Cittie, he made a feaste to his friendes, as one that shoulde not ofte so doe againe. The Souldioures running into the house, they arose with feare and trouble. The Capitaine of the bande commaunded them to be quiet and still, but *Saluius*, as he sate, he toke by the heare, till he mighte dispatch hym, and vppon the table cutte off hys heade, and commaunded them within to make no businesse, leaste if anye trouble were rayfed, they shoulde suffer the lyke, and they beeyng astonished, remained after the Captaine was gone, til midnight, with the Tribunes Corpse.

Saluius the Tribune kylled.

The seconde that was kylled, was *Minutius* a Pretor, setting in iudgement in the common place.

Minutius killed, that vvas a Prector.

Vnderstandyng that the Souldioures were commyng, he leapte downe, and thinking where he mighte hide hymselfe, he chaunged hys garment, and ranne into a shoppe, sending away hys seruauntes and hys shewes of office.

They for reuerence and pitie, tarying still, against their wil, made

made the killers the eaſlier to finde their mayſter.

Reuerence out of tyme.

Annalis an other Pretor (goyng about with his Sonne that labored to be a treaſurer, to ſew to them that gaue voyces) hys friendes that were with hym, and they that bare the maces of his office, vnderſtandyng he was condemned, forſoke hym. Hée fledde vnto a tenaunt of hys, whiche had a ſtraight and a homely houſe in the Suburbs, for all purpoſes very fitte, and was hid ſafe, till hys Sonne, that thought he was fled thyther, brought the ſtrykers to the houſe, and was rewarded of the thrée menne with his Fathers goods, and choſen a Chamberlayne of the Citie, who, beyng after very dronke, and troubling the Souldiors, the ſame killed him, that diſpatched his Father.

Annalis kylled.

A vvicked ſon kylled.

Choranius not now a Pretor, but one that had bene, and father of a young man that was vnthriftie, and myght doe much with *Antonie*, prayed the ſtrykers to ſpare his kyllyng a whyle till he might ſende hys ſonne to ſpeake to *Antony*, they laughed and ſayd, his ſonne had ſpoken, but it was to the contrarye. When the olde man heard that, he deſired them to tarrie til he had ſéene his daughter, whome when hée ſawe, hée commaunded to abſteine from hys goodes, leaſte hir brother ſhoulde ſewe for hir death alſo to *Antony*. But he, hauyng conſumed all his ſubſtaunce in euil life, was attached of felony, and ſaued himſelfe by fleyng away.

Choranius killed by the ſute of hys ſonne.

Cicero who after *Caius Cæſar*, did direct all like a ruler alone in a popular ſtate, was proſcribed, with his ſonne, his brother, his nephew, his friends, familiars and adherents. Fléeyng by bote, he could not abyde ý ſickneſſe of the ſea, but returned to a place of his owne: whiche I for the remembraunce of hys miſfortune, did ſée aboute *Capua* a Cittie of *Italy*. When they that came to ſeeke hym were at hande (for, of all other, *Antonie* was moſte deſirous to haue hym, and all aboute *Antonie*, were ready to gette him) the Crowes came vnto hys houſe, and made ſuche a noyſe, as they waked him out of his ſléepe, and drew out his garment frō his body, that lay vpon him, til his ſeruants perceyuing the thyng, and taking it to bee a token from God, put *Cicero* in a litter, and ledde him toward the Sea, through a thicke wood,

Cicero kylled.

Cicero cannot abide the ſea ſickeneſſe and retourneth.

The Author goeth to ſee *Cicero* his houſe in the countrey.

Cicero vvarned by Crovves.

and

rode secreatly, and where as many did run on euery side, asking if they sawe *Cicero*, some for good will and pittie saide, he was gone and sailed ouer sea, but a shomaker tenaunt to *Clodie*, the sharpest enimie of *Cicero*, tolde *Læna* the Captayn where he went with a fewe. He ranne, and seing his seruants to be manye moe than he had broughte with him, and readye to defende him, he cried very loude for a pollicie, make haste you bandeleaders that be behinde. Then *Ciceroes* seruaunts thinking they should haue bin ouerlaide, forsoke their maister.

A Shomaker bewrayeth *Cicero*

Læna, whiche by *Ciceroes* helpe had bin before saued, pulled hys heade out of the Litter, and cut it off, hauing three strokes, and making three woundes for lacke of cunning. He cut off also his hande, with the whiche he wrote the orations against *Antonie* as a Tyranne, in the whiche, he followed *Demosthenes*, that did the like against *Philippe*. Some rode, some sailed to carry *Antony* the newes, and *Læna*, as he sate in the common place, tooke the heade and the hande, and shewed it a farre off. He was maruellous ioyful, and crowned the Capitaine, and gaue him honoure with great gifts, that is to say, two hundred and fiftie thousand drammes of *Athens*, bycause he had dispatched his greatest and busiest enimy.

Læna, one saued by *Cicero*, killeth hym.

The orations of *Cicero* called *Philippica*

Post haste made to carrye *Antony* the newes of *Ciceroes* deathe.

Honors done to *Læna* for kyllyng of *Cicero*.

Cicero his head and his hande was sette vppe for a tyme in the common place before the Tribunall, where he was wonte to make orations, and more came to see it, than before to heare him.

After that *Augustus* had the rule of all, & founde one of hys Nephewes, vvyth a booke in hys hande vvhyche vvas of *Ciceroes* making the child vvas afraide to shewe it, but he vvoulde needes see it & reade it, and sayd: Child, this manne vvas learned, and a louer of hys countrey. And not long after hee tooke *Cicero* hys sonne to be hys fellowe in the Consulshippe, in vvhose tyme *Antonies* Images vvere throvvne dovvne, and a decree made that neuer anye of hys house should bee called *Marcus*. So in the ende, the reuengement of *Antonies* cruelitie vvas appoynted by God, to the house of *Cicero*.

They say that *Antony* did sette *Ciceroes* head vppon his table at his meale, till he had his fill of the sighte of that euill. Thus *Cicero* a man moste eloquent to this daye, hauing borne the office of a Consul, in greatest causes most profytable to his countrey, was thus destroied, and after his death, despighted. * Hys sonne was sent into *Grecia* to *Brutus*.

* *Quintus*, *Ciceroes* brother, and his son beeing taken, praied the strikers

* *Cicero* his sonne is sent to *Brutus*.

* *Quintus Cicero* and his sonne kylled.

strikers, to kill him before his sonne: but hys sonne desired the contrary. Wherefore, the souldioures promised bothe theyr requestes, and takyng them asunder, by a token killed them both at one instante. *Ignatius* the father and the sonne, fightyng together, dyed of one wounde, and when their heades were striken off, their bodies did yet embrace. *Ignatius* father and the sonne.

Balbus sent his sonne to the sea, that they shoulde not be espied going together, and shortely after he followed alone, and when one tolde him, either of malice, or of ignorance, that his sonne was taken, he went backe and sent for his killers, and it chaunced that his son was drowned in the Sea. Such like calamitie can fortune giue. *Balbus* and hys sonne.

Arruntius couldc hardelye perswade his sonne that would not flee without him, to saue himselfe, bycause he was but yong. His mother sent him afore to the gates, and then returned to burye hir husbande being killed, and when she heard shortely after, that hir sonne was deade on the sea, with hunger shee killed hirselfe. *Arruntius* and his sonne. His wife.

These be examples of good and euill children.

There were .ij. brethren condemned, called *Ligarij*, which being hidde, fel aslepe, til one of them being found of hys seruants, was killed, and the other making escape, and hearing of hys brothers death, threwe himselfe from the bridge into the riuer, whome, when fyshermen had saued, as one that fell by chance and not of purpose, he stroue a great while with them, that they shoulde not saue him, and threwe himselfe vnder the water: but they being stronger than he, bringing him vppe sake, he saide, you haue not saued me, but put your selues in daunger of death with me, that am a condemned man: yet they hauing pittie of him, saued hym, til the souldiors that kepte the bridge sawe it, and ran downe to cut off his heade. *Ligarij* two brethren.

Of two other brethren, one threw himselfe into the riuer, his seruaunt seekyng his body fiue dayes after, whiche when he had founde, and knowe it was he, he cut off his head for the reward: The other brother being hid in a lakes, an other seruaunte did betraye him. Two brethren.

The Souldioures refused to goe in, but with their weapons and Speares, pulled vp his body, and cutte off his head in suche case as it was.

Two brethren. Another vnderstanding that his brother was proscribed, and not knowing that hymselfe was so to, ranne and cryed, kyll me before hym. The Captayne knowyng the truth of the condemnation, thou makest a resonable request (quoth he) for thou wast condemned before hym, and so in order kylled them both.

And these be examples of brethren.

A good vvife hath euill lucke. *Ligarius* beeyng hydde of hys wyfe, made one onely mayde priuie to it, and beeyng betrayed of hir, she followed him that bare away hir husbandes head, crying, I must haue the like punishmente, bycause I haue hydde hym: and when none of the Souldyoures woulde kyll hyr, nor accuse hir, she wente to bewray hir selfe to the Princes, and bycause they did not regarde hyr for pitie, she destroyed hir selfe with hunger. And hyr haue I thoughte good to note in thys place, bycause being willing to saue hir husbande and coulde not, she kylled hyr selfe with hunger: but they that had good lucke for their good loue to theyr husbandes, I wyll wrighte among them that saued theyr Husbandes.

Other there were that wickedly dyd betray theyr husbandes, and of them one that was married to *Septimius*, whyche was An euill vvife. corrupted in loue of a friende of *Antonyes*, who being desirous, of hys harlot, to be made his wife, caused hym to speake to *Antony* to haue hir, and forthwith was *Septimius* condemned, which thing he learning of his wife, and ignorant of his euill at home, fledde to hir, and she seeming to be carefull to keepe him, shutte the dores, and hydde hym tyll the strikers came, and in one daye he was kylled, and she married.

Salassius. *Salassius* fledde, and beeyng wythout hope, in the nyghte returned to the Citie, to abyde tyll the sharpenesse of the time myghte ceasse. He came to his house that was solde, and onely his housekeeper, (who was sold with the house) knew him, who brought hym to hys lodge, and promised to keepe hym, and hidde him to his power. He badde him call his wife from the other part of the house,

house, she aunswering, she durst not come, fearing hir mayde myghte suspect somewhat by myghte, sayde, she woulde be wyth hym in the morning. When day was come, she called ỹ strikers. The Porter ranne to the house to call his mistresse, bycause he thought she tarried too long.

Salassius beeyng afrayde of his Porters long absence, was in doubte of deceyte, and wente vp to the toppe of the house, from the whyche, when he sawe, not hys Porter, but hys wyfe bryngyng the strikers, he cast hymselfe to the grounde. Euill vyfe.

Fuluius fledde to a woman seruaunte, whome fyrste he kepte, after made hir free, and gaue a dowrie to marrie hir: she hauing receyued these benefytes, for iclousie of another woman whome he had married, betrayed hym. *Fuluius* betrayd.

These examples may be for euill wiues.

Statius the *Samnite*, that in the fellowes warre had done many things for the *Samnites*, and for the excellẽcie of his feates, blood, and riches, being chosen into the Romaine Senate, and nowe foure score yeares of age, was condemned for his riches: he opened his house to the people, and suffered his seruauntes to take what they woulde, and something he threwe out, till it was voyde, then he set it on fyre, and shut it, and burned in it, and the fire did consume many other places of the Citie. *Statius.* Part of the Kingdome of *Naples* called *Abruzzo.*

Capito for the most part keeping his doores open, killed al them that forced to come in, one after another, at length oppressed with the multitude, he alone, hauing killed many, dyed. *Capito.*

Vitulinus gathered a greate number of men aboute *Reggio*, of such as were condemned, and other fledde with them, and from the eyghtẽne Cities that were giuẽ in pray to the Souldioures, which were grieuously offended. *Vitulinus* hauing these, killed ỹ ordinarie bands that were sent to seeke them, till a greater army was sent, and then he gaue not ouer, but went into *Sicelie* to *Pompey*, who held that Iland, and receyued such as fledde vnto hym, where he did serue very valiantly, til after many fightes he was ouercome: yet hauing sent his sonne, and all the condemned men with him to *Messina*: when hee sawe the shippes to be arrined, he fell on his enimies, and was cut in peeces. *Vitulinus* of *Reggio* in the ende of *Italy*, next *Sicelie*. *Messina*, the chiefe porte Towne of *Sicelie*, next *Italy*.

Naso. *Naso*, being betrayed of a seruant, whome he loued and hadde made free, toke a swoorde from one of the souldioures, and onely killing the traytour, offered himselfe to the strikers. A seruante that loued hys Mayster, kepte him safe in an hill, and went to the sea, to hyre him a boate. After his retourne, perceiuing hys Maysters to bee killed, he cried aloude vnto him, hauing yet a little life, staye a while, O Maysters (quoth he) and sodainlye stroke the Capitayne and killed hym: then commyng agayne to his Maysters, killed himselfe, saying: O Maysters thou haste receiued comfort,

Lucius. *Lucius* gaue his golde to two of his moste faithfull seruants, whome he had made free, and went to the sea, where they fleeing from him, hee retourned, and not caring for hys lyfe, offered hymselfe to the quellers.

Labienus. *Labienus*, who in *Sylles* tyme had taken and killed manye that were then proscribed, might well be reproued, if he had not suffered the like valiantly. He went out of his house, sate downe in his chaire, and tarried for the killers.

Cestius. *Cestius* in the Countrey was hidde of hys good seruauntes, the Souldiours euer running aboute in armoure wyth mennes heades: he coulde not abide the continuauuce of the feare, but badde his seruauntes make a fyre, and if anye manne did aske them, saye *Cestius* was kylled and there buried. When they hadde made the fyre readye, hee leapte into it.

Apponius. *Apponius* hiding hymselfe surely coulde not abide the euill diet, but offered himselfe to the swoorde.

Another willingly offered himselfe openlye, and because the strikers tarryed, hee choaked hymself in the middest of them.

Lucius. *Lucius* father in lawe to *Asinius*, then Consull, stedde vnto the Sea, the tediousnesse whereof not able to abide, he leapte into the water.

Sisinius. *Sisinius* fleeing awaye, and crying that hee was not condemned, but followed of them, to be betrayed for hys money, they brought him to the booke, and badde hym reade hys own name, whyche when they hadde done, they dispatched him.

Aemilius. *Aemilius* not knowing he was condemned, seeing the followe one

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another, asked ỳ Captayne who was condemned: the Captaine lokyng him in the face, sayde, Thou and he, and so killed them bothe.

Cilo and *Decius* cõming out of the Senate house, and knowing they were cõdemned, and their names in the booke, no man folowyng them, they fledde vnsemely to the gates, and their runnyng, bewrayed themselues to the Captaynes. *Icilius* that fauoured *Brutus* & *Cassius*, and *Octauius Cæsar* being present with his armie at the assemblie, and other giuyng voyce secretely to their condemnation, onely he openly gaue to the absolution, and hide himselfe with great minde and trust of libertie, and when he saw a dead body caried forth, he wente among them that bare the bere. The warders at the gate perceyuing there were more men than were wonte to beare a corpse, hauing no regarde of the bearers, searched the bere, thinking there had bene no dead mã in it: wherfore the bearers being angry with *Icilius*, bicause he was none of their cõpany, the fellowes knew him and killed him.

Cillo and *Decius.*

Icelius.

Varus beyng betrayde of his frẽs made man, fledde, and went from hill to hill till he came to the fenne of *Minturno*, in the whiche he toke his rest. The *Minturnians* searchyng ỳ fenne for a theefe, the toppes of the reedes wauering bewrayed *Varus*, who being taken, he cõfessed he was a felon, vpon the whiche he was condemned and ledde away, and when he shoulde haue bene racked with the other offendors, abhorring that vile maner, he sayde:

Varus.

Minturno where Marius was hidde.

You of *Minturno*, I warne you, neither to racke me nor kill me, hauing bene a Consull of *Rome*, and condemned now of the Princes, whiche is more to my honour: for if I can not flee, it shal be better for me to suffer with mine equals. They not beleeuing him, and distrusting hys tale, the Captayne came, and cut of his head, leauing his bodie with them.

Certen that toke *Largus* in the countrie, not seekyng him but an other, hauing pitie to kill him whom they sought not, gaue him leaue to flee into the woode, and he beyng followed of other, came backe agayne to the first, to whom he sayde: kyll

Largus.

you me, who may haue the rewarde, deseruyng it for hauing pitie of me. So dying, he requited them with lyke humanitie.

Rufus. An house.

Rufus hauyng a very fayre house nighe to *Fuluia Antonies* wife, which she woulde once haue bought, and he then denied her, nowe offryng it in gifte, was yet condemned, whose head when it was brought to *Antonie*, he sayde it appertayned not to hym, but sente it to hys wyfe: she commaunded it to be hanged vp at the house, in stede of the common place.

A Vineyarde.

An other had a fayre shadowed Vineyarde, and a goodly caue in it, deepe and large, for the whiche peraduenture he was condemned. It was hys chaunce to refreshe himselfe in the Caue. When the quellers came yet a farre of, his seruant put hym in the secrete place of the denne, and put on hys maisters garment, fayning to be he, and in feare, and had lyke inough to haue bene kylled, if one of hys felowes had not bewrayed hys crafte. The Mayster beyng killed, the people toke it grieuously before the Princes, and ceased not till the bewrayer was hanged, and he that woulde haue saued his Mayster, made free.

A good seruant rewarded, and an euill punished.

Arterius.

Arterius beyng hid, hys seruaunt betrayed, and being made free, had all the substaunce from his maysters children, and vsed them with despite. They with silence folowed hym in euery place weeping. The people detesting this iniurie, caused that the three men made him that was now so rich, to be bonde againe to the children of the cõdemned father.

An euill seruant well serued.

And thus much touching men.

Orphanes.

The poore Orphanes also had diuerse fortune at thys time: of the whiche, one goyng to his schoolemaster, was killed, with his leader that embraced the childe and would not let him goe.

Atilius.

Atilius, hauyng on nowe his robe of perfect yeares, wente (as the maner was) with a company of his friends to the temples to sacrifice: Sodenly, being knowen to be condemned, his friends and his seruants forsoke him. He being alone, and left, of all the company, went to his mother, who durst not receyue him for feare: and he not entending to proue any other after his mother, fledde into an hill, where being driuen with hunger to

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go into the playne, mette with a theefe, that vsed to robbe in the wayes, & of him by force was made to folow that worke: The childe brought vp in dayntinesse, and not able to abide that payne, ranne into the high way in his purple robe to the Souldiours, to bewray himselfe, of whom he was killed.

A childe bewrayeth himselfe.

After these were done, *Lepidus* triumphed of *Iberia*, and propounded a decree after this maner:

The triumph of *Lepidus*, *Iberia*, *Spayne*.

Decree of *Lepidus* at his triumphe.

For good fortune be it imputed to all men and women, that this present day do make holy and feastfull: He that shall not seeme so to do, be he among the condemned men.

He made his triumphe to the Temples, all sortes folowing him with pleasant shewe and grieued minde.

Goodes set to sale.

The goodes of the attaynted men were set to sale to their neighbours, but there were fewe that would buy any of them. Some were ashamed to encrease their euill fortune, & thought it woulde not alwayes so continue, nor sure for them to lette their golde and siluer be seene, nor their possessions, now without daunger, by hauing more to put all in peril. Onely some of a boldnesse came forth, and bicause they onely bought, they had it for little: but where the three menne hoped this woulde haue sufficed, and had yet nede of much more, they declared it openly, and condemned a thousand. iiij. C. women, which were thought most riche, & these must nedes be punished to beare the charge of their warre, euery one as muche as shoulde please the three men. A paine was appointed to them that hid any thing, or did vndervalue themselues: and to the declarers of the same, a reward propounded, both for free and bonde. The women sought to sue to the Princes by such women as were in moste estimation with them. Of *Cæsars* sister, nor of *Antonies* mother, they were not reiect. But *Fuluia*, *Antonies* wife, shut hir doores vpon them, which despight taking grieuously, they came into the common place, and aproching to the seate of the Princes, the people and the Souldiours standing about them, *Hortensia* beyng appoynted, spake thus: As it was seemely for vs silly women, we haue sued to your wiues, and hauyng suffered of *Fuluia*, that was vnseemely, we be come from hir into the common place.

VVomen of *Rome* condemned.

Fuluia reiecteth the vvomē that sued to hir. She vvas *Antonies* vvyfe and cause of muche stryfe, and vvith sorovv ended hir lyfe.

Oration of *Hortensia*.

You,

You haue taken from vs our Fathers, our Husbandes, our Brethren and children, pretending that they haue done you iniurie, and after you haue spoyled them of all togither, you doe oppresse vs, to the rebuke and disgrace of the kinde and condition of womens nature. If we haue done you iniurie, as you say our husbandes haue done, then proscribe vs as you did he. But if we women, haue made none of you enimie, nor taken none of your houses, nor corrupted none of your armies, nor ledde against you any other, nor letted you to take what office & honour you would, why be we partakers of the punishment, that were no workers of the iniurie? why are wee enforced, that haue not dealt at all, neyther with office, honour, armie, nor common wealth, whiche by you, is nowe brought to suche calamitie? If you say, bycause of the warre: when had we no warre? or when did women cause the warre, whome, nature among al men hath released from the same? Our Mothers once beyonde their nature, did further it, when the Citie and the whole state was in extreme daunger by the violence of them of *Carthage*. And then willingly they did contribute, not of their lande, their houses, their dowries or possessions, without the whiche the free can not liue, but only of their Iewels and Ornamentes, not for any punishment, neither by information nor accusation, nor of force nor violence, but what they themselues would. What feare haue any of you now, eyther of your rule, of your countrie. If the warre of the *French*, or of the *Parthians*, be at hande, you shall finde vs no worse, than our Mothers, for or the safetie of our countrie. As for Ciuill war, neyther haue we moued, neyther haue conferred with you, one agaynst another. Why haue not dealt neyther with *Cæsar* nor *Pompey*: *Marius* nor *Cinna* did neuer compell vs, no not *Sylla* that was a tyrannne to his countrie. You say you will reforme the common wealth.

The Matrones of *Rome* did giue their Iewels to helpe the Citie.

When *Hortensia* had sayde thus muche, the three men were grieued, that women (men beyng silent) shoulde be so bolde to make open Orations, and examine the doings of Princes, and that they should not giue their monie, bicause men went to warre,

warre. Wherefore they commaunded the Sergeantes to putte them from the barre, till a greate noyse being made without of the people, the Sergeants ceassed: and the Princes sayde, they would deferre the matter till the morning.

Hortensia put to silence.

The next day they condemned foure hundred women, in stead of a thousande foure hundred, in the valuation of their goodes. Then it was decréed, that euery man that had more than tenne Milions, as well Citizen, straunger, fréemade man, religious, as all sortes, sparing none, and that with the like feare of punishment, and the like penalties, they should giue the fiftith parte of their goodes, as an interest to them, and pay a yearely tribute for the warre. And as these by commaundement were put vpon the *Romaines*, so the armye with contempt did worse: for where the Princes in these doings had their only trust in them, they craued of them house, land, possession, and whole substance of the confiscated persons. Some required to be adopted children of those men. Some deuised other shiftes: for they killed them that were not condemned, and chalenged their houses that were not accused: in so muche, as the Princes commaunded one of the Consuls to make correction of things done, otherwise than was commaunded. But he being afrayde to touch the Souldioures, least he should prouoke them against him, put to deathe a fewe Seruantes, that wente abroade in Souldioures manner. And these were the chiefe (to the ende) of the calamities of the condemned men. Nowe, what (contrary to all hope,) hapned to some, to their safetie of the suddayne, and to honor at length, it shall delighte me to wright, and be a pleasure for other to heare, that for no aduersitie they should giue ouer hope.

A Milion is heere tenne thousand. The Italian, and P. *Candidus* text, is not true heere.

A decree touching men.

Rage of Souldioures.

Hope not to be giuen ouer.

They that could escape, fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and to *Cornificius* in *Libya*, who toke the peoples part.

Brutus. *Cassius*. *Cornificius*.

Many wente into *Sicelie*, an Ile nigh *Italie*, where *Pompey* receyued them very gladly, for he shewed moste notable care for the afflicted sorte, sending cryers abroade to call all sortes to him, and to them that coulde saue any, whyther they were frée or bonde, he propounded rewards double, so muche as the killers had. Boates and Shippes of burthen did méete them that

Pompey. Nobleneſſe of yong *Pompey*.

sayled, and Galleys beeyng full at euery shore, shewed tokens to them that went amisse, and saued all that they mette. He receyuing them that came, gaue them raymente and liuing forthwyth. The worthy sorte he vsed in hys army or his nauie: and when the three men and he shoulde make a truce, he woulde neuer graunte to it, tyll they that were come to hym, shoulde be comprised in it. So was he moste profitable to hys afflicted Countrey, and wanne greate glory to hymselfe, not inferioure to that hee hadde of hys father. Others, beeyng otherwise fledde or hydden tyll the truce, some in fieldes, some in graues, and some in the Citie, lyued with sharpe paynes. There were loues incredible shewed of Women to theyr Husbandes due, and of chyldren towarde theyr fathers, and of Seruauntes, against nature, to their maisters: the which as they be moste notable, I will declare.

Paulus saued.

Paulus, brother to *Lepidus*, (the Captaynes hauyng reuerence vnto hym, as a brother of a Prince) with theyr leaue sayled to *Brutus*, and after to *Mileto*, at the whiche place, peace not yet beeyng made, hee obteyned returne, and was called home, but woulde not.

Miletus a citie in the confines of Ionia and Caria.

Lucius.

Lucius, Uncle to *Antonie*, *Antonyes* mother kepte hym not hydde, beeyng hyr brother, the Captaynes for the moste parte honouryng hyr as the mother of a chiefe ruler, but after, they vsing violence, she came forthe into the common place, and to *Antony* that sate wyth the other Princes, she sayde:

A good sister.

"I confesse (O Prince) that I haue receyued *Lucius*, that I haue hym yet, and will keepe hym, till thou kill vs both together, for the lyke payne is appaynted to the receyuers.

Anteries words to his mother.

He reproued hir, as a good sister, but as an vnkynde mother, for that shee ought not to saue *Lucius*, but shoulde haue stopped hym, when he iudged hyr Sonne an enimie, neuertheless, he caused *Plancus* the Consull, to decree hys reuocation.

Messala.

Messala a noble yong man, fledde to *Brutus*. The three men fearing his wisedome, wrote thus:

Since

Since the friendes of *Messala* dothe affyrme vnto vs, that hée was not a medler when *Caius Cæsar* was kylled, we put hym out of the proscribed number. But he dyd not accepte the pardon, but when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were kylled aboute *Thrace*, the armye whyche remayned greate, hauing Shyppes, money, and good hope, woulde haue hadde *Messala* to bée theyr Captayne, who refused it, and persuaded them to gyue place to aduerse fortune, and to ioyne wyth *Antony*. Wherefore hée was in greate credite with *Antonie*, and agreed wyth hym, tyll hée reproued hym for hys wanton dealing wyth *Cleopatra*, and then he wente to *Cæsar*, who made hym Consull in *Antonyes* place, when hée was agayne declared an enimie, after hée dydde fyghte agaynste *Antonie* in the battell by Sea at *Actio*.

A letter of the three men.

Messala.

Actio, a foreſād of *Epirus*.

Cæsar sente hym agaynste the Frenche that reuolted, and graunted hym to triumph for the victorie.

Cæsar sent.

Bibulus also was accepted to *Antony*, with *Messala*, and was an Admirall for *Antony*, and wente agaynste *Cæsar* when they warred togyther, and beyng Presidente of *Syria* vnder *Antony*, there he dyed.

Bibulus.

Acilius fledde from the Citie secretely, and béeyng betrayed of hys Seruaunte to the Souldyoures, hée persuaded them in hope of muche money, to sende some of them to his wyfe, wyth a token whyche he toke them. She broughte vnto them all hyr store, saying, she dyd delyuer all vnto them, as though they woulde performe theyr promise: but yet shée knewe not whether they woulde or no, but she was not deceyued of thys good liking, for they hyred a shippe for *Acilius*, and sente him into *Sicelie*.

Acilius and his good vvife.

Lentulus, béeyng desired of hys wyfe to flée wyth hym, and diligentlye attendyng on hym, he, for that hée woulde not putte hyr to the daunger, fledde secretely into *Sicelie*, where béeyng made a Lieutenaunte of *Pompey*, hée sente hyr worde howe hée was escaped, and in office. She hearyng where hyr Husbande was, secretely lefte hyr mother, who had good eye

Lentulus and his good vvife.

vpon hir, and wyth two Seruauntes wyth greate payne and wante, she as a slaue went, till she came to *Meßina* from *Reggio* aboute nyghte, and easilie learning where the Lieutenantes Tente was, she founde *Lentulus*, not as a Lieutenant, but with a powre bedde layde vppon the grounde, and simple dyet, for desire of hir.

Apuleius and his good vvife.

Apuleius wife threatned she woulde bewray hym, if he fledde alone, wherefore againste his will he toke hir with him, and it was his happe in that fleeing, not to be suspect, going openly with his wife, his men, and his maides.

Antius and his good vvife.

Antius his wife, wrapped hir husbande in a couering, and by that meane sent him with the Carriers to the Sea, from whence he fledde into *Sicelie*.

Reginus and his good vvife.

Reginus wife, put hir husband in the night into a filthy sincke, into the which the Souldioures would not go in the day, for the sauoure.

The next night she cladde him like a Colyer, and gaue him an Asse to carie his coles, and she folowed a little after in a litter: which when the warders sawe, suspecting some man to be in the litter, searched it: whereof *Reginus* being afraide, ranne backe, and as a straunger, prayed a souldioure to be good to the women. He angerly answering him as a Colier, knew him notwithstanding, (for he hadde serued vnder him once in *Syria*,) and sayde, goe boldly (O Captayne) for so it becommeth me yet to call thee.

Scoponius.

Scoponius wife obteyned him of *Antony*, and beeyng till that time of good fame, did now heale one euill fortune with another.

Geta a good sonne.

Geta his sonne made a fire in the open parte of his house, to burie his father that seemed to be dead, whome he had hidde in a house in the Countrey newe made, where the olde man disguising hym selfe, layde a parchment before hys eyes, and after the agreement was made, he toke away the parchment, but founde his eye out for lacke of vse.

Eye lost for lacke of vse.

Oppius a good sonne.

Oppius sonne, minding to tarrie with his olde feeble father, bare him on his backe, till he was past the gates, and the rest of the way, partly leading him, and partly bearing him, he brought hym safe to *Cicelie*, no man suspecting, or troubling the manner of it:

it: As they wright that *Aeneas* was reuerenced of his enimies, when he bare his Father *Anchises*. The people of *Rome* commendyng the young manne, caused that afterwarde he was made Chamberlayne of the Citie. And bycause hée coulde not beare the charges of his office, for that hys gwdes were confiscate, the artificers fréely gaue hym to supply the same. And the people that behelde hys shewes, did euery man caste so muche money into the game place, as they made him riche.

Aeneas. *Anchises.* Kindnesse of Commons.

Arianus caused to be grauen on his Sepulchre by hys Testament thus: Him, that lieth here, his sonne (that was not proscribed) did hide, being condemned, and steyng with him, saued his life.

Arianus his good Sonne. An Epitaph.

Metellus the Father and the Sonne, the Father was a Captayne vnder *Antonie* at *Actio*, where he was taken prysoner, and vnknowen: his Sonne serued *Cæsar*, and was a Capitaine at the same fielde. When *Cæsar* did gyue sentence vppon the captiues at *Samo*, the yong man was presente: The olde manne being brought forth all forlorne with long heare, miserie and wante, and all transformed by the same, when in order of the captiues, he was called of the crier, hys Sonne lepte from hys seate, and embraced his Father, (whome he scarsly knew) with teares, and when he had ceased from sorowe, hée sayde to *Cæsar*: This hath bene thine enimie O *Cæsar*, and I thy friende, him thou muste punishe, and me rewarde: I desire thée to saue my Father for mée, or lette me die for hym. Euery man takyng pittie, *Cæsar* commaunded *Metellus* to be saued, though he were hys very enimie, and afore despysing many gyftes, to be drawne from *Antonie*.

Metellus father and sonne. *Samo* an Ile ouer agaynst *Albo*. A good Sonne.

The seruauntes of *Marcius* with good loue and Fortune, all the tyme of the proscription, dyd kéepe hym within hys house, till feare set aside, *Marcius* came out of his house, as from banishment.

Marcius and his good seruaunts.

Hirtius wyth hys menne fléeyng the Cittie, wente aboute *Italie*, deliuered prysoners, and gathered them togither that fledde, and toke townes, a few at the firste, after more in num-

Hirtius.

ber till he had a sufficient armie, and ouercame a parte of the Bruttij in Calabria. *Brutians*, from whence sendyng his army, he sayled with them all to *Pompey*.

Restio and a good seruaunt.

Restio, that thoughte he fledde alone, a Seruaunte followed hym secretelye, beeyng broughte vppe of hym, and a foretyme well vsed, but after, for euill conditions, branded.

When *Restio* rested in a Fenne, and did see this Seruaunte so nighe hym, he was afrayde: to whome the Seruaunte sayde, that hee did not so much remember his present brandes, as hee dyd his former benefites: and so caused hym to repose in a caue, and prouided meate for hym, as well as hee coulde: and after that the Caue was suspected, and Souldyours drewe nighe to *Restio* where hee was, the Seruaunte perceyuyng the matter, followed and killed an olde man that passed by, and cutte off hys heade: the Souldiours beyng angrye, and commyng aboute to take the killer, hee sayde, I haue kylled my Mayster *Restio*, that gaue mee these brandes. They tooke the heade, to haue the rewarde, and caryed it in vayne into the Citie. The Seruaunt comforted hys Mayster and sayled with hym into *Sicelie*.

Appion and a good seruant.

Appion resting in a stable, the Souldiours sought hym: his seruaunt put on his garment, and lay vppon his bedde and willingly receyued death for hys Mayster, he sittyng by him in the forme of a seruaunt.

Memmius and a good seruaunt.

Memmius house was soughte of the Souldiours, one of whose Seruauntes wente into a litter, hys fellowes bearyng hym as he hadde bene theyr Maister, and beeyng taken, he was contente to die for his Maister, who fledde into *Sicelie*.

Iunius and a good seruaunt.

Iunius hadde a free made manne, *Philemon*, who hadde a fayre house, where hee kepte hys Mayster in a vaughte, in whiche they are wonte to laye Harnesse, Money, or Wrytinges, and fedde hym in the nyghte, tyll the Peace was made.

Ano-

An other free made man, keepyng the Sepulchre of hys Maister, did also preserue his Maisters Sonne in the same graue, together with his Father.

Lucretius wanderyng with two faythfull seruauntes, for lacke of meate, returned to hys wyfe, beyng borne in a litter of hys seruauntes, into the Citie, as a sicke man: when it happened that one of the seruaunts had broken hys legge, hee wente on with the other, tyll hee came to the gates, where hys Father afore beyng proscrybed of *Sylla*, was taken. The Souldiours commyng aboute hym, hee was muche afrayde for the lucke of the place, wherefore hee fledde with a seruaunte, and was hydde of hym in a graue, and chaunsing that robbers of Sepulchers dyd searche graues, the seruaunt offered hymselfe to bee spoyled of the robbers, whyles the maister fledde to the gates, and tarried tyll hys seruaunt came to hym, whose garmentes hee put on, and wente to hys wyfe, vnder whose care beyng kepte, hee was hidde betwene two beames, till hee was pardoned, by meanes made for hym of some, to the three meme. And after peace was made, he had the office of a Consull. *Lucretius.*

Sergius was hydde of *Antonie* hymselfe, tyll hee hadde perswaded *Plancus* the Consull to proclayme hys reuocation agayne. In the dissention of *Cæsar* and *Antonie*, when *Antonie* was declared enimye of the Senate, hee onely openly gaue voyce for hys acquitall. *Sergius.*

And thus these were saued.

Pomponius decked hymselfe lyke a Pretor, and hys seruants, lyke the Sergeaunts, and so went thorough the Citties wyth his maces and Officers rounde aboute hym, that hee should not bee knowne: and at the gates hee toke publyque coaches, and wente thorough *Italie*, euery manne receyuyng hym, and sendyng to hym as a Pretor appoynted of the three menne, to make truce wyth *Pompey*, to whome also hee came in a publike Galley. *Pomponius.*

Apuleius and *Aruntius* counterfaiting themselues to be Capitaynes, *Apuleius. Aruntius.*

pitaynes, and their seruauntes Souldiours, ranne to the gates as Capitaynes, and pursued others, and by the way, they deliuered prysoners, and receyued suche as came to them; so as eyther of them had a sufficient bande, with Ensignes and armour, and shewe of an army. And chancing that by diuerse wayes they went toward the Sea, they bothe camped in one hil, with great feare lokyng one to another.

In the morning, not hauyng clere sight, and thinkyng that eyther of them had bene sente to destroy the other, they fought it out very fiercely, tyll they knewe the truthe. Then repenting that deede, they threw away their weapõs, and wayled that fortune shoulde be so contrarie to them, and toke shippe, the one saylyng to *Brutus*, the other to *Pompey*. And he went on with *Pompey*: and the other vnder *Brutus* was president of *Bythinia*, and when *Brutus* was dead, deliuered it to *Antonie*, and was saued.

Ventidius good seruauntes.

A seruaunt of *Ventidius*, when he was firste condemned, put him in fetters, as though he woulde haue deliuered hym to the killers: in the night he perswaded hys felowes, and cladde them lyke Souldiours, and his mayster lyke a Capitaine, and wente out lyke a bande appoynted, and brought his mayster out of the Citie, passing through *Italy* into *Sicelie*, many tymes meeting other Capitaynes that sought *Ventidius*.

Another hidde hys mayster in a Sepulchre, and when he coulde not abyde the fearfulnesse of fantsie in the Sepulchre, he hidde him in an homely house, nyghe the whiche a Souldiour dwellyng, he coulde not abyde that feare neyther: Wherefore turnyng from feare to extreme boldenesse, he shaued hys head, and played the schoolemayster in *Rome* till the truce.

Volusius.

Volutius being *Aedile*, was condemned. He hauyng friendship with a Priest of *Isis*, borowed a stole and a vesture downe to the foote, and put on a dogges heade, and in that maner of furious seruice, passed safe to *Pompey*.

The priestes of *Isis* vvere clad vvith a garment that had a dogs head.

Caleni. in *Campania.*

Sittius.

The *Calenians* dyd kéepe *Sittius* the Citizen, that had liberally spent of his substance vpon them, & with weapons warded him, rebuking his seruants, & kéeping the soldiours frõ the walles, till

the

the furye beeyng paste, they sent to the three men for him, and obtayned that *Sittius* excluded from the rest of *Italy*, should remaine in his countrey. So *Sittius* is the firste and onelye man, that as a straunger, was an outlawe in his owne countrey. A banished man in his countrey.

Varro a Philosopher, and a writer of Histories, hauing done good seruice in the warres, and in place of a Lieutenaunt, and therefore peraduenture as an enimie to the Monarchie, was condemned. His friends beeyng desirous to receiue him, and contending for hym, *Calenus* obtayned hym, and kept him at his Vineyarde, whither *Antony* came sometyme to walke, and yet neuer a one within, did bewraye *Varro*, neyther of hys owne seruaunts, or of *Calenus*. *Varro*. It is saide, that *Antony* pardoned *Varro* with these words, *Viuat Varro vir doctissimus*.

Virginius an eloquent man, taughte his seruauntes, that if they kylled him for a little money, and that with danger, they shoulde get hate, and at length be in great feare: but if they saued him, they should win sure glory, good hope, and hereafter money muche more abundant and certaine. Wherefore they fled with him, as with their fellowe seruaunte, and in the way beeing knowne, they fought with the souldiours: and he being taken of them, tolde them also, that they woulde not kill hym for anye malice, but for onelye hope of money, which they shoulde haue more iustlye and plentifullye, if they would go with hym to the sea, where (quoth he) my wife hathe a shippe with mony. They being persuaded, brought hym to the sea: his wife, as shee was appointed, came to the sea, and bycause hir husbande tarryed, thinking he had bin gone to *Pompey*, she went hir way, leauing a seruãt on shore to shewe him so. Whē *Virginius* was come, the seruant ranne vnto him, and shewed him where his shippe sayled, what his Maistresse said of the money, and that he was left behinde to tell him. The souldiours perceiuing al to be true, *Virginius* desired them to staye, til he might call his wife backe, or goe with him to hir for their mony. They toke a boate, and with great labour rowed him into *Sicelie*, where receyuing their promise, they woulde not goe from him, but tarryed with him till the ende. *Virginius*.

A certaine Marriner receyued *Rebulus* into a shippe, to goe *Rebulus*.

into *Sicelie*, and required his mony, which if he had not, he would accuse him, that he didde, as *Themistocles* did, when he fledde, that is, threatned he would accuse him, for receyuing him for mony: wherefore, the Mariner was afrayde, and broughte him vnto *Pompey*.

Themistocles.

Murcus being a Lieutenante vnder *Brutus*, was condemned, and when *Brutus* was ouercome, he was taken, and made himselfe as a seruant, whome *Barbula* bought, and perceyuing him to be apte, made him chiefe of his fellowes, and gaue him money to beskowe: and when he sawe him still more wise and diligent than the common nature of seruantes, he put him in hope, that if he were one of the proscribed men, he woulde saue him, if he woulde confesse it. He denying it earnestly, and declaring his stocke, his name, and former maysters, he caried him to *Rome*, thinking, if he had bene a condemned man, he woulde haue refused to goe. But he followed chearefully, and being at the gates of the Consuls house, a friend of *Barbulas* that sawe *Murcus* in seruile maner wayting vpon him, did secretly tell him in his eare. He (by *Agrippa*) obteined of *Cæsar*, that *Murcus* was pardoned, and remained friende to *Cæsar*. Not long after, it happened that he was a Captaine in the warre againste *Antonie*, at *Actio*, and *Barbula* was a Capitayne of *Antonies*, where fortune came about to bothe alike. For, when *Antonie* was ouerthrowen, he was taken, and counterfeyted to be a seruant, whome *Murcus* bought as ignorant. But shewing all to *Cæsar*, he obteyned hys pardon, and so requited his former benefit. To these fortune was like on both sides, and so continued: for they were officers togither in one dignitie at *Rome*.

Murcus.

Barbulas.

Equall fortune.

Balbinus seeing, and retourning with *Pompey*, and being made Consull, it hapned that *Lepidus* of so great a Prince being made a priuate man by *Cæsar*, came to this necessitie, that when *Mecenas* did accuse *Lepidus* his sonne of conspiracie againste *Cæsar*, and also accused the mother, as consenting to hir sonne, and *Lepidus* himselfe, as a weake man, he despised: the sonne he sent to *Cæsar*, to *Actio*: for the mother, bicause she was a woman, and not to be caryed, he required suretie to be putte before the Consull. But when

Balbinus.

Lepidus deposed.

Mecenas.

when no man would be hir suretie, *Lepidus* wayted many times at *Balbinus* dores, and comming where he sate in Iudgemente, and being ofte repulsed of the officers, at length (with much ado) he spake thus:

The accusers do confesse mine innocencie, affirming, that I am neyther consenting to my wife nor my sonne. I bidde not proscribe thée, when I was one of the Proscribers. Haue respect vnto the chaunces of the worlde: and to me, that attende vpon thée, giue this grace, that eyther my wife may goe to *Cæsar* vpon my suretie, or I be bounde to goe with hyr. *Lepidus* sute for his wife.

Whiles *Lepidus* spake this, *Balbinus* considering the mutation, deliuered the wife of hir bonde.

Yong *Cicero* was sent of his father into *Grecia*, foreseing what would come. From *Greece* he went to *Brutus*, & after *Brutus* death, to *Pompey*, & with both was honoured with the place of a Lieutenaunt. And after them, *Cæsar*, to clére himself of *Ciceros* iniurie, made him straight the Bishop, and not long after, Consul, and President of *Syria*. And whē *Cæsar* ouercame *Antony* at *Actio*, he was yet Consul, and *Cæsar* wrote to him of it, which Letters he readde to the people of *Rome*, and sate in that seate of Iustice, where his fathers head was put. *Cicero* the son. The Bishops of old *Rome* were Magistrates & Iudges of religion.

Appius diuided his substance among his seruants, and sayled with them into *Sicelie*. They watching for his mony, a storm rysing, put him into a boate, that they might sayle with the more safetie: but it chaunced, that he in the boate was saued beyonde all hope, and they drowned with they⁊ shippe. *Appius.*

Publius, a treasurer of *Brutus*, and of the familie of *Antony*, was requested to forsake *Brutus*, which bicause he would not do, he was proscribed: yet he returned, and was a friende to *Cæsar*, and when *Cæsar* came to him, he woulde shewe him *Brutus* picture, for the which he was praysed of *Cæsar*. *Publius.*

These things, beyonde hope, happening to the proscribed men, both in daunger and safetie, many moe being omitted, I thought chiefe to be declared.

When matters had thus passed in *Rome*, all the places about, for these troubles, were ful of enimies, & great warres fell out:

In *Libya* of *Cornificius* against *Sextius*: in *Syria* of *Cassius* against *Dolobella*: in *Sicilia* of *Pompey*, where great affliction was among the Citties for this captiuitie. I will ouerpasse the lesse: the greatest, that appeared more worthie than the rest, in *Laodicea*, *Tharsus*, *Rhodes*, *Patareans*, and *Xantheans*, and euery of them, which from the beginning in order I haue gathered to write, were these. The Romaines call that parte yet olde *Libya*, which they wanne of the *Carthaginenses*: that, whiche King *Iuba* helde, and was after gotten by *Cæsar*, they call Newe *Libya*, and may bee of *Numidia*.

Olde Libya.

Nevve Libya.

Sextius being president of New *Libya* vnder *Cæsar*, commaunded *Cornificius* to giue place in the olde, as thoughe all *Libya* was *Cæsars* by lot.

Sextius.

Cornificius.

When the three men made their diuision, he sayd, he knew no suche diuision made of the three men among themselues, nor woulde deliuer the Prouince, which he had receiued of the Senate, but onelye to them againe. And for this cause they made war one against another.

Cornificius had an armye well appointed and great in number: *Sextius* had lighte harnessed, and fewer, by the whiche comming abroade, hee caused men to reuolte from *Cornificius*, and gaue repulse to *Ventidius*, a Captaine of *Cornificius*, comming vpon him lustily, and besieged him.

Lælius an other Captayne of *Cornificius*, went abrode, and wan *Cirta* and other places from *Sextius*, and they al sent to *Arabion* the king, and to them that were called *Sittians*, to take part with them in the warre, which were so called for thys cause. *Sittius* in *Rome*, not abiding sentence in his own quarrell, fled, and gathering an army, came frō *Italy* and *Spaine*, into *Libya*, and toke a part among the *Libyan* Kings that warred togither, and with whom he ioyned and gotte the victorie, he was called a *Sittian*, bycause his army did very valiantly.

Cirta a Cittie of Numidia, vvhere Iugurth kylled Adherbal.

Arabion.

Sittius.

Sittius.

When *Caius Cæsar* did persecute *Pompeys* friends, he did fyghte for him in *Libya*, and ouerthrewe *Sabura*, *Iubas* Lieutenant, a famous man: For whiche cause *Sittius* was rewarded of *Cæsar*, with king *Manasses* land, not al, but the best part of it. *Manasses* was

Manassa.

Manasses.

was this *Arabions* father, and confederate with *Iuba*. His lande *Cæsar* gaue to *Sittius* and to *Bocchus* king of the *Maruſians*, one part whereof *Sittius* diuided for the people vnder him.

Arabion fledde into *Iberia* to *Pompeis* children, and when *Cneus Cæsar* was killed, he retourned againe to *Libya*, and euer sending some of his *Libyans* to the yonger *Pompey* into *Iberia*, and receyuing expert souldiours from thence, he toke hys lande from *Bocchus*, and diſpatched *Sittius* by craft: and being ſtill friend to the *Pompeyans*, and perceyuing their fortune to be full of infelicitie without hope, he agreéde with *Sittius*, and ſone by hym was reconciled to *Cæſar*. The *Sittians* alſo for his fathers beneuolence wyth *Cæſar*, ioyned wyth hym.

Seſtius being nowe emboldned, came from the ſiege to the fight, where *Ventidius* was ſlayne, and the army fledde without a guyde, whome he chaſed and killed, and toke many of them.

Lælius hearing of this, leuied the ſiege at *Cirta*, and wente to *Cornificius*.

Seſtius being hauty with this feat, went to *Cornificius* at *Vtica*, and encamped againſt him, hauing much people. And *Cornificius* ſending *Lælius* with horſmen to take a view, *Seſtius* ſent *Arabion* with his horſe againſt *Lælius*, at the face: & he with horſe better appointed, came vpon him on the ſide, and diſordred hym, ſo that *Lælius*, thoughe not inferior, yet fearing his retire ſhoulde haue bene ſhutte, toke an hill that was betwéene both, where *Arabion*, as hée was directed, kylled manye, and compaſſed the reſte.

Cornificius ſéeing this, came forthe wyth hys whole power, to helpe *Lælius*. *Seſtius* ſette vpon him on the back, with ſodayne charge, whome *Cornificius* endeuoured to repell with great trauaile. *Arabion* in the meane time créeping with his mē through the ſtony places, came ſecretly ouer mountaines vpon *Cornificius* campe.

Roſcius, that was kéeper of the campe, being diſtreſſed, offered hys throate to be cutte of a page. *Roſcius* kylled.

Cornificius wearie of the fyght, went to *Lælius* to the mountaine, not knowing what was done at his Campe, when *Arabions* *Cornificius* killed

rabions horsemen came vpon him, and killed him. *Lælius* seeing al this vpon the hill, kylled himselfe. When the Captaines were deade, the armies fled seuerally, and suche of the proscribed men as were with *Cornificius*, some fledde into *Sicelie*, and some whither they could. *Sestius* rewarded *Arabion* and the *Sittians* with goodly gifts, and the Cities he pardoned, to obey *Cæsar*.

Lelius kylleth hymselfe.

This was the ende of the warre in *Libya*, betwixte *Cornificius* and *Lælius*, very shorte, if a man consider the feates done wyth so great speede.

With *Brutus* and *Cassius*, in comparison to these, little was done, and that was this: when *Caius Cæsar* was killed, the murderers toke the Capitoll, and when oblivion of al thinges was decreed, they came down.

Brutus & Cassius.

The people at the funerall of *Cæsar*, being moued wyth pitie, ranne aboute to seeke the quellers, and they driuing them backe from the toppes of the houses, went to the prouinces that *Cæsar* had appointed. *Cassius* and *Brutus* beyng yet Pretors in the Citie, were assigned also of *Cæsar* to prouinces, *Cassius* to Siria, and *Brutus* to *Macedonia*. And bycause they coulde not goe to their prouinces before their time, nor abide the hate of the Citie, they wente away, being yet in office: and the Senate, in consideration of them, appointed them Purueioures for prouision, that in that meane time, they shoulde not be thought to flee away.

Brutus & Cassius.

They beyng gone, *Syria* & *Macedonia* were apointed by decree to *Antony* and *Dolobella*, being then Consuls. The Senate, beeing very muche grieued, gaue them in steade thereof *Creta* & *Cirene*, whiche they not regarding, in shorte tyme gathered much money and men, and entred *Syria* and *Macedonia*. And thus they wroughte.

When *Dolobella* hadde kylled *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Antonie* hadde ouercome *Decimus* in *Celtica*, the Senate being offended, did decree *Antonie* and *Dolobella* to be enimies, and restored *Brutus* and *Cassius* to their former prouinces, and added to *Brutus Illyria*, commaunding al other that were rulers of the Romaine dominion, as well of prouinces as armies, to obey *Brutus* and

Illyria added to *Brutus*.

Cassius.

Cassius. After this, *Cassius* preuented *Dolobella* entring into *Syria*, & vsed the tokens of that office, and gathered twelue legions, that for the moste parte, hadde serued, and bin trained vnder *Caius Cæsar*, one of the whiche, *Cæsar* hadde leste in *Syria*, to goe to the war against the *Parthians*. The charge of this, had *Secilius Bassus*, but the dignitie, *Sextus Iulius* hadde, a yong man and *Cæsars* kinsman, who being lasciuious, and suffering the legion to fall to riot, *Bassus* reproued him: wherefore he fell out with *Bassus*, and called hym rascall, and after waxing more disobedient, *Bassus* commaunded hym to be broughte of the Sergeants, whereof a tumulte growing, and *Bassus* beyng in daunger to be killed: the armye, not abiding that disorder, killed *Iulius*: of the whiche repenting them by and by, and fearing *Cæsars* displeasure, they agréed togither, that vnlesse they had forgiuenesse, they woulde fyght til death, and to this they compelled *Bassus*: & getting an other legion, they trained them, with the which they valiãtly ouercame *Sextius Murcus*, sente against them with thrée legions from *Cæsar*. To *Murcus*, came in aide *Minutius Crispus* from *Bythinia*, with thrée other legions, and besieged *Bassus* with fyue legions. *Cassius* comming in relefe of *Bassus*, receiued hys armye frely by and by, and after, *Minutius* and *Murcus*, deliuering to hym their legions for goodwill, they obeyed him in all thinges as ỹ Senate cõmaũded. *Albinus* being sent of *Dolobella*, brought oute of *Aegipt* foure legions of the remnaunt of *Pompeius* and *Crassus* discomfiture, which of *Cæsar* were left w̃ *Cleopatra*. *Cassius* set vpon him in *Palestina* (knowing nothing of these chaunces) so sodainely, that he compelled him to deliuer his armye, being afraide with foure legions to fyght against eight. Thus *Cassius* (beyond al expectation) was Lord of twelue legions, and manye of the *Parthian* archers on horsebacke came to serue *Cassius*, hée being knowen among them, when he was an officer in *Crassus* campe. *Dolobella* remained aboute *Ionia*, dispatching *Trebonius*, and putting tributes vpon the Cities, and by *Lucius Figulus* byeing nauies of the *Rhodes*, the *Lycians*, *Pamphagonians*, and *Celicians*, which, whẽ they were ready, he determined to go into *Syria* himselfe by land with two legions, & *Figulus* by sea. And hearing

Bassus & *Sextus Iulius*.

Murcus.

Minutius.

Trebonius.

L. Figulus.

ring of *Cassius* army, he tourned hys iorney to *Laodicea*, a Cittie friendly to hym, ioyning to *Cherronesus*, and fitte for al furniture, as well for passage by Sea, as defence by lande. In the which place, he mighte prouide all thinges plentifullye from the Sea, and when he would, without feare saile from the lande.

Cherronesus, Morea.

Which *Cassius* seeing, and fearing that *Dolobella* should escape him, hauing gotten a place called *Isthmus*, almoste an Iland, not two furlongs ouer, he took all the stones and tymber of the cotages, boroughs and sepulchres, to make a peere for ships. He sent to *Phœnitia*, *Lycia* and the *Rhodes*, and being reiected of all, but the *Sidonians*, yet he went againste *Dolobella*, and bothe of them hauing losste numbers of shyps, *Dolobella* tooke fiue, with al the men *Cassius* sent againe to them that had deipised hym, and to *Cleopatra* Quéene of *Aegipt*, and to *Serapion* Generall in *Cypres* for hir. The *Tyrians*, the *Aradians*, and *Serapion*, without any intelligence from *Cleopatra*, sent him as many ships as they hadde. The Quéene made excuse to *Cassius*, by hunger & pestilence, wherwith *Aegipt* was oppressed: and for the familiarity with the former *Cæsar*, shee fauoured *Dolobella*, and with this determination, she sente hym four legions by *Albinus*, and an other sufficient company, by sea (because of the winde) stayed.

Isthmus a narrowe land betweene twoo seas.

Aradini be of the Ile of *Aradus*, & it is one of the Cities of *Phenitia* that maketh *Tripolis*, *Tyrus* and *Sidon* be the other. Excuses of *Cleopatra.*

The *Rhodians* and the *Lycians* said, they woulde helpe neither *Brutus* nor *Cassius* in ciuill warres, and that they had giuen ships of passage to *Dolobella*, but not entred with him into any societie of warre. *Cassius* being prepared againe, with such as he had presently, encountred with *Dolobella* twice, and at the firste, they fought it oute with like force: but after *Dolobella* was too weake by Sea. Then *Cassius*, with a rampire, so beat the walles of the Cittie, that they were lyke to fade, and when he coulde not corrupte *Marsus*, that was chiefe of the watch by night, he wanne the Captaines of the bands, that warded by the day. And *Marsus* resting by daye, the gates were opened, and he entred in diuers parts with his army.

Marsus. Laodicea wonne. Dolobella killed.

The Cittie being taken, *Dolobella* bad one of his Guard cutte off his heade and carrie it to *Cassius*, to saue his owne, whiche he did, and after killed himselfe. *Marsus* also did ridde his own life.

Cassius

Cassius hauyng gotten the Citie, ſware the armie of *Dolobella* to himſelfe. All the *Laodiceans* ſacred and publyke things he ſpoyled, the chief of the Citie he puniſhed, the other he oppreſſed with grieuous payments, and brought the Citie to extræme miſerie. From *Laodicea* hée wente towarde *Aegypt*, vnderſtandyng that *Cleopatra* dyd ſayle with a greate naule to *Cæſar* and *Antonie*, thynkyng hée myghte ſtoppe hir voyage, and be reuenged of hyr, vnderſtandyng that *Aegipt* was in greate diſtreſſe for famine, hauyng no greate armye of ſtraungers, the Souldiours beyng gone with *Albinius*. Beyng in this hope and determination, *Brutus* in haſte aduertiſed hym, that *Cæſar* & *Antonie* dyd paſſe the *Ionian* Sea. *Cassius* vnwillyngly, lefte the enterpryſe of *Aegipt*, and ſente away the *Parthian* Archers on horſebacke, wyth their rewardes, and meſſengers to theyr King for further ayde: whiche comunyng when all was done, ranged *Syria*, and all the nighe nations to *Ionia*, and departed. *Cassius* lefte hys Nephewe in *Syria* with one legion: the horſemennes hée ſente afore to *Cappadocia*. They ſuddenly ſette vppon *Ariobarzanes* the kyng, as one that before meante to deceyue *Cassius*, and brought all his money and riches to *Cassius*. The *Tharſians* beyng at debate, the one parte honoured, *Cassius* comyng firſte, the other *Dolobella* after him: and both of them did it, by the ſhew of the Cities authoritie: and embracing both, as the turne ſerued, either ſide (in ſuch a chãgeable citie) vſed other extræmely. When *Cassius* had ouercome *Dolobella*, he commaunded them to paye a thouſand and fiue hundred Talentes: they not knowing what to doe, and beyng with deſpight requyred of the Souldiours therevnto, were compelled to ſell all their prynate Jewels, and holy things in common, and other whiche they had for their triumphes and ſacrifices, whiche not ſuffiſing, the Magiſtrates ſolde their frée people. The firſte was the Virgines and their men children, after their women and olde men pitifully, and then theyr yongmen, whereof many killed themſelues. Being in this caſe, *Cassius* came from *Syria*, and ſtayed it for pitties ſake, & releaſed them of the reſt of the Tribute. Thus *Tharſus* and *Laodicea* were puniſhed. *Cassius* and *Brutus* conſultyng to-

Laodicea ſpoyled

Ariobarzanes diſtreſſed.

Tharſus at diuiſiõ
A citie in *Cilicia* at the floudde *Cydno*.

The calamitie of *Tharſus*.

Cassius ſhevveth ſome pittie.

Counsell betweene *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

gither, it seemed best to *Brutus* to remoue the armie from thence into *Macedonia* for greater consideration. Bycause it was sayde, theyr enimies had fourty legions, and that eyght of them were past the *Ionian* sea. *Cassius* thought the multitude of the enimie not to be passed of, bycause in tyme their number shoulde be their destruction for wante: and therefore that they shoulde sette vpon the *Rodians* and *Licians*, friends to their enimies, and hauing nauies, least they should come vpon their backes, when they had agreed, they deuided their armies. *Brutus* went against the *Licians*, & *Cassius* agaynst the *Rodians*, for hée was brought vp there, & learned the Greeke tongue. And bicause they were very strong vpon the Sea, he prepared & exercised hys owne ships at *Guido*. The wise men of the *Rodes* were afrayd to come to fight with the *Romanes*, but the people was lusty, recounting their former feats against other maner of men than these. Their shippes also they gathered of the beste, of the whiche were. xxxiij. when they had done so, they sente some to *Mindo* to *Cassius*, requesting him he woulde not reiect the *Rhodes*, a Citie that euer did reuenge such as contemned them, nor the cõuentions betweene the *Rhodians* and the *Romanes*, that one shoulde not beare armes against the other: and if he did alleage any thyng for societie of warre, that they woulde vnderstande of the Senate of *Rome*, and they commaunding it, they sayde they would do it. Thus much they sayde. He answeared, that for the rest, warre must iudge in steede of wordes, & where the league cõmaunded they should not leauie armes one against another, the *Rhodians* did conspire with *Dolobella*, and ayded him against *Cassius*. But where it cõmaundeth that one should help another, and now that *Cassius* requireth it, they vse a shifte by the *Romane* Senate, which is scatered, and at this present destroyed by the Tyrannes that be in the Citie, which should be punished, and so should the *Rhodians*, taking their partes, onlesse they did as he commaunded them. Thus sayde *Cassius*. Whē this was knowne at *Rhodes*, the auncient men were the more afrayd. The people were persuaded by one *Alexãder* & *Manasses*, remēbring vnto them that *Mithridates* came against thē wt many moe ships, & before him *Demetrius*. Therfore they made

Mindo, nowe *Capo Crio*.

The *Rhodes*, an Iland in the sea that is called *Carpathio*, the which in greatnesse, is next *Lesbos* and *Cyprus*.

Alexan-

Alexander their chiefe officer called *Prytanes*, & *Manassis* their Admiral. Neuertheleſſe, they ſent *Archelaus* embaſſadour to *Caſſius*, who was his ſchoolemaſter in the Créke, to intreate him familiarly: and when he had taken him by the hande, he ſpake to him as to hys acquayntance:

Prytaneus was in *Athens* the chiefe Citie of *Antonie.*

Thou that art a louer of the Gréeke language, do not diſturbe a Gréeke citie, nor the *Rhodes* (being a louer of libertie) nor deface the *Dorian* dignitie, neuer yet blemiſhed ſince it firſte began: nor forget ý goodly hiſtorie, which thou diddeſt learne at *Rhodes* and *Rome*. At *Rhodes*, howe muche the Citizens of the ſame haue euer ſtode to their defence, againſt nations & kings, and ſuch as were thought inuincible, as *Demetrius* & *Mithridates*, for their libertie, for ý whiche thou ſayſt thou trauayleſt. In *Rome* what we haue done for you, as wel againſt other as *Antiochus* the great: there be pillers ſet vp of you as monumẽts of vs. And thus much may be ſayd to you, O *Romanes*, of our natiõ, of our worthineſſe, of our ſtate, neuer yet in ſeruitude, of our ſocietie & choyſe of you. But in thée now (*Caſſius*) a certaine great reuerẽce I ſay, remayneth toward this citie, thy nurſe, thy ſcole, thy Philitian & houſe, wher thou diddeſt dwell, & to my ſcole, & my ſelf, & to other things wherein I toke paynes. Now you well requite all this vpõ my countrie, ý it be not forced to make warre with thée that was nouriſhed & brought vp in it, nor put vs to ý neceſſitie of one of two things, either that ý *Rhodians* ſhal all be deſtroyed, or *Caſſius* ouercome. I admoniſhe thée further, beſide ý I haue prayed thée, that haſt takẽ in hand this feate, for ý cõmon welth of *Rome*, ý thou always make the Gods the guydes in ſo great a cauſe. You *Romanes* did call the Gods to witneſſe, when by *Caius Cæſar*, ye made ſolẽne league wt vs, and by othe cõfirmed the ſame & gaue vs your right hands, which chiefly perfourme, & ſhal not frieds and felowes do it: Refraine now for Gods cauſe, & for the glory among men, ſeing nothing is more barbarous than breach of league, which make the offendours to ſéeme vnfaithfull both to frend & foe. Whẽ the old man had thus ſayd, he did not let *Caſſius* hand go, but he wept & wiped his eyes with it, that with that manner he might moue *Caſſius*, who for reuerẽce was abaſhed, & vpõ ſome paſſiõ ſayd thus:

Archelaus ſcholemaſter to *Caſſius.*

Cassius to Archelous.

‘ If thou diddest not persuade the *Rodians* to doe me any iniu-
‘ rie, then thy selfe hast done it: but if thou diddest exhort and ad-
‘ uise them, & couldest not persuade them, then I do reuenge thee.
‘ I haue bene iniured cuidently: firste, bycause I asking helpe of
‘ them, that nourished and taught me, am contemned and despi-
‘ sed: then, bycause they preferred *Dolobella*, (whome they ney-
‘ ther taught nor brought vp) before me: and that that is the more
‘ haynous, not onely before me, but *Brutus* and other noble men,
‘ whome you knowe well to be fledde from Tirannie, and to be
‘ ready to fight for libertie of our countrie. You the *Rodianes* lo-
‘ uers of libertie, preferred *Dolobella* before vs, he seekyng to take
‘ the same from other: and vs (whome now you ought to fauour,)
‘ you pretend, you will not deale with ciuill warre. It were ciuill,
‘ if we did couet vnlawfull power: but now opē warre is made of
‘ peoples rule, against Tirannes state: and you that haue popular
‘ gouernment, do forsake the same: and of them that do labour for
‘ their lawes, and beare good will to the *Romanes*, and be condem-
‘ ned to death without iudgement, that be proscribed & confiscate,
‘ you haue no pitie at all. But you answeare, you will vnderstand
‘ the Senates minde, which is now destroyed and can not helpe it
‘ self. For ye knew the Senate had decreed to *Brutus* and me, that
‘ al the inhabitants betweene *Ionia* and the East, should obey our
‘ cōmaundements. Thou makest a rehearsal what you haue done
‘ for vs at our wāts, for with good will you haue receyued reward
‘ againe. But you forget, that you deme help to vs, that suffer in-
‘ iurie, for the sauing of our liberty, whom you ought, if there had
‘ bene no friendship betwixt vs, but would now haue begon it, to
‘ haue ayded the cōmon cause of *Rome*, few beyng of the *Dorean* li-
‘ bertie. You bring forth also leagues (lacking other matter) that
‘ *Caius Cæsar* the first author of Tirannie did make with you, and
‘ say, that the *Romanes* and *Rodians* should help one an other in their
‘ necessities. Helpe you then nowe the *Romanes* that in greatest
‘ cause be in moste perill. *Cassius* a *Romane* borne, and a president
of the *Romanes*, dothe chalenge that league, according to the
‘ decree of the Senate. in the whiche it did commaunde, that
‘ all the dwellers beyonde *Ionia*, shoulde obey vs. *Brutus* dothe

require

require the same, and *Pompey*, kéepyng the Sea for the Senates safetie. No decrées, wée toyne prayers, for all them that be fleede from the Senate to me, to *Brutus* and to *Pompey*. It is the peoples publike decrée, that the *Rhodianes* shoulde help the *Romanes*, euery one as they haue nede. If we be neyther officers nor *Romanes*, but you take vs to be fugitiues, straungers, and condemned (as they name vs that haue proscribed vs) and that you haue nothing to do with vs, but with *Romanes* (O *Rhodianes*) and their leagues, then may we make warre with you as strangers, and frée from confederacie, excepte you obey vs in all that we require. Thus *Cassius*, as it were dallying with *Archelaus*, sent him away. *Alexander* and *Manasses*, Captaynes of the *Rhodianes*, with their thrée and thirtie Shippes, sayled against *Cassius* to *Myndo*, to preuent him in the sea, hauing hope, lightly to ouercome him, bycause they made that voyage into *Guido* agaynste *Mithridates*, when they had happy ende of the warre: and vsing rowing for a shew, they sayled the first day to *Guido*, and the next, set vppon the *Cassianes*, whereat they marueling, did encounter with them, shewing noble strength on both sydes. The *Rhodian* shippes were light, and gaue a suddayne onset on their enimies, and retired againe, and fetched what course they woulde. The *Romaines* were heauie, and abode by it, and when they ioyned with them, ouerlayde them like a fight on foote. *Cassius* with the multitude of his shippes did so beset the enimie, that they could not compasse, nor retire at their pleasure, but onely afore hande giue a charge, and retire againe: and that commoditie was taken away by the streightnesse of the place. For their commyng vpon the *Romanes* great shippes with their sharpe stemmes, dyd no good, bicause the *Romanes* stode vnmouable against their light vessels. In the ende, thrée of the *Rhodianes*, with all the men in them, were taken, two were broken and sonke, the rest fore beaten, fledde to the *Rhodes*.

Guido a Citie like an Ilande in *Caria*.

Battayle by Sea betweene the *Romanes* & the *Rhodianes*.

The *Romaines* resorted to *Myndo*, and repaired their vessels that were bruised.

Myndus, a sea coast towne of *Caria*.

This was the ende of the fight by Sea, betwéene the *Romanes* and the *Rhodianes*, which *Cassius* beheelde from a Mountayne.

Lorenna is in Caria.

When he had repayred his Nauye, he sayled to *Lorenna*, a Castell of the *Rhodians*, and his footemen he committed to *Phanius* and *Lentulus*, to bee transported in greate Shippes. He sayled with fourescore vessels, whyche was a terrible sighte to the *Rhodians*. Being arriued at *Rhodes*, he stirred not, neyther with hys Nauye nor hys footemen, thinking they woulde haue yelded: but they came fiercely forthe to the fyghte, and hauing lost two Shyppes, they shutte themselues within the Porte of the Citie, and toke armoure, and resisted the footemen that *Phanius* hadde sette a shore, and also *Cassius* that approched the walles nere the Sea, not vnlike for that fight: which he foresèyng, had broughte Turrets with him, which he set vp, and assayled the Citie both by sea and land, which being vnprouided for so suddayne a matter, must néedes eyther by force or famine be ouerthrowen. The wise men of the Citie, to auoide that daunger, hadde some talke with *Phanius* and *Lentulus*. In the meane time, *Cassius* was gote into the Citie with the choyce of his army, vsing no force at hys entrie, whiche some thought to be by them that pityed the famishing of their Citie.

Rhodes taken.

Cassius, hauing the Citie in captiuitie, sate downe in ỳ Iudgemente seate, and pitched his speare in it, in token it was thrall, and badde them not to feare. He commaunded his armye vppon payne of death, not to make any spoyle. He called. 50. *Rhodians* by name, whome he punished with death. Fiue and twenty ỳ would not appeare, he banished. He toke all the money that was golde or siluer, holy or publike, and appoynted a daye to euery man to bring in his priuate substance. He proclaymed deathe to them that hidde any thing. To the accuser he proclaimed a third part, and to the bonde, libertie. Many at the beginning hidde their things, hoping the spoyle woulde haue no suche ende: but when they sawe men were betrayed, they brought forth all for feare. Some was hidden in the ground, some in filthy pittes, and some in graues, out of the which more was brought, than at the first.

The hard dealing of *Cassius* vvith the *Rhodians*.

Spoyle of the *Rhodes*.

Thys was ỳ captiuitie of the *Rhodes*, to the rule of the which, *Lucius Varus* was left.

Cassius being encouraged with the spéedy taking of this Citie,

and

and abundance of money, commaunded the other nations of *Asia* to pay the tenne yeares tribute, whiche they did accordingly.

It was then reported, that *Cleopatra*, with great preparation of army and Nauye, would sayle to *Octauian* and *Antony*, both for the friendship of the former *Cæsar*, and for feare of *Cassius*, who sente *Murcus* with his best Legionarie men and archers, with fourescore armed Shippes, to *Pelloponesus*, and staying at *Tenaro*, meant by preuention, to get the spoyle of all *Pelloponeso*.

Cleopatra.

Morea.

Tenarum, a promontorie of *Laconica*, vvhere *Hercules* tooke his vvay to Hell.

The things that *Brutus* did in *Licia*, were not great: but thus they beganne.

Brutus.

Lycia a Countrey of little *Asia*, betvveene *Pamphilia* and *Caria*.

When he had the army of *Apuleius*, and gathered of the tributes of *Asia* fiftéene thousand talentes, he sayled into *Bœcia*, where he did receyue a decrée from the Senate, that he shoulde vse the same, and gouerne *Macedonia*: whyche béeyng knowen, he toke to hym thrée Legions from *Illyria*, the whyche *Vatinius*, then Lieutenante of *Illyria*, delyuered vnto hym. Another Legion he had of *Antonyes* brother in *Macedonia*, to the whyche, ioyning foure moze, he was Lorde of eyghte Legions, the greater parte of the whyche, hadde serued vnder *Caius Cæsar*. Hée hadde also greate numbers of Horsemen, & archers, and other shotte. The *Macedonians* hée armed after the Italian manner. In gatheryng thus hys army and treasure, he had this good lucke from *Thracia*.

Bœcia a Region in the ende of *Greece*.

Illyria is a great Region of *Europe*, novve called *Slauonia*.

Polemocratia, a Princes wife, and slayne of his foes, came to *Brutus* for the care of hyr sonne, and committed hym to *Brutus* handes whth hyr Husbandes treasure. He deliuered the chylde to be trayned of the *Ciceronians*, tyll he shoulde be sette in his fathers Kingdome. He founde in the Treasure greate massies of golde and syluer, whyche he caused to be coyned, to make money.

Treasure, and a Princes childe deliuered to *Brutus*.

Ciricus, an Ile in *Propontis*, vvith a Citie of that name.

When *Cassius* was come vnto *Brutus*, they consulted vppon theyr businesse, and determined to beginne the warre vppon the *Licians* and *Xanthians*.

The seege of *Zanthus* a Citie in *Lycia*, vvhiche shevved greate manlinesse before agaynste *Harpagus* Lieutenant to *Cyrus*.

And to beginne with the *Zanthians*, they of the Citie cutte off their suburbes, that *Brutus* should not vse thē, nor haue cōmodity

of any thing there, they compassed their Citie with a ditche, and vpon it made their defence. The ditche was fiftie fote deepe, and the breadth proportionate accordingly. Upon it they stode, and threw their dartes & arrowes vpō the *Romanes*, diuided as with a flood impassable. *Brutus* gote many Pioners, & couered thē with leather, to ouerthrow the ditche. He parted the army for ỳ night and the dayes labour, neuer recalling, but as in a matter of great spēde, vsed the souldioures, to cōtend who should do fastest. And though at the beginning it seemed he went about a tedious and fruteless worke, yet in the end, he brought it to passe very quickly, contrary to the *Zanthians* opinion, whiche thoughte it woulde haue bin many monethes in doing, or not done at all. But nowe they are shutte vp, and driuen within their gates, with a greate change. He gaue dayly assaultes at the gates, euer changing his men. They resisted, and put freshe and sounde men in the place of the weery and wounded, so long as their fortes helde: but when they were beaten downe, and all broken, *Brutus* thinking what woulde follow, commaunded his souldioures to retire from the gates.

Brutus beateth downe the Trench.

The *Zanthians* thinking that to bee done by negligence, issued out in the nighte with lightes to burne the *Romanes* engines, who being encountred of the *Romanes* that laye for them, retired to the gates, the keepers whereof, fearing the enimie should enter also, shutte them out, whereof did followe a greate slaughter before the gates. Not long after, the *Romanes* goyng backe againe, the Citizens came out, and fired the engines: and bycause of the former losse, the gates were opened to them, at whose goyng in, two thousand *Romanes* thrust in with them, and more followed: at the which entrie, the gates fell downe, eyther suddaynely, or of purpose, the matter failing that held them vp. The *Romanes* were eyther killed, or shut in. The gates could not be opened, nor without some engine be remoued. The *Zanthians* threw vpon them in the streetes from aboue. They hauing neyther bowe nor arrowes, gote into a straight place, called *Sarpedono*, that they should not vtterly be besette aboute. The *Romanes* that were without, were carefull for them within,

The *Zanthianes* killed at theyr gates.

The *Romanes* in danger.

within, and *Brutus* ranne among them, to see that all help might be assayed. At the gates barred with yron, they could not get in, their scales and Towers being burned. Wherefore some made scalyng ladders presently, and wente vp vppon timber, as vpon ladders: some tyed forkes to ropes, and threwe them to fasten on the wall, and climbed vp by coardes. The *Oenandians* theyr neyghboures, and enimies, and confederate with *Brutus*, gate vp ouer the rocky places, whiche when the *Romanes* saw, they followed with great labour, whereby many fell, and some that gote ouer, went to open the gates, and layd timber so thicke, that they might come ouer: whiche they did. And being now many, they brake the gate, not being very strong, both they within and without helping to it: and the Souldiours entred in verye boldly, both at the broken gate, and ouer the wall, vpon the way made with timber, so as there was thrusting in on euery side. The *Zanthians* with greate shoutes set vpon the *Romanes* that were in *Sarpedono*. The *Romanes* at the gates, carefull for them both within and without, vsed all violence to make way, and as caried with a furie, they bare all downe afore them, making suche hast and noyse, as they might know within it, God working a change for them. And this was at the setting of the Sunne.

Oenandia is a Citie of *Caldea* a little region of *Licia*.

The *Romaines* saued in *Sarpedono* a holy place closed in the Citie.

The Citie being thus taken, the *Zanthians* wente into theyr houses, and burned their most precious things, and wilfully offered their throtes to be cutte. The lamentation was so greate, that *Brutus* fearing the spoyle, called his Souldiours backe by a Trumpet: and when he knewe what was done, he pitied the state of them for their liberties sake, and sent a truce vnto them. They repelling them that brought it, and bringing all they had, to stackes that they hadde made in their houses, set the same on fire, and burned themselues therewith.

The taking of *Zanthus*.

Brutus saued all the sacred things, and only toke the Seruants of the *Xanthians*, and an hundred and fifty women free and wythout husband. Thus three times the *Zanthians* perished for their libertie, being beseeged of *Arpalus*, Lieutenant of *Cyrus* the great. They killed themselues rather tha they would be slaues, and the Citie was by him lefte to be their graue. And they say,

The oft sacking of *Zanthus*.

they suffered the like of *Alexander*, *Philips* sonne, and couldenot abyde to obey *Alexander*, though he were a Lord of so many landes.

Patarea a Citie in *Licia*, where *Apollo* gaue answeres the sixth Monethes of Winter.

Brutus wente from *Xantho* to *Patarea*, a Citie (for affayres of the Sea) like vnto it: and bringing his army about the citie, he commaunded them to be obediente, vnlesse they woulde suffer as the *Xanthians* had done. Some of the *Xanthians* were come vnto them, bewayling their misfortune, and counselling them to see better to themselues. The *Patareanes* aunswering nothing to the *Xanthians*, spent the rest of the day in consultation. Daye beyng come, and *Brutus* approchyng, they cryed frō the walles, that they woulde obey hym in anye thyng he would, and opened their gates. He entred, neyther killing nor spoyling any man: only their golde and siluer that was the Cities, he gathered togyther, commaundyng euery mā to bryng in hys priuate goodes, vpon those paynes that *Cassius* had sette vpon the *Rhodians*. And they dyd so.

Patarea yeelded.

A Seruaunt dyd accuse hys maister for hydyng of money, and shewed a Capitayne that was sente, where the golde was. All beyng carryed away, the maister held his peace, but hys mother (wylling to saue hyr sonne) cryed, that she hadde hydde the money. The Seruaunte (not required to speake,) affirmed she sayde not true, and that he hadde hidde it: whereat *Brutus* pitying the yong man in silence, and the mother in passion, sente them away vnhurte, with the money they brought, and hanged the Seruante, that woulde haue betrayed hys maister.

Iustice of *Brutus*.

Lentulus at this time being sent to *Andriaca*, a notable porte for the Nauies of the *Myreans*, brake the cheyne of the Port, and went into the Citie. They obeyed hys commaundementes, and deliuered him their money, whych he carryed to *Brutus*. The *Lycians* sente to *Brutus*, that they woulde obey hym, and ayde hym to their power. He putte a tribute vpon them, and gaue the free men of the *Xanthians* to that Citie. He commaunded the Nauie of *Lycia*, to sayle wyth the rest to *Abido*, from whence he led his fortemen, & abode *Cassius* cōming frō *Ionia*, to goe togither

Andriaca the name of a Towne in diuers regions heere of *Licia*. *Myra*, a Citie of *Lycia*.

Abydus is in *Asia*.

to

to *Sestus*.

Sestus in *Europa*, diuided by the narrovv Sea called *Hellespõt*.

Murcus saylyng aboute *Peloponeso*, vnderstode that *Cleopatra* had a wracke by tempest aboute *Libya*, and that hir scattered Nauye was blowen to *Laconica*, and that she was so sicke, as vneth she coulde gette home agayne. And that he shoulde not seme to bryng out so greate a companye in vayne, he sayled towarde *Brunduse*, and toke the Ile nerke the Port, and kepte the rest of the enimies army, and theyr victuals, from *Macedonia*.

Laconia, a region of *Peloponesus*, sometime called *Hecatompolis*, of the C. cities that vvere conteyned in it.

Antonie came agaynste hym with those fewe long Shippes that he hadde, and at the nygh places annoyed hym wyth the Towers he hadde made. He sente hys armye by partes in greate Shyppes, obseruyng the wynde from the lande, that they shoulde not bee intercepte of *Murcus*: and beeyng in some doubte, he called for *Cæsar*, that was in the coast of *Sicelie*, to matche with *Sextus Pompey*. Whyche matters wente after this sorte;

Antony against *Murcus*.

Pompey was the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the greate, beeing not accompted of *Cæsar* for hys youth like to atchieue any matter, and remayned in *Spayne*. He, in companye wyth a fewe theeues, roued on the Sea, and was not knowen to be *Pompeys* sonne.

Pompey the yonger.

The number of the Rouers increasing, and hauing a good bande, he confessed he was *Pompeys* chylde. Wherefore all the remnant of hys fathers and brothers armye resorted to him, as to a familiar Captayne.

Arabion beeyng dispeopled in *Libya*, came vnto hym (as wee haue sayde) and hee hauyng thys multitude, hys actes were esteemed greater than as of a Pyrate, and *Pompeys* name sounded ouer all *Spayne*, full of people, so as the officers of *Cæsar* durst not meddle wyth hym: whyche when *Cæsar* hearde, he sente *Carina* wyth a greater armye to ouerthrowe *Pompey*. But he beeyng armed for the lyghte attemptes, suddaynely sette vpon hym, and troubled hym, and toke Cities both small and greate, for the whyche cause *Cæsar* sente *Asinius Pollio* to succeede *Carina*, and to warre with *Pompey*, whyche at the

Arabion ioyneth vvith *Pompey*.

time that *Cæsar* was killed, did trie their power: after the which *Pompey* was reuoked of the Senate, and then he went to *Massilia*, to heare what was done, who being chosen Admirall as his father, he gathered all the Shippes he could get togither, and kept the Seas, but would not come to *Rome*. And when the three mens power began, he sayled into *Sicelie*, and besæged the Captayne *Bythinicus*, that woulde not receyue him, till *Hirtius* and *Fannius* (condemned by proscription, and fledde from *Rome*,) caused that place to be giuen to *Pompey*. Thus *Pompey* was Lord of *Sicelie*, hauing a Nauie and Iland nigh to *Italy*, and a great army, both of them he had before, and also of them that fledde from *Rome*, both bond and free, and such as the Cities of *Italie* sent him, that were giuen in pray to the Souldioures: for these did detest in their hearts, the conquest of the three men, and as much as they could, secretly wrote against them. And as many as might get out of the Countrey, being nowe no more of their Countrey, fledde to *Pompey*, being at hande, and most accepted to the *Romaines* of that time. There came also to him Seamen from *Libya* and *Iberia*, skylfull in the water: in so muche, as *Pompey* was full of Captaynes, Shippes, Souldioures and money. Of the whyche when *Cæsar* vnderstoode, he sente *Saluidienus* with a Nauy, thinking it to be an easie matter to put *Pompey* from the Sea: and he passed through *Italy* to help *Saluidienus* from *Reggio*.

Saluidienus.

Octauius passeth to helpe *Saluidienus.*

Scylæsqui a Towne in the end of *Calabria.*

Scylla and *Caribdis.*

Pompey came against *Saluidienus* with a greate nauie, and making the fyghte hard at the shallowes of the Ile aboute *Scyleion*, *Pompeys* Shippes were lighter, and exceeded in the promptnesse and experience of the skilfull Seamen. The *Romanes* were heauyer and greater, and the more vnfitte, as the manner of the shallow Sea is to whirle aboute, that the billowes breake on eyther side the water. *Pompeys* were the lesse troubled, for custome to the surgies, but *Saluidienus* Shippes could neyther stand firme for lacke of that experience, nor able to vse their oares, nor hauing fitte sternes for to turne at will, were sore troubled. Wherfore towarde the Sunne sette, *Saluidienus* first withdrew, and *Pompey* also did the like. The losse of shippes was equall. The other that were bruised and broken,

The fight by Sea, betvveene *Saluidienus* and *Pompey.*

Saluidi-

Saluidienus repayred, lying at the port of that narow sea *Balaron*. *Cæsar* came and gaue greate fayth to the *Reggians* and *Ipponeans*, that they should be exempt from them that were gyuen in victorie, for he feared them most, bycause they were so nigh that narow cut. But when *Antony* sente for hym in haste, he sayled to him to *Brunduse*, hauyng on his lefte hand *Sicelie*, entendyng then not to matche with *Pompey*. *Murcus* (when *Cæsar* came,) that hée shoulde not be inclosed of *Antony* and him, wente a little from *Brunduse*, waytyng by the way the great shippes that carried the armie to *Macedonia*, whiche were wayted of the Galleys, the winde being great, euen as they coulde wish. They sayled away chærefully without any néede of any Galleys, whereat *Murcus* was grieued, and wayted for their returne empty. But they (bothe then and after) caried ouer the army with full sayle, till all the army with *Cæsar* and *Antony* were passed. *Murcus* being thus hindred by fortune (as he thought,) taried for other passages, and preparations of new Souldiours from *Italy*, to hinder (as much as he coulde) the prouisions and the army lefte: and to him *Domitius Oenobarbus*, one of *Cassius* Capitaynes, came, as to a seruice of great moment, with fifty shippes, one other legion, and Archers, that *Cæsars* army, not hable to be victualed otherwise sufficiently, but from *Italie*, it might as (he thought) be stopped from thence. Thus they with one hundreth and twentie galleys, and more shippes of burden, with a great army did scoure those seas.

Balaron.

Reggio is the furdest Citie in *Italy* nexte *Sicelie*. *Ippona* vvas a citie sometime called *Vibona*, and *Vibon Valentia*, nowe there is but a little towne called *Biboua*.

The army passeth.

Ceditius and *Norbanus*, whome *Cæsar* and *Antony* sente with viij. legions into *Macedonia*, and from thence to *Thracia*, went aboue the hilles a hundred and. xl. myles, tyll they came beyonde *Philip*, and toke the streyghts of *Torpido* and *Salapian*, the beginnyng of *Rascopolinus* lande, and the onely known way betwene *Europe* and *Asia*, and that was a let to *Cassius* army goyng from *Cestius* to *Abydus*.

Antony & *Cæsar.*

Philippi first called *Dathes*.

Torpido and *Salapia*, straights in *Thracia*.

Rascopolis and *Rascus* were brethren, of the blood of the *Thracian* kings, and being Princes of one region, they differed in opinion, *Rascos* fauoryng *Antony*, and *Rascopolis Cassius*, eyther of them hauyng three thousand horse. *Cassius* Capitaynes, askyng of the

Rascopolis and *Rascus* brethren diuided.

Maronea, citie of Ciconians.
Salamina, ouer agayn̄ Attica.

way *Rascopolis* sayde, The shorte and playne way goeth from hence to *Maronæa*, and leadeth to the streights of *Salamina*, beyng possessed by ỹ enimie, & is not to be passed. There is another way thrice so muche aboute, and harde to passe, where the enimie can not goe for lacke of victuall, from whence they might goe to *Thracia* and *Macedonia*. When they heardę thys, they wente by

Aeno, vvhere *Polidorus* vvas buried.
Maronæa, of Ciconia.
Lysimachia, Exasmili.
Cardia, Citie.
Melane, the cost.

Aeno and *Maronæa* to *Lysimachia* and *Cardia*, that receyue the straight of *Cherronesus* as twoo gates: and the nexte day, they came to the gulfe of *Mellana*, where they mustered their men. They had ninetene legions of armed mē, *Brutus* tenne, and *Cassius* nine, none full, but with twoo thousande at the moste to bē filled: so as they had about fourescore thousande. The horsemen of *Brutus* were foure thousand *Celtians* and *Lucitanians*, twoo thousande *Parthenians*, *Thessalians*, *Thracians* and *Illirians*: *Cassius*, of *Iberians* and *Celtians*, had twoo thousande, of *Arabians*, *Medians* and *Parthians*, Archers on horsebacke, foure thousande. The Kings and Princes of the *Galatians* in *Asia* were their confederates, and folowed them with a greate hoste of fotemen, and horsemen aboue fiue thousande. This great armie of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, was set in order at the gulfe of *Melane*, with the whiche they proceeded to the warre, appoyntyng other menne for other necessities. They purged the army by Sacrifice accordyng to the manner, and fulfilled promises made for money, giuyng liberally to winne mennes hartes, as they might well, hauyng suche plenty of richesse, bycause there were many that had serued vnder *Caius Cæsar*. And that none shoulde make any stirre at the sight or name of newe *Cæsar*, it was thought mēte to speake to the army. There was a greate seate, in the which sate none but Senatours and Pretors. The rest, as wel *Romanes* as straungers, stode about below: glad they were to sē one another, as they that were stronger than they supposed. Boldnesse and great hope grew at the sight of the army, whiche thing increaseth the good wil of Souldiours to their Captaine, & hope that is cōmon, getteth benenolence. The noyse that hereof was made, did ceasse by the trumpets and criers: and *Cassius*, bicause he was elder thā *Brutus*, came a little forth, and thus sayde to the army:

The muster of *Brutus* and *Cassius* army.

Liberalitie of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

This

The Oration of Cassius.

This contention, O Souldiour felowes, as it is common to vs all, and therfore causeth vs to trust one an other: so is it conuenient, that we do performe to you, all that we haue promised, the whiche is the greatest trust, that wee will fulfill whatsoeuer we promise you hereafter. The hope consisteth in the vertue of you that be Souldiours, and in vs whom you see aboute this seate, so many, and so great men of the Senate: and also, in the plentyfull furniture of all thynges whiche you see, of victuall, of armure, of money, and of Shippes, of confederates of Nations and Kyngs, that of necessitie, they by reason muste bee ready to be willyng and agree, whome the prouision and common cause hath ioyned togyther. Whereof the two men our enimies do calumniate vs, you know throughly, and for that do you serue with vs willyngly. Therefore nowe it is fitte to declare the cause, whiche shall chiefly shew, that wee haue the beste, and moste iuste pretence of this warre. We, that haue made *Cæsar* great, by folowyng hym and leading you in the warres, did continue hys friendes to the ende, so as it shall not appeare, that he was entrapte of vs for any enimity. In maters of peace, he is to be blamed, not of vs his friendes, in the which we haue bene honored, but by lawes, and order of the common wealth, whereof now no law, no rule of the best, nor peoples power remayneth: all the which our fathers framed, when they expelled the kings, and by othe confirmed, neuer after to receyue other: to the which othe, their posteritie, of the same minde, consenting, and puttyng from them the execrations thereof, they could not longer endure to see one man, though he were a friende and beneficiall, that did conuert to himselfe the publique treasure, the armies, the elections of officers frō the people, the gouernments of nations from the Senate. Yet he was a law in steede of lawes, and a Lord in steede of the people, and a Prince in all respectes in steade of the Senate. The whiche peraduenture you doe not perfitely know, but only consider his valiantnesse in the warre. But now you may easily learne it, by ỹ things only that touched your selues. You the people, in the warre, do obey your Generalles as your Lords. The same condition you receyue of vs agayne in peace,

the

the Senate prouidyng, that you be not deceyued, your selues be-
ing Iudges and lawmakers, accordyng to your companies and
societies, creatyng Consulles, Tribunes and Pretors, and by
your voyces iudging ỳ greatest things, punishing or preferring
them, as they thought you worthie punishment or preferment.
This retribution (O Citizens,) hath brought your authoritie to
The authority of the people. highe felicitie: for you haue preferred the worthy, and they be-
ing preferred, haue rendred like thanke to you. For this worthi-
Scipio made Consul before his time. nesse you made *Scipio* Consull, when you testified for him in the
matters of *Libya*, and made, whome you woulde, Tribunes of
euery age, of your selues, as was fitte for your causes. What
nede I to rehearse many things that you already knowe,
but that, since *Cæsar* bare rule, you coulde create, neyther Con-
sull, Pretor, Tribune or Officer, nor coulde testifie for any
mans vertue, nor receyue mutuall testification for your selues.
And to speake of the chief, no man gaue you thankes for any
office, for authoritie, for iustice or correction. And that that
was moste to be lamented of all other, you could not helpe your
Tribunes, when villanie was done them, that you shoulde not
retayne your power continual, and make it sure and inuiolable:
but your selfe see them, that ought to haue bene vntouched, and
their authoritie inuiolate, and their ornaments sacred, to be co-
demned without any iudgement, by the commaundement of one
onely, bycause they seemed to be grieued with them that woulde
haue declared him a kyng, the whiche the Senate toke moste
grieuously for your sake. For, the Tribuneship is yours, not the
Senates. Yet yée could not plainly accuse that man, or bring him
to iudgement, bycause of hys mightie armies, whiche belonging
to the publique state, he chalenged for hys priuate pleasure: the
whiche entendyng to be reuenged of the reste of his Tyrannie,
conjured agaynst his body. The sentence did necessarily pro-
cede from the beste, the feate was done of a fewe. So soone as
it was done, the Senate decreed it a common agreement, and
that openly, that the rewardes for killyng Tirannes might be
put in vre. *Antony* staying that, vnder a pretence of tumulte,
and we not thinkyng our selues worthy rewarde to the Citie,

rather

rather than by it, to helpe our countrey, this was stayed, because, they would not any contumely should be shewed to *Cæsar*, but only a releasement of his Tyrannie, euery man decreeing a forgetfulnesse, as a thing of moste suretie, that no matter shoulde bee made of the murder. *Antony* by litle and litle withdrawing the people from vs, the Senate gaue vs great offices of prouinces, and armies, commaunding all the lande betweene *Ionia* & *Syria* to obey vs: whether punishing as offendours, or honoring vs, with solemne purple, with mases and Sergeants: by the whiche reason, they called *Pompey* from banishment, beyng a yong man, and not acquaynted with the thing, but onely bicause he was Sonne to *Pompey* the great, who trauayled for the peoples rule: and bycause he was secretely in *Spaine* to auoyde tyrannie, they restored him to the value of his fathers goodes, by the common treasure, and made him ruler of the sea, that he mighte haue some authoritie, beyng of the peoples faction. What other acte or token of the Senate do yée require, than that all this was done by their sentence: onelesse it be not inough to confesse it by worde, but to do it & say it, and togither with their sayings to reward you with great gifts, bicause whē they say it, they can performe it. Now you know how men be hādled: they be proscribed without iudgement, & their goodes be publicate, they be killed without sentence in their houses, in theyr porches, in the Temples: of Souldiours, of seruants, of their enimies: drawen from their priuie houses, and pursued in euery place. Where ỹ law permitteth a man that will, to flée into the common place, where neuer no enimies head was brought, but only armour & shippe stems, now the heds of Consuls, of Pretors, of Tribunes, of Questors and of Gentlemen be brought, and a reward appointed for the euill. This is an insurrection most cruell that euer was against all sortes, a sodaine slaughter of men, and a straunge hate of women, children, fréemade men, and seruaunts: so farre and to suche a change is our citie turned. The authors of all this mischiefe, be the thrée men, whiche afore other haue proscribed their brethren, their vncles, anfwearyng one an other, our Citie (menne say) was taken of the wilde & barbarous. Yet the *Celtes* cut off no

heads, nor vsed villany wᵗ thē they toke, nor prohibited any man to hyde himself, or flée ẏ warre: neither did we euer vse any cittie so, which we haue takē by force, neither haue we persuaded other to do, ẏ now, not a priuate cittie, but the chief of al, doth suffer, of them that affirme they do reforme and direct the common wealth. What like thing did *Tarquinius*, whom, for ẏ iniurie done to one woman, & that proceeding of loue, & being a king they banished, and for this only act, could neuer abide a kingdome. And whiles these thrée (O citizens) do thus, they terme vs seditious, & say they wil reuēge *Cæsar*. They do proscribe thē ẏ were not present whē he was killed, of ẏ which, here be many whō you sée, being cōdēned for their riches or houses, or for fauoring ẏ peoples gouernmēt. By ẏ which reason, *Pōpey* also was proscribed wᵗ vs, beyng far of, in *Iberia*, when we did ẏ déede, bicause he is descēded of a father ẏ loued the peoples state, & for ẏ he was called home of ẏ Senate, & made admirall of ẏ sea, he is of these thrée men cōdēned to death. Did womē conspire against *Cæsar*, whome they haue condēned in a paymēt? What did an. 100000. of the people, whō they haue cōdemned to pay, vpō payne, & accusations, & proscribed thē onlesse they do it, whereof they ought to be frée? And they ẏ with al they haue done, cā not yet performe theyr promise to their Souldiours, we that haue done no wrong haue performed our promise to you, & reserue to do more, when time should serue. Thus God hath shewed his helpe to vs doing iustly, and with God, you haue now to consider men, whō you sée here your Citizens, whō you haue séene your Prætors, your Cōsuls many times with prayse, now you sée thē fleyng to you, as to well doers, & louers of the people, taking our part, & wishing wel to the rest ẏ we shal take in hand. More iust rewards be propounded of vs to ẏ preseruers of thē, than theirs ẏ would destroy thē. They care not for vs that killed *C. Cæsar*, ẏ would haue ruled alone, & others, that were with vs, which remain in despite of his tirānie, & take not the rule to thēselues, but leaue it to ẏ people according to the country lawes. This war is not takē of like cause. They make it for power & tirannie, whiche they haue shewed in their proclamatiō: we make it for no such matter, but only ẏ our cōtrey

trey being set frée: we may liue priuatly vnder ỹ lawes in order, al good men, & the Goddes chiefly do iudge our cause. The best hope to him ỹ maketh warre, is his iust cause. Let it not trouble vs, though we haue serued vnder *Cæsar*, for we serued not vnder him, but vnder our cõtrie. The gifts that were giuen, were not *Cæsars*, but ỹ cõtries & publique, neither is this ỹ armie of *Brutus* or *Cassius*, but ỹ *Romanes*, we being your felow soldiours & *Romane* captaynes. Whiche if they ỹ make warre against vs would vnderstãd, euery mã might safely lay downe his armure, & rẽder all the armies to ỹ citie, & make choyse of such as might be profitable to it, which we only desire. But seing they wil not chose this, for ỹ wicked tyrãnie they haue shewed, let vs, (O warre felows) go to it with sure hope, to serue, as frée, the *Romane* Senate & people for their libertie. Then euery mã cried, let vs go, let vs go, & we desire to marche out of hande. *Cassius* being glad of this forwardnesse, caused silẽce to be made againe, & thus sayd: All the Gods ỹ be Lords of warre, requite (O war felows) your faith & prõptnesse. Now then vnderstand what prouisiõ we that be your Captaines haue made, as men ỹ be fauoured of the Gods, & how farre we excẽde our enimies in number & goodnesse. We haue armed legions equall with them: we haue fortified our places with good garde, as wel as they: in horsmen & nauies, we do passe them: in aliance of kings & princes, & nations from *Asia*, we surmount thẽ. They come vpõ vs only on ỹ face, we go vpon them on the backe also. For we haue *Pompey* in *Sicelie*, & *Murcus* in *Ionia*. *Norbanus* also lieth wt a great nauie & two legions, to stoppe their passage by sea: all places behinde vs be voyde of enimies both by land & sea. As for mony, whiche some call ỹ strength of warre, they want, neither can performe their promise to their old soldiours, nor exact so much of ỹ condẽned men as they supposed, bycause none of their frends is willing to buy ỹ places, which they haue put to sale: otherwise they can get nothing: for *Italy* is wasted with sedition, tributes & condẽnations. We with great care haue got present plẽty, wherewith we may gratifie you agayne, and muche more collected of the nations behynde vs, to bée broughte vnto vs. And victuall, the greatest wante to mighty

Money the strength of warre.

armies, they haue none, but onely from *Macedonia* a mountaine countrie, and *Theſſalia* a ſtraight region, whiche with great toyle, they muſte conuey by lande. For if any thyng be brought them from *Affrica*, *Lucania*, or *Iapigia*, *Pompeius*, *Marcus* and *Domitius* ſhall ſhutte them vp. We bothe haue and ſhall haue from the Sea, the Ilandes and all places of the continent, euery day without any difficultie, betweene *Thracia* and the ſtoudde *Euphrates*, and that without daunger, no enimy beyng at our backe: wherefore, it is in our power to doe our feate wyth ſpéede, or to doe at leyſure, to conſume our enimies with hunger. Thys haue you, (O felow Souldiours) by mans prouiſion, the reſte ſhall anſweare in order, thorough you and the Gods. We haue gyuen you for former matter, all that we promyſed you, requityng your fayth with multitude of gyfts, the greater labour wée will worthily recompence accordyng to the determination of the Goddes. And nowe, to them that ſhall chéerefully goe to this feate, for thys aſſembly & exhortatiõs ſake, we wil giue now euen from thys ſeate, to a Souldiour a thouſande fiue hundreth Drammes of *Italie*, to a Capitayne, of a bande fiue tymes ſo muche, and to a Tribune, accordyng to the proporcion. When hée had ſayde thus, and encamped his army, with worke, worde, and gyftes, hée diſmiſſed the multitude. They remayned prayſing *Brutus* and hym very muche, and promyſed to doe for them all that ſhoulde bée conuenient. They gaue then the gyftes out of hande, and other beſide theſe, to the beſte ſorte, for many conſiderations. And as they receyued, they ſente them forth in bandes, to *Doriſco*, and they folowed, not long after. At thys tyme two Eagles ſate vpon the two ſiluer Egles in the ſtanderde, beatyng at them, or as ſome ſay, coueryng them, and tarried ſtill, and were fedde with publique prouiſion appoynted from the Generalles, and the night before the day of the battell, they flewe away.

Lucania, parte of *Abruzzo*.

Iapigia, *Apulia*.

Doriſco, a playne in *Thracia*, by the vvhich *Xerxes* did number his greate army.

A token of tvvo Egles.

In two dayes cõmyng to the gulfe of *Melana*, they went to *Oeno*, and from *Oeno* to *Doriſco*, and other places, to the mounte *Serrio*, which ſtretchyng to the ſea, they kepte ſtil by lande. They commaunded *Tullius Cymbrus* with a naue and one legion, and certayne

Serrio hyll at the forelande.

Tullius Cymbrus.

certayne Archers, to goe by that coast, which before had bin deserte, although the land was good, the *Thracians* neyther vsing the Sea, nor for feare receyuing them that came from the contrary coast. The *Grecians* and the *Calcidonians* keeping that shore, and vsing the Sea, flourished in Merchaundise and tyllage, the *Thracians* agreeyng with them for the receypt of their Mountaynes, till *Philip*, *Amyntas* sonne, did ouercome the *Chaldeans* and others, so as nothing is to be seene of the passengers, but onely a little Chappell.

This desert place *Tullius* quickly passed ouer, so as for *Brutus* company, he espyed a fitte place, and measured it for the Campe, keeping that same course with his Shippes, in so much as *Norbanus* lefte the streight of the *Saporians*, as vnprofitable to bee kept, which things happened as they desired: for at the sighte of these Shippes, *Norbanus* was troubled of *Saporia*, and called *Ceditius* from *Turpilio* to come to hym in hast, and he did so. The streightes of *Turpilio* being left, *Brutus* men wente on: the deceyte appearing, *Norbanus* and *Ceditius* toke *Sapeio* manfully, so as *Brutus* people could not passe: wherfore they were afrayde, least they must now goe aboute, as they shoulde haue done at the begynning, and to passe euery place besette, not hauing time conuenient for it, bycause of the Mountaines, and the season of the yeare.

Saporia, a citie at the floud *Nestus*.

Turpilio.

Sapeio.

Standing in this stay, *Rascopolis* sayde vnto them, there was a way by a compasse to the Mountayne of the *Sapeorans* of three dayes iourney, neuer gone of men before, for the sharp Rockes, want of water, and thicknesse of wodde: therefore if they woulde goe it, they must carrie water, and passe a streight way, yet passable: and this iourney for the solitarinesse, the very birdes could not discouer. The fourth day they should haue the floud *Arpesso*, running into the floud *Ermon*, from whence in one day going to *Philip*, they mighte sette on their enimies of the suddayne, whome they might so ouercome, bycause they had none other shift. The Souldioures being taughte thys way for lacke of other, and in hope to take their enimies at the aduantage, a part was sente with *Lucius Bibulus*, appoynting *Rascopolis* to guide the waye. With greate payne and labour they wente on, and made it

Roscopolis.

Sapei, people at the floude *Nestus*.

Solitary vvay.

Arpessa, *Hebrus*, flouds in *Thracia*

yet with courage and good hearte the rather, bycause some that were sent afore, returned, and sayde, they sawe a floude a farre off.

The hard passage of the Rommes.

The fourth daye, being tyred wyth the sharpenesse of the iourney, and troubled wyth thyrst, their water bæing spente, whiche they broughte for thræ dayes, bycause it was sayde there was no water, they beganne to feare, least they were deceyued, not that they dyd not beleeue them that sayde they sawe the floude, but bycause they thoughte they were ledde a wrong way, and therefore beganne to exclayme and crye: and when *Rascopolus* came to them to encourage them, they reuiled him, and threw stones at hym. *Bibulus* humbly besought them, that they woulde pacientlye abyde the rest of the iourney.

The discourage of the *Rommes*. The rage of them.

A little before nyghte, the floude was sæne of the formost, and streyght an eskrie was made as reason was, with greate gladnesse, whyche bæyng receyued of them that followed, it came to the hyndermost.

Brutus and *Cassius* vnderstandyng this, ledde the rest of theyr armie thys harde way, but the crie was so greate, as it was hearde of the enimies, whereby they coulde not preuente them, for *Rascus*, brother to *Rascopolis*, hearyng the crie, suspected it was the enimie, and maruelled so greate an armye coulde passe so harde a iourney, voyde of water, whyche scarcely was passable to the wylde beastes, for the hyghnesse of the woodes: and bæ streyghte tolde *Norbanus* of it, who fledde from the streyghtes to *Amphipolis*.

A ioyfull crye discovereth the enimie.

Amphipolis a Citie, that is betweene *Thracia* and *Macedonia*.

Thus both these *Thracian* bræthren holpe theyr armyes, the one in leadyng an vnknowen way, the other in descrying what was done. So *Brutus* Souldyours with maruellous boldnesse, came to *Philippi*, whyther also arriued *Tullius*, so as all the army mette.

Tullius Cymber.
Philippi.
Date.
Crenida.
Χρηνίδαι.
King *Philip* builded, and named this Citie.

Thys Citie *Philippi* was called before *Dato*, and fyrste *Crenida*, bycause many fountaynes which in *Greeke* bæ called *Crene*, do flowe from the Mountaynes.

This place very fytte for the *Thracians*, *Philip* walled aboute, and called it of hys name *Philippi*.

This

This Citie is builded vpō an hygh hyll, the greatnesse whereof compriſed the breadth of the ſame.

On the North ſide it hathe woodes and hylles, by the whyche *Raſcopolis* brought *Brutus* and *Caſſius* army.

On the South ſide is a Fenne, and beyonde that, a Sea, where from the Eaſt, the ſtreyghtes of *Sapeon* and *Torpilos* bee ſéene, from the Weaſt a large fielde, as farre as *Murcina* and *Drabiſco*, and the floud *Strameno*, three hundred and fifty furlongs about, very plentifull and fayre (where they ſaye) it chanced a mayde was raviſhed as ſhe gathered floures. There is the floud *Zygaſtes*, in the whych (as they repoꝛt) a God brake his Chariot as he paſſed ouer, whereof the floud had the name. The playne bendeth downeward, ſo as it is a receypte to them that marche from aboue from *Philippi*, againſte them that ſette from *Amphipolis*.

Sapeon, and *Torpilos*, ſtreightes *Murcino* and *Drabiſco*.
Strimonio a floud diuiding *Macedonia* from *Thracia*.
Proſerpina vvas the mayde.
Zygaſtes.
The God vvas *Pluto*.

There is another hyll at *Philippi*, not greate, whome they call *Dioniſio*, in the which be mynes of golde, called vntouchable. And goyng from *Philippi* a myle and moꝛe, there be two other hylles, ſtanding two mile from *Philippi*, and moꝛe aſunder. In theſe dyd they encampe, *Caſſius* towarde the South, and *Brutus* towarde the Noꝛth, not myndyng to followe *Norbanus*, bycauſe they heard that *Antony* was at hand, *Ceſar* remaining at *Epidamnum* foꝛ ſickneſſe.

Dioniſio.
αἱ ἄσυλαι, places holy and inuiolable.
The place of their Campes.
Epidamnum, *Durazzo*.
Ceſar ſicke.

The fielde was knowen to bée fayre foꝛ a battayle, and the hylles foꝛ a Campe, and aboute it on the one ſyde Fennes and waters to *Strymo*, and on the other ſide, ſtreightes, deſertes, and vnpaſſed pathes. In the middeſt of the hylles a myle ouer was the way betwéene *Aſia* and *Europe*, as a gate. Thys place they foꝛtifyed with trenche to trench, leauing a gate in the middeſt, that it ſéemed but one lumpe. There was a floude nygh, whyche ſome call *Ganga*, and ſome *Gangites*. And behynde that, the Sea, by the whyche they hadde theyr prouiſion, with paſſage and entrie.

Gangites.
Thaſius, an Ile nigh *Thracia*.
Nea, an Iſlande and a Citie, vvhere they ſay *Philoctetus* vvas bitten of a Serpent, and dyed,

They had made *Thaſus* the ſtoꝛehouſe of their prouiſion, being xij. mile off, & wyth their Gallyes, had paſſage to *Nea*, a Citie ſixe mile

myle from them, and they ioyning in this place, trayned theyr Army.

Antony. *Antony* came on with great haſt, intending to get *Amphibolis* for the ſtay of the warre, which finding poſſeſſed of *Norbanus*, he was glad, and there he lefte the furniture for the warre, wyth one Legion, which *Pinarius* ledde. He wente on boldly, and Camped in the fielde, but a myle from his enimies, and ſtreighte was ſeene the want and abundance of both armies. The one was aboue in frutefull grounde, the other beneath in a bottome. They had wodde from the Mountaynes, theſe, from the Fenne. They had their water from the Riuer, theſe from the poles and pittes which they digged for the time. They hadde their victuals from *Thaſo*, a fewe furlongs from them, theſe from *Amphipole*, aboue fiftie myles off. It ſeemed that *Antony* was driuen thus to do, bycauſe there was no more good grounde, and the playne béing hollowe, in the whych, by reaſon of the ouerflowyng of the floud ſometime, he found the water both ſweéte and ſufficiente, by making welles and pittes.

Antonies Camp.

Thaſo, an Ile and a Citie, ouer-againſt the floud *Neſſus*.

Antonies Camp.

Thys boldneſſe, although it proceéded of neceſſitie, yet it aſtoniſhed his enimies, that ſo nygh and ſo ſoone he was encamped with ſuche a contempte: wherefore they made manye Trenches, and fortifyed euery place with walles and rampyers.

Caſſius ſéeyng *Antonyes* furie ſo greate, entrenched that was left to the Fenne, being omitted for the ſtreighteneſſe, ſo that no parte was vndefenced, but a ſyde of *Brutus*, whyche was hyllie.

Caſſius hadde the Fenne and the Sea, all the reſt béeyng taken in with Trenches, ditches, and gates. Thus they both were placed. Onely wyth their Horſemen ſometime they ſkirmiſhed.

When all things were prouided, and *Cæſar* come, yet not able to fighte, for he came in a litter to hys armye, hys Captaynes ſette themſelues in order to fyghte, and *Brutus* dyd the lyke from the higher place, eaſie to be ſéene, and yet intended not to come downe, but to waſte theyr Enimie wyth wante,

eyther

either of them had nineteene legions of armed footemen. But they that were with *Brutus*, were the fewer in number, & they that were with *Cæsar* were the more. Of *Thracia* horsmẽ, there were with *Cæsar* and *Antonie* aboue thirtene thousand: with *Brutus* and *Cassius* twenty thousand: so as for multitude of men, for boldenesse and vertue of Captaines, for armoure and furniture of Souldioures, there was most goodly shew on both sides. Yet they did nothing many daies, bycause *Brutus* would not strike the battell, but consume them with stopping of victuall from their enimies. They hadde al *Asia* to serue them, and the nighe places to bring them all thing by the sea: but the enimie hadde little, neither sufficient nor certain. For from *Aegipt* they could receiue nothing, bicause of the dearth that had wasted the coũtrey: nor frõ *Spaine* nor *Affrica*, bycause of *Pompey*: nor frõ *Italy*, bycause of *Murcus* & *Domitius*: and *Macedonia* & *Thessalia*, could not by a greate deale supplie their want, whiche places, they onely had for their succor. And that was the cause why *Brutus* refused battaile. *Antonie* fearing this, determined in any wise to giue the battel, & if it were possible, to make the Fen passable, that he might come vpon the backe of the enimy, and take their victuall that came from chase.

The number of both armies.

VVante at *Antonies* and *Cæsars* campe.

Therfore on a tyme, bringing his men forth in order of battaile, with banner displayde, he appointed a parte of his armye bothe by night and daye, to make a straighte pathe in the same, cutting downe the rẽdes, and laying tymber and stones of eyther side, so as they shoulde not shrinke. The foundation wherof he pyled and made strong with marueilous silence. The thicknesse of the rẽds toke away the sight of the worke. And when thed had wrought tenne dayes, he sent certaine bandes the direct way, and the space lefte betweene, he toke and made many Towers. *Cassius* marueilling at the deuise and pollicie, and intending to defeate the Castells made of *Antony*, entrenched all the residue of the Fenne, beginning from the campe to the sea, pauing and making bridges and ditches vpon the sure ground, taking in also the waye that *Antony* hadde made, that neyther they that were there could go abroad, nor he helpe them though

Antonies pollicy & painefulnesse.

Antony maketh a vvay in the Fenne.

By what occasion the battell began.

he woulde. *Antony* perceyuing this about midde day, in a rage and furie, brought his whole army, being otherwise appointed, and turned them vppon the fortification of *Cassius*, betwéen the Campe and the Fenne, bringing engins and scales, as though he woulde charge vppon his Campe. In doing this betwéene both armies with great boldnesse, *Brutus* Souldiours were grieued, thinking it a shame for them to let them so escape, and wythoute commandement, sauing of one Capitaine, they sette vppon theyr flocke. *Brutus* menne hauyng thus begonne the matter, gaue a charge vppon *Cæsars* army, that was in a readinesse, and putte them from their place, and toke their Campe, whiche was common to *Cæsar* and *Antony*. *Cæsar* hymselfe was absent, shifting off that day, for a dreame he hadde, as hée writeth in his booke of Remembraunces. *Antony* séeing the fight to be begunne, was gladde he had brought the enimie to it, yet he thoughte not good to turne into the playne, leaste hée shoulde disturbe his battaile. Therefore to doe the rest wyth that fiercenesse he beganne, in running manner he marched and mounted vp, for all the resistaunce that was made, and by very vehement force, beat backe the battaile of *Cassius*, kéepyng the order that was appointed them, they being astonished at thys feate done beyonde all reason. When *Antony* hadde thus broken them, he brake down the ouerthwart trench with violence, filling the ditche, and flinging downe the rampires, and all the rest to the gate, where he distressed the warders, and entred for all the weapons that were throwne vppon him. Some passed ouer the broken walles, some ouer the dead bodyes, and al was done so fiercelye and so sodainelye, as they that came oute of the Fenne to helpe them, were driuen backe againe, of them that had gotte the wall, wyth the lyke vehemencie: and they only that were with *Antony*, entred into *Cassius* Campe, the other stil fighting without. The campe was thought to be strong, therefore fewe kept it, whiche was the cause why it was the more easily taken. The soldiors of *Cassius* being thus put to the worse, and knowing that their campe was taken, fled verye confusedly: the matter was equal on both sids: for *Brutus* ouercame

Cæsar absent for a dreame.

The furie of *Antony*.

The fight at *Philippi*.

Antony taketh the Campe of *Cassius*.

Cæsar

Cæsars battell, and lodged in his campe. *Antony* ouerthrew *Cassius*, with a maruellous boldenesse and spoyled his campe. The slaughter was confused, for by the greatnesse of ỹ playne, & raysing of the dusse, one knewe not another, till sometimes they asked, and then called them to their due places. Some retourned loaden with gere, like Carters rather than soldiors, which some threw away & toke from them. There was no reioycing one with another, bicause it was not wel knowne what was done: so there was much confusion. On *Cassius* side, numbring slaues & al sorts, was slaine. viij. M. of *Cæsars*, twice so many. When *Cassius* was put from his campe, & could no more get to it, he wente to the hill of *Phillippi*, and behelde what was done, But hée neyther coulde well sée nor heare, for the dusse and noyse: onelye hée sawe hys owne Campe spoyled. Wherfore hée commaunded *Pindarus* hys page, to kyl hym with his owne sworde. *Pindarus* stayde at the matter, and in the meane tyme a messenger came and tolde, that *Brutus* had ouercome *Cæsar*, and possessed his Campe. To the whiche *Cassius* saide, tell him we are ouerthrowne, and all the victorye is his. Then he turned to *Pindare*, and sayde: why dosse not thou ridde me of thys dishonor: and so offering hys throate, *Pindarus* cutte it.

Caesars Campe taken by *Brutus*.

The slaughter.

Cassius commaded *Pindarus* to kyll hym.

Thus they saye *Cassius* died. Some tel after this sort, that a bande of *Brutus* horsemen, came to bring him the good newes. He thought they had bene his enemies, and sente *Titinius* to knowe the truth. The horsemen receiuing him with great ioy as a frend made a loude noyse. *Cassius* fearing he had fallen in his enimies hands, said thus: we haue suffered to sée our friend taken of oure enimies, and wēt in with *Pindarus*, and that he was neuer séen after, so as some thinke that *Pindarus* did it not. This was the ende of *Cassius* life, it chaunsing so, that the day of this foughten battel was the daye of his birth. *Titinius* killed him selfe for his long tariance.

Some thinke *Cassius* kylled himselfe vvyth the dagger th't he kilied *Cæsar*.

Cassius is kylled on his byrth day.

Brutus bewayling the death of *Cassius*, as a rare *Romaine*, & such a one as the like was not to be founde for vertue & valiantnesse, called him happye, that hee was ridde of cares and troubles, the whych would bring him to the like ende. He committed his bo-

Brutus lamēteth the death of *Cassius*.

by secretly to be buryed, that the army shoulde not be discouraged at the sighte of it, and withoute meate or slæpe remayned all that night in setting *Cassius* men in frame. Day being come, the ennimies were in order againe to fight, that they should not sæme to haue the worse. *Brutus* perceyued their intente, and sayde: Lette vs arme also and make a shewe likewise, that wée are not inferiour. Which when he had done, theenemie retired. Then he sayde pleasantly to his friendes: They sæmed to prouoke vs, as the weaker, but they wil not putte the matter to tryall.

Cæsar and Antony haue a losse by sea, the same daye that the fielde vvas at Philippi.

The same day that the field was fought at *Philippi*, an other very great feate was done in *Ionio*. *Domitius Caluinus* did leade in great ships .ij. legiõs to *Cæsar*, that had ẏ name of Martial, being so called for the honor of their valiantnesse. He led also a bãd for his guarde, of two thousande men, and foure troupes of horse, & other numbers gathered together, with a fewe Galleyes.

A fight on the sea.

Martiall legats.

Murcus and *Ornobarbus* mette them, with one hundred and thirtie long Shippes. A fewe of the former Hulkes sedde by good sayling. The other, by the sodayne ceassing of the winde, in a sea calme and still, were caught, being by very fortune giuen to the enimies, who without feare bowged and brake them, not hauing any helpe of their fewe Galleyes, being compassed of so many.

Greate and diuers was the trauaile of them that were in perill, linking themselues togither with their Tables, and with weapons & courage putting themselues in order, ẏ the enimie should not vse them, though they ouercame them. *Murcus* threw darts of fire, which did quickly burne the byndings, & the ships seuered asunder, to auoid the fyre. The galleys were ready to hinder them euery way, wherewith the souldiours beyng grieued, and especially the Martialls, that beyng better in valiantnesse, shoulde perishe for lacke of fyghting, some kylled themselues with the fire, some leapte into the enimies galleys, and kylled some, and were killed themselues: the shyppes halfe burned, wẽt their way, carying men, some consumed with fyre, some with wãt & thirst. Some with ẏ Tables or planckes were carried

Losse by sea to Antony & Cæsar.

to

to ỹ rockes, or desert shoars: & some were saued, beyond al reason: some continuing fiue dayes, by eating pitche off the cables and sayles, helde out, till they were driuen to lande by the byllows. There were many that gaue themselues to their enimies being ouercome with calamitie. xvij. of their Galleyes yélded, whose souldiers *Murcus* toke to him. *Caluinus* the General came fiue dayes after to *Brunduse*, with one shippe, being thoughte to haue bene lost. *Caluinus.*

This happe was in *Ionio*, the same day that the fielde was at *Philippi*, whether you wil call it a shipwrack, or a shipfight. The which cuils cõcurring together, being after known, caused the greater feare. *Brutus* called his army together, & sayd thus: There is nothing (O fellowe souldiers) in yesterdayes fight, but that maketh you superiour to your enimies. You gaue the charge chéerfully, when no warning was giuen you: the fourth legion, so renoumed to them, in whome their battaile had their confidence, you ouerthrew vtterly: their army you droue to their campe: their campe you first toke, and after spoyled, in so much as you haue farre ouercome the losse you had in the last batail. And where you might haue made an ende of all your trauayle, you chose rather to fall to spoyle, than to followe your enimies that were ouercome: for many of you running before them, set vpon their spoile. And in this one, they haue but the one of our campes, but we haue all that they had, so as the recompence of the losse is double. And hauing this aduantage in the fight, how much otherwise we do excéede, you may learne of the captiues: for their want of victual: for the striuing for it: for the difficult bringing of it: and for the euident getting of so little. For from *Sicelie*, *Sardinia*, *Libya*, and *Iberia*, they can haue none for *Pompeius*, *Murcus*, and *Oenobarbus*, they keping those Seas with two hundreth and thrée score shippes. *Macedonia* they haue consumed: now only they haue from *Thessalia*, which how long can it serue them? Therefore when you sée them offer to fight, then thinke they chiefely be forced by hunger, and doe chose death rather by their handes. Let vs contrarywise foresée, that hunger may fight for vs, that we may take them the fébler and more consu- Oration of *Brutus*.

« med, when it shal be fit. Let not vs be carried with affection be-
« fore due tyme: nor thinke slowneſſe, or quicknesse to be experi-
« ence: nor haue oure eie vppon the sea backewarde, which mini-
« streth to vs suche foode and seruice, when we see that victorie is
« ours without daunger, if you will abide, and not distruste: that
« thoughe they come forth and prouoke vs, not stronger than we,
« as the worke yesterday shewed, but for auoyding further feare,
« that all the courage, which I desire you to keepe, you may shew
« forth, when I shal require you at once, and the perfect rewards
« of victorie, when the gods shall haue giuen their sentence of vs,
« by our perfect deeds, I will giue vnto you. And now for yester-
« dayes vertue, I giue to euery souldiour, a thousand drammes,
« and to your Capitaines, as the proportion requireth.

Thus he said, & straight diuided the gifte to euery legion, & some say, he promised to giue thē *Macedonia* & *Thessalia* in spoile.

Caesar and *Antony* seeing that *Brutus* would vnwillingly come to the fight, called their people, and *Antony* said thus:

Antonies Oration.

« Yesterdaies worke, (O Men) I perceiue our enimies in words do di-
« uide, as they that chased some of vs, and spoiled a campe, where
« indeede they confesse al was yours: for I affirme vnto you, that
« neither ỹ nert day, nor yet, willingly wil they come to ỹ fight,
« which is a most certain surety of yesterdaies fear & losse, as in ỹ
« maner of contentions, of force, they that are the weaker, go out
« of the place. They dydde not gather so greate an armye
« that they mighte inhabite the Deserte of *Thracia*, by ma-
« king of their walles, but they made all that defence, for feare
« of your comming vppon them: and now minding to keepe in, for
« yesterdaies ouerthrow, when the elder, and the more expert of
« the Captaines for very desperation, kylled himselfe, whiche is
« the greatest declaration of their miserie. Therefore when you
« shall prouoke them, and they not aunswere, nor come from their
« hilles, but truste in their holdes, in stede of their handes, then
« you (O Romaine men) enforce them againe, as ye forced them
« yesterday, thinking it shame to giue place as fearfull, and pro-
« uoked to refraine, and to be holden the worse men for their kee-
« ping in. For we come not hither to liue in the playne, nor if we

tarried,

tarryed, it woulde suffise vs, but the spædy attemptes are to bée, giuen in warre of the wise, that we may the longer continue in, peace. The tymes and the trauaile we muste foresée, of whom, you cannot complayne, for yesterdayes assaulte and attempte., When you are required, then shewe your vertue to your capi-, taines, be not grieued with yesterdayes spoile, for riches is not, in that we haue, but in that we got by conquest, for that we lost, yesterday. For it remaineth safe with our enimie, the which and, their own, they must yéld vs, when we ouercome them: & if we, wil go forth to get that, then must we set forth to the fight. Ye-, sterday we toke again of theirs sufficiētly, & happily more suffi-, cient of our owne, for they haue brought togither all that they, haue by violence spoiled oute of *Asia*, and you comming as, from your Countrey, haue lefte at home the moste precious, things, and onelye broughte necessaries. And if you hadde a-, nye thyng of estimation, you compted it your Generalls, all, the whyche, we be ready to giue you, for thys victorye, and, for the recompence of this losse. For your sake we will giue re-, wards of victorie, to euerye Souldioure fyue thousand drams,, to a Capitaine of a bande fyue tymes so muche, and to a Tri-, bune double so muche as a Captaine.,

When *Antony* had thus sayde, he sette them in order to fight, but the ennimie woulde not come forwarde. *Antony* being grieued, stil set them in battaile ray.

Brutus hadde his army in good order, and néeded not come to the fyght, for he had taken al the wayes for prouision of things nédefull.

There was an hill very nighe to *Cassius* Campe, harde for the enimie to take, bycause the nighnesse made it in danger of the archers. *Cassius* had entrenched it, that no man shoulo from that place giue any bold attempt vnlooked for: which being abando-, ned of *Brutus*, *Cæsars* soldiars in the night w. iiij. legions toke it, carying with them many hurdles & hides to resist ỳ shot. Whē they had the hil, they led other x. legions halfe a mile and more towarde the sea, and to the firste foure, they added two legions more, to take by that deuise all things euen to the sea; & if there

Cæsars men take an hill.

were

were any way beside the seas, as by the Fennes, or other mean, they might distresse it, and take the victual from their enimie. *Brutus* made deuises against them, setting vp other forts against their Camps. *Cæsars* souldiors also set vp a new worke. Nowe was ỳ famine cuidēt, & increased euery day in greatnesse & fear, for they could no longer haue sufficient brought thē frō *Thessalia*, & frō ỳ sea there was no hope, ỳ enimies being lords of ỳ ships: and the late losse in *Ionio* beyng tolde to them bothe, they were the more afraide, the winter being at hande, and they lying in a Fenny plaine. Deliberation had for these things, they sent a legion armed into *Achia*, to prouide them necessarye victualls, and to sende it them with all spēde: but not able to auoide the present perill, nor make any other deuice, nor in the reste of the campe, to doe anye more to offend the enimie, they came forth with showts, and called *Brutus* to the fight, scoffing and raylng at him, and doubting whither this refraining from fight, were like a man besieged, rather than a man beraught his wit. This was knowne to him from the beginning, and he beleeued it the rather, bycause of their want, and their losse in *Ionio*, perceyuing his enimies had one mischiefe of another. And he determined, as a man besieged, or any other way to auoide the battell, rather than to come to hands with men driuen by hunger and desperation of all things, hauing their onely hope in their hands. But his army, for lacke of consideration, did not thinke so, but were grieued, that as women within, they were shut vp with ydlenesse and feare. Their captains also were not content, and blamed *Brutus* opinion, thinking with that courage of the souldiors, the soner to ouerthrowe their ennimie. The cause hereof proceēded, that *Brutus* was so courteous and milde to al mē, and vnlyke to *Cassius*, that was seuere and imperious in all thynges, so as his commaundements were kept without any resistance of the souldiours, not asking questions, nor reasoning what he woulde haue done: but *Brutus* woulde doe nothing without the opinion of the Captaines, thorowe his gentle nature. At length hys armye by companies and rowtes beganne openly to aske:

Famine in the campe of *Cæsar* and *Antonie*.

Achaia the north region of *Peloponeso*.

Antonie prouoketh *Brutus* to fight.

Curtesie in a Captaine is hindrance.

What meaneth oure Generals: wherein haue we offended

of

of late when we did ouercome, when we did chace, when we di-
stressed our enimies, or when we toke their Campe.

Brutus suffered this of purpose, and dyd not call them to anye assemblie, least he shoulde be forced vnsæmely of the rude multitude, chiefly of the hyred sorte, whose manner euer is lyke vnto vnstable seruauntes, to hope in the change of maisters, and to set their safetie in the contrary faction. The Captaynes also being angrie, and wishing him now not to doubt, the armye bæing in this forwardnesse, would do some notable feate, and if anye thing hapt amisse in the fighte, they myghte returne to theyr Campe, and defende themselues with theyr wall. *Brutus* beareth of purpose.

Brutus was muche græued wyth the Captaynes, and fearyng they woulde putte hym to the daunger, by lyghte dealyng wyth the army, whereas he wythoute doubte or sharpe fortune, was sure of victorie not daungerous, he consented to hys and al their destruction, thus reprouing them:

Like *Pompey* the greate be we forced to fyghte, not commaunding as a Captayne, but rather obeying as a Souldyoure. *Brutus* ouerruled like *Pompey*.

And I thynke he spake no more, to hyde that he most feared, least the armye that sometyme serued *Cæsar*, woulde take occasion to reuolte, whyche at the beginning, both *Cassius* and he feared, so as they gaue none occasion to them of any offence.

This *Brutus* was brought vnwillingly to sette hys men in order before the Trenche, wylling them not to marche farre from the hyll, that they myghte haue theyr retyre (if næde were) nigh, and bæ the surer, and the more easie to marche agaynste their enimies agayne.

Of both sides there was greate preparation of all thinges, and a greate desire of the feate, with a boldnesse of necessitie, the one for feare of hunger, the other of iust reuerence, compellyng the Captayne to come forthe, that they shoulde not be worse than theyr promise, nor weaker than theyr wordes, and bæ thoughte rather gilty of payne for theyr rashnesse, than worthye of prayse for theyr good counsell. *Brutus* goyng among them on horsebacke, shewed a seuere countenance, and exhorted them in fewe wordes as the tyme woulde serue.

The Oration of Cæsar.

‘ You would nedes fight, you would nedes force me, other wise hauyng the victory, do not deceyue, neyther me, nor your selues of thys hope. You haue an hyll to fyghte with you, and at youre backe all is youres. Youre enimies be in doubtfull case, beyng betweene you and famine.

Hauyng sayde thus, he rode aboute, and encouraged all the bandes, and wyth crye they receyuing hym, to hys greate prayse.

Cæsar and *Antony* goyng aboute theyr, offered theyr ryghte handes to them that were nexte, and seuerally erhorted them, and dyd not hyde theyr hunger, that they myghte stirre them to the more presente boldnesse.

Cæsar and Antony to their people.

‘ We haue founde (O men) our enimies. We haue them as
‘ wee desired out of theyr Trenche. Lette none of you be afrayd
‘ to gyue the charge, nor gyue place when you be sette vpon, nor
‘ lette hym rather chose, famine and dolorous destruction, that
‘ can not bee auoyded, than oure ennimies death and bodyes,
‘ whyche to youre boldnesse, weapons, and trauayle, they will eas-
‘ily gyue. The presente case requireth spedinesse. You maye
‘ deferre nothyng tyll to morrowe, but thys daye must determine
‘ all thynges, eyther wyth perfite victorie, or valiant deathe. If
‘ you haue victory, you shall winne in one daye victuall and mo-
‘ney, Shyppes, and Campes, and rewardes of victory of vs.
‘ Thys wee must remember, that when we gyue the charge vpon
‘ them, wee doe fyxte purpose in the myddest of theyr force and
‘ forwardnesse, to shutte them from theyr Campe, and to dryue
‘ them to the playne from the hylles, that the warre be not to bee
‘ begunne agayne, nor that oure enimies dryue vs not to idle-
‘ nesse agayne, whyche for theyr fayntenesse haue no hope in
‘ fighte, but put all theyr trust in refrayning from battell.

Cæsar and *Antonius* after thys sorte erhorted theyr Souldyoures, and euery man hadde a respect to appeare worthye Souldyoures for suche Captaynes: and they were the more styred to auoyde the wante, for the suddayne losse in the *Ionian* Sea, and chose rather wyth payne and hope (if nede were) to abyde

the

the vttermoſt, than to be conſumed wyth an euill, that can not bée auoyded.

The matter ſtandyng thus, and euery one moued agaynſte hym that was nert, the anger of both ſides encreaſed very much, and they were filled with boldneſſe inceſſable, And nowe they dyd not remember that they were Citizens togyther, but as enimies by nature and blonde, they threatned one another: ſo ſuddaynely hadde rage and furie in them quenched nature and reaſon. They prophecyed alyke of both ſydes, that that daye in that feate, ſhould iudge all the Romaine cauſes. And the iudgemente was gyuen in déede. The day béeyng ſpente in preparation tyll the ninth houre, two Eagles falling betwéene both Campes, foughte togyther, at the which was great ſilence; that Eagle flying that was toward *Brutus*, whereat a ſhrill crye was made of the enimies. Both broughte forthe theyr ſtanderdes. The marche was fierce and vehemente. They little néeded arrowes, ſtones, or dartes, after the maner of warre, for they vſed none other comming on, than the order of battell, wherein they were broughte vp: and they buckled wyth naked ſwordes, and layde on of eyther ſyde, to put one another from theyr ray, the one for theyr ſaketie, rather than for victorie, the other, for victory and comforte of theyr Captayne, whome they had prouoked to fighte.

Nature and Countrey forgotten.

Twvo Eagles. A token before the fight.

The vehemẽcie of Souldioures.

The ſlaughter and the fightes were great.

The bodyes were borne away, and other were put in theyr places to ſerue the former rankes.

The Captaynes riding aboute, and beholding euery where, encouraged them to be valiante. They comforted them that toke paynes, to continue ſtill their laboure. Thoſe that ſhrunke they changed, that their boldneſſe that were in the fronte, myght bée continued. At length the Souldyoures of *Cæſar*, eyther for feare of famine, or for *Cæſars* felicitie (for *Brutus* men were not to be blamed) ouercame the battell of their enimies, and putte them backe, as an heape of an heauie maſſe, yet they turned agayne into theyr places ſlowly and wyth order:

but when their ray was broken, they went away faster, and the second and third bande turned wyth them, and disordredly thrusting one vpon another, were broken of themselues, and of theyr enimies, that withoute stay pursued them, tyll they fledde euidently. And *Cæsars* Souldyoures then remembryng theyr promise chiefly, fiercely followyng them, gaue an assaulte vppon theyr Campe very daungerously, and on euery side so sette vppon them, that they compelled them to flée, whereof some wente towarde the Sea, and the hylles by the floude *Zygato*.

Brutus men distressed.

Thys alteration béeyng made, the Generalles diuided the rest of the laboure. *Cæsar*, to kéepe them that fledde from theyr Campe, and to holde the Campe hymselfe: *Antony*, to followe the fleers, and to ouerthrowe the remainers, to assaulte their other Campes, and wyth euident violence, to putte all to ruyne. And fearing that the Captaynes myghte escape hym, and gather another armye, he sente hys Horsemen to the wayes and issues of the fielde, to stoppe them that fledde. Some wente from hyll to hyll (*Rascus* the Captayne béeyng theyr guyde, bycause of hys experience in the way) and passed by the trenches and rocky places, chacing them that fledde, and kéeping other from fléeyng. Some followed *Brutus* hymselfe. When *Lucinius* sawe them so fast running after hym, he stayde, and as though he had bin *Brutus*, prayed them he myghte be ledde to *Antonie*, and not to *Cæsar*, by the whiche he was the rather thoughte to be *Brutus*, in auoydyng hys vnplacable enimie.

Lucinius acte for to saue *Brutus*.

Antony vnderstandyng hée was broughte to hym, wente towarde hym in good order, considering the fortune, the worthynesse and vertue of the man, and howe he myght vse hym. Béeyng at hande, *Lucius* méetyng wyth hym verye boldly, 'sayde: *Brutus* is not taken, neyther shall vertue euer be taken 'of vice. I deceyuing these men, thus am before thée.

Boldnesse of *Lucius*.

At the whiche worde the Horsemen béeyng ashamed, *Antony* to comfort them sayde:

'You haue hunted none euill game, but better than you 'thynke, so muche is a Friende better than an Enimie,

and

and committed *Lucinius* to wayte vpon one of his friends, and after vsed hym as hys assured. *Brutus* fledde to the mountaynes with a conuenient multitude, that in the night he might returne to hys campe or take hys way by the sea. But when he hearde all passages were kepte, hée continued with all his people in armes. And they say hée loked vp to the Starres, saying: O *Iupiter* thou knowest who is the cause of these euils, meaning *Antonie*, which (they say) *Antonie* after in his priuate perils did confesse, saying: That where he might haue ruled with *Brutus* & *Cassius*, he was now a slaue to *Octauio*. That night *Antonie* continued in armes, that he might haue *Brutus*, makyng a trench of dead bodies and of the baggage brought togither. *Cæsar* labouring till midnight, withdrew himselfe for sickneſſe, committyng the charge of the army to *Norbanus*.

Brutus vvordes, meanyng by *Antonie*, vvhom he sayde should once be punished for it.

Antonies repentance.

A trenche of dead bodies.

Brutus perceiuing what wayte his enimies made for him, and hauing no more but foure legions, wherewith he was wel warded, desired the chiefe of his host, whiche now were ashamed and repented of their act, to sende to sée, how they might make way to passe the traynes, and to recouer their owne that was kept in the abãdoned tentes. They being vnwilling, and now considering more than they did, and that God was agaynst them, tolde their Generall they had giuen him euill counsell, and they hauing tried fortune so oft, woulde not now put any more hope in their matter. Then *Brutus* sayde to his friendes: I am no longer profitable to my Countrey. Hée called one of his moste trusty friendes, named *Strato* of *Epiro*, and wylled hym to kyll hym out of hande, who entreatyng hym to take better aduice, called one of hys seruauntes, and sayde: O *Brutus*, in thy laste commaundement thou shalte not wante, neyther thy friende nor thy seruaunt. And hauyng thus sayde, hée thruste hys sworde into *Brutus* side, neyther resistyng nor helpyng.

Brutus men gyueth ouer.

Strato.

Brutus beyng persuaded to flee, sayde: yea, but vvith hands not vvith feete.

The death of *Brutus*, vvherin is vvas seene that vertue vvas ouercome of *Fortune*. he saying, O vertue vnhappy, in vvordes onely, vvise, &c.

One onely fault of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* died, moste noble and worthy *Romanes*, and but for one facte, euer folowed vertue. Whome *Caius Cæsar* of enimies takyng *Pompeyus* part, hath made frendes, and of friendes, vsed them as his chyldren: and the Senate had them euer in greate regarde, and pitied their chaunce, and for

The vvorthinesse of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

their two sykes, decréed an acte of oblivion of all thynges: and when they fledde, sente them to prouinces, that they shoulde not seeme to flée: Not omittyng yet the honour of *Cæsar*, nor forgettyng hys feates, of whose vertue and fortune they maruelled, beyng aliue, and when hée was dead, buryed him with publique expence, and proclaymed hys workes to bée immortal, & apoynted offices & prouinces for ỹ most part by his assignement, not findyng any thyng better than *Cæsar* had determined.

The estimation of *Brutus* and *Cassius* brought calumniation.

But the care and regard for these men, brought them into a suspition of false accusation: they were so honored of al men. And of the best of the banyshed men they were thought most honorable, though *Pompey* were at hande, whose cause was not vnpardonable, and they farre off, and voyde of reconciliation, néedyng many thynges, scarsly hauing two legions. They gathered after twentie legions, and as many thousand horsemen, and about two hundred long shippes, with other sufficient furniture, and money moste plentifull, of the willyng and vnwillyng nations and Cities that they ouercame, and their enimies of the contrary faction. They hadde the rule of all the Realmes from *Macedonia* to *Euphrates*, and whome soeuer they ouercame, they brought them to their societie, and hadde them moste trusty: they vsed Kings and Princes, and the *Parthians*, although their enimies, in matters of small accompt: but when they came to greate thynges, they coulde not abide them, because they woulde not accustome a barbarous and hostile nation among the *Romanes*. And moste maruell of all it is, that their army beyng the moste parte of *Caius Cæsars*, and desirous of his felicitie, for good will and affection, they coulde turne to the contrary parte to him, being killers of him, and wente with them agaynst *Cæsars* Sonne, and more faythfull to them than to *Antony*, fellow in rule and enterprise with *Octauian*. For none of them lefte *Brutus* or *Cassius* when they were ouercome. But *Antonie*, at *Brunduse* they forsoke before the triall. The pretence of paynes bothe vnder *Pompey* and nowe, was not for themselues, but for the name of the peoples gouernment, ouer glorious, but not commodious. For bothe of them when they

The pardone in the vse of barbarous princes.

The Souldiours trayned vnder *Cæsar*, were trusty to *Brutus*.

The Souldiours more trusty to *Brutus* and *Cassius* than to *Antony*.

The power of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

they sawe they coulde bée no longer profitable to their countrey, dispatched themselues alike. In their seuerall considerations *Cassius* was immutable, as they that in the combattes will neuer gyue ouer, onely hauyng regarde to the daunger. But *Brutus* in euery place was full of affabilitie and gentlenesse, and not ignoraunt of Philosophy. Yet by these men, the acte agaynst *Cæsar* was done, contrary in all thyng, beyng no simple worke, nor in no small matter, for it was agaynst their frende, contrary to reason, and agaynst their well doer, vnthankfully, whome hée had saued in the warre, and agaynst the chiefe ruler, iniustly in the Senate house, and agaynst an holy man, hauyng on an holy vesture: and suche an officer, as neuer was the lyke, so profitable to all menne and to his countrie and Empire. The whiche God did punishe in them, and many times gaue tokens of it. For when *Cassius* was purgyng his hoste, the Sergeant put on the crowne the wrong way, and hys golden consecrate vesture of victory fell to the grounde, many greate byrdes sitting vpon the campe, made no noyse, and swarmes of Bées were continually aboute him.

Maners of *Cassius*.

Maners of *Brutus*.

Theyr faulte agaynst *Cæsar*.

The vvorthynesse of *Cæsar*.

God punished the death of *Cæsar* in *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Tokens to *Cassius*.

Brutus (they say) celebratyng hys birthe day in *Samo* vpon the sea, beyng nothyng merry aboute it, without occasion did caste forth this verse.

Tokens to *Brutus*.

But me cruel destenie, and *Iulius* sonne doth destroy.

Goyng with his army betwéene *Asia* and *Europa*, and watchyng in the night when lighte sayled, a fearefull shape appeared to hym. Whome hée boldly askyng what man or God hée was, the vision answeared: I am *Brutus*, thyne euill lucke, and at *Philippi* I will appeare agayne vnto thée. And they say he sawe hym there before the laste fight, and when the armie wente out of the campe, an *Ethiopian* mette them, whome as an euill token, they killed.

The vvordes of *Patroclus* vsed by *Brutus*.

The bad Angel of *Brutus*.

In these things also was a diuine worke. That *Cassius* in victorie yet indifferent, gaue ouer all hope without any cause: and *Brutus*, driuen from hys good determinatton of refrayning fighte, fallyng into the handes of them that were forced by famine, hymselfe hauyng plentyfull foode, and shippes at commandement,

VVork of god.

Cassius despayreth too sone.

Brutus is ouerruled.

maundement, and was rather ouercome of hys familiers, than of hys enimies: and where they had fought many fieldes, they neuer had no hurte. Bothe of them were killers of themselues, as they were of *Cæsar*.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* were punished. *Brutus* body beyng founde, *Antonie* cladde it with a purple pall, and when hee had vsed it with fire, hee sente the relikes to hys mother *Seruilia*. *Brutus* army when they hearde hee was dead, sente messengers to *Cæsar* and *Antony*, who were pardoned, and diuided into their armies, beyng aboute .xiiij. M. They yeelded also that kepte the fortes and Tentes, all the whiche were gyuen to *Cæsars* & *Antonies* Souldiours to be spoyled.

The body of *Brutus*.

Seruilia mother of *Brutus*.

Brutus tentes & fortes gyuen to spoyle.

Of the Noble men that were with *Brutus*, some were slayne in the battayle, some offered themselues freely to the Generals: some of purpose continued the fighte to be kylled: as *Lucius Cassius* a brothers Sonne of *Cassius*, and *Cato* his Sonne, who falling many times among their enimies, and being forsaken, toke of hys headpeece, that he mighte be knowne, or notably kylled, or bothe.

L. Cassius.

Cato his sonne.

Labeo knowne for his wisedome, father of that *Labeo* that now is renowned for his knowledge in the lawes, made a graue in his tente, bigge inough for his body, & takyng order for al things with his seruaunts, he signified to his wife and children what he would haue done, and toke the letters to his seruaunts to carry, and taking him by the right hande whom he loued best, and turnyng him as the *Romane* manner was, made him free, and beyng turned he toke him his swoorde & offred his throte, & so to him, his Tent was his graue. *Rascus* the *Thracian* that brought many through the mountaynes, desired a reward, and had it, to saue his brother *Rascopolis*: whereby it may be perceyued, that at the beginning these *Thracians* were not at variance. But bicause two great armies at debate shoulde passe their countries, they diuided the certentie of fortune, that he that wanne, might saue hym that lost. *Portia*, *Brutus* his wife, & sister to *Cato* the yonger, when she heard that they both were dead, being diligently kept of his seruants, toke the fire from the harth, and swalowed the coles.

Labeo.

A tente for a graue.

Policie of brethren.

Portia Brutus wyfe.

The

The other noble men fledde to *Thaso*: some sayled awaye, some gaue themselues with the rest of the army, to *Messala*, *Cornificio*, and *Lucio Bibulo*, men of like authoritie, that they mighte take counsell for themselues to doe for all the rest. Many gaue themselues to *Antony* as he sayled towarde *Thaso*, and all the mony, armoure and plenty of victual, and any other preparation whi- che was great.

Messala, Cornificio and *Bibulo* remnant of this armye.

Thus *Cæsar* and *Antony*, by singular boldenesse, gotte suche a iorney at two fight sa sote, as none had done before themfor no suche, nor so great an army of Romaines, euer came to handes before: not gathered of common Citizens, but of the beste Gentlemen: not ignorant of fighting, but long practised of thē- selues, not of straunge or barbarous nation, but of all one language, and one arte of war, of one strength and exercise, hard to be matched therefore among themselues: none euer shed more boldenesse or fierceneſſe in fight, a token of that, the number of deade men, being equall in bothe fights, and no fewer of theirs that did ouercome. *Cæsars* and *Antonies* souldiours did fulfill their Captaines will, in one day and one worke, chaunging extreame danger of famine, and feare of death, into victuall abundant, into safety stable, & into victory notable. It followed of that fight, that the wise Romaines did prophesie. For the common wealth was chiefly iudged by that feate, and was lyke to haue come to the populare state agayne. And there was no acte of anye suche troubles among themselues, but in the variaunce betweene *Cæsar* and *Antony*, whiche was the laste among the Romains. The things that in the meane tyme were done vnder *Pompey*, after *Brutus*, by them that of *Cassius* and *Brutus* friends fledde hither and thither, retcining the remnaunt of so great preparation, neither were they done with such boldnesse, nor with such forces of men, of Cities, or of Captaynes in their prouinces, for they had no nobilitie, no Senate, nor no glory, as *Brutus* and *Cassius* had.

The mightinesse of the armies.

The fight shewed what would become of *Rome*.

The ende of the fourth booke of Ciuill Dissentions.

¶ The fift Booke of *Appian* of *Alexandria*, of the Ciuill Dissentions of the Romaines.



Antony in loue with *Cleopatra*.

After the deathe of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Octauian* went into *Italy*, and *Antonie* into *Aegipt*, where *Cleopatra* meetyng with him, ouercame him at the firste sight. The which loue, brought them to destruction, and *Aegipt* to vtter ruine. Wherof *Egipt* also shal be a part of this volume, but not so great, as it can giue it ỹ title, bicause many of the ciuill battailes are intermedled with it. For after *Cassius* and *Brutus*, there were lyke Ciuill Dissentions, but wythoute a Generall, that commaunded all as they did, but some leading armies here, and some there, till *Sextus Pompey*, the seconde son of *Pompey* the Greate, being lefte of that faction, was sette vp of *Brutus* friends. *Lepidus* being nowe putte from his dignitie, al the authoritie rested in *Antony* and *Octauian*, the whiche things fell out after this sorte.

Sextus Pompey.

Lepidus depriued

Cassius of *Parma*.

Cassius surnamed of *Parma*, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* wente to battaile, was lefte of them in *Asia*, with an army and a nauy, to gather mony. When *Cassius* was deade, he hauing no such hope in *Brutus*, toke thirtie of the *Rhodian* ships, which he thought to be sufficient, and burned the rest (the holy ones only excepted) that they should not rebel: and with these and his own shippes he departed.

Clodius.

Clodius being sent thither of *Brutus* with thirtene shippes, and fyndyng the *Rhodians* reuolted (for now *Brutus* was also deade) toke away the garrison of three thousande souldiors, and sayled to this *Cassius*. *Torulus* did ioyne with them, hauing many other shippes and mony, which he had gathered at *Rhodes* before they reuolted. To this nauy, as to a thing of power, resorted, all they that had offices in *Asia*, and made legions and souldiours

Torulus.

for

the sea, as wel as they could of seruants and people, of the coũtries & Ilands. There came to them *Cicero*, that was son to *Tullius Cicero*, and diuerse noble Citizens, that were fled from *Thaso*, and by and by there was a great army, with a sufficiẽt nauy of good Captaines, taking with them *Lepidus* also, with an other band, whiche he kept for *Brutus* at *Creta*. And with these forces they sailed to *Murcus* and *Oenobarbus* into the gulfe of *Ionia*, where diuiding themselues, part went into *Sicelie* to *Sextus Pompey*, and part remained with *Oenobarbus*, for priuate faction: and thus of the remnants of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a newe armye was made.

Cicero the yonger.
Thassus an Iland in the *Aegian* sea.
Murcus
Aenobarbus.

Octauian and *Antonie* sacrificed for the victorie at *Philippi*, and gaue thankes to their souldiors. And to performe their promise, *Octauian* went into *Italy*, to distribute lande to the souldiors, which he did chose for his health. And *Antony* wẽt among the nations beyond the seas, and gathered mony for his souldiours, and diuided betwene them, the lands þ *Lepidus* had. Frãce beyonde the Alpes, *Octauian* woulde haue frée, according to the determination of the decrée of his vncle *Cæsar*.

Octauian goeth into *Italy*.
Antony goeth beyond the sea.

Lepidus was accused to fauour *Pompeys* part, which if it were founde false, *Octauian*, determined to giue hym other Prouinces. They licenced the old souldiors except eight thousand, which desiring to serue still, they diuided betwéne thẽ, & of them apointed bandes for their bodies. To these there were added eleuen legions that wente from *Brutus*, and .xiiij. thousande horse, of the whiche *Antony* toke for hys iorney fiue legions and tenne thousande horse. *Octauian* had foure thousande horse, and fiue legions, and for those that *Antony* had, he shoulde receiue of *Antonies* out of *Calenus*, whiche he lefte in *Italy*, and so sayled to the *Ionian* sea. Whẽ *Antony* was come to *Ephesus*, he made solemne sacrifices to the Gods, and forgaue the souldiors of *Cassius*, that were in Sanctuarie, and asked pardon, *Petronius* being except, & as many as had conspired *Cæsars* death, & *Quintus* that betrayed *Dolobella* to *Cassius* at *Laodicea*: & to the *Grecians* and other nations that inhabit about *Pergamo* in *Asia*, in a great assembly of Ambassadors that came for peace, he spake in this wise:

Lepidus accused.

Ephesus, nowe *Fulgeso*, a cittye of *Ionia*, where was the goodly Temple buylded of Amazõs.
Antony pardoneth.
Pergama a cittie in *Asia*, not far from the flonde *Carie*.
Troy was called by this name.
Laodicea, a citie in *Asia*, whose citizen *Zeno*, *Antonie* and *Augustus* made a king.

Antony to the Grecians.

"You men of *Grecia*, your kyng *Attalus*, by testament bequeathed you vnto vs, whome you founde more beneficiall vnto you, than *Attalus* was, for we forgaue you the Tributes that you payd to *Attalus*, tyll wee had nede of Tributes, bycause of them that troubled our peace. Then we sette Tributes vpon you, not accordyng to euery mans value, that we myghte exact it without perill, but required you to pay a portion yearely, that wee myghte bee partakers of youre yearely fruites, and feele youre losse in harde times. And when the Bayliffes (requiring more than they ought) dyd you iniurie, *C. Cæsar* forgaue you the thirde parte of youre Tributes, and forbadde that iniurie to be done to you hereafter, for he committed to you the gathering of the Tributes of youre Countrey people. And our good Citizens call such a man as he was, a Tyrant: and you haue giuen them much money that were kyllers of the man, that most deserued of you, and that against vs, that reuenged hys quarrell. But forasmuch as Fortune, fauouring the iust cause, hath decréed, not as you woulde, but as ryght was, if you had continued in armes as their fellowes, you had bin punishable, but bycause we doe easily beléeue, that you did it by compulsion, we forgiue you the greater punishment: only we haue néede of your money, your land, & Cities, to pay our armyes, whiche be eyghte and twenty Legions, which wt their appertenãces maketh 170. thousand, beside Horsemen, & other remnant of the common sort. Of this multitude you may wel coniecture, what charge we be at. *Octauian* is gone into *Italy*, to diuide lands and Cities vnto them, and as I myght say, to bid *Italy* be packing. But ỳ you should not leaue your Cities & Countrey houses, your temples and religions, and youre auncestors monuments, we onely require your money, and not all, for ỳ you could not beare, but a meane part, which when you beare, I thinke you wil goe contẽted away. As much as you gaue our enimies in two yeares (whiche was ten yeares tribute) so much wil we require, sauing ỳ it must be paid in one yeare, bycause necessitie so exacteth. You may acknowledge thãkes, & confesse that you are not punished as you haue deserued." Thus he spake to please ỳ souldiors, to whom they promised rewards at their méeting at *Modena*, & then they were xl. legions, so many of thẽ were

Cæsars benefites to the Grecians.

consu-

cõsumed. He had not fully ended his tale, whẽ ẏ *Grecians*, fate vpõ ẏ ground, w̃ many demonstratiõs accusing ẏ crueltie of *Brutus* & *Cassius*, shewing they wer rather worthy part õ thã punishment.

Tributes put vpon the *Grecians* by *Antony*.

They would gladye giue to their friends, but they were bereft all of their enimies, to whom they had giuen not only theyr monies, but when that fayled, their iewels and ornaments, which they coyned of themselues. At length, with much ado, they obtayned to paye nine yeares Tribute in two yeares.

As he went about the prouinces, *Lucius* brother to *Cassius*, and other fearing themselues, when they hadde harde of his mercye shewed at *Ephesus*, they came and submitted themselues to him, and he pardoned them, except such as were priuie to the conspiracie, for to them he was inexorable. He did comfort the cities ẏ were grieuously oppressed, and gaue priuiledges to the *Lycians*, and exhorted the *Xanthians* to restore their Citie. He gaue to the *Rodians*, *Andrus*, *Tenus*, *Naxus* and *Mindus*, which shortly after he toke from them, bycause of their sharpe gouernement.

Lucius Cassius is pardoned of *Antony*.

Priuileges giuẽ to the *Lycians*, & *Xanthians* exhorted to restore their cities. Ilands giuen to the *Rhodians*. called *Clades* nigh to *Eubœa*. Ilands giuen to the *Athenienses*. *Aegina*, sometime *Aenone* vvhere children vvel brought vp proued euill. *Gallogrecia* is in *Asia* the lesse the people be called *Gallace*. *Celestina*, that part of *Syria* that is next *Arabia*. *Eturea*, is the playne of the countrey. *Antony* partiall. *Sinna* preferred of affection. *Cleopatra* accused. *Cleopatra* excuseth hir selfe.

He graunted the *Tarsentans* and *Laodiceans* libertie, and made frẽ al the Citizens of *Tarsus*, that had bin taken with priuiledge: he receiued the *Athenienses* very gently, & gaue thẽ *Tenus*, *Aegina*, *Icon*, *Ceam*, *Sciathus* & *Peparetis*. Then going through *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Gallogrecia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Celestria*, *Palestia*, *Iturea*, and other prouinces of *Syria*, he put gret Tributs vpon thẽ. He toke vp matters of controuersie of princes and Cities, euen as hee wold himselfe. And wher the controuersie for *Cappadocia*, was betwẽne *Sisinna* and *Ariarathes*, he preferred *Sisinna* for *Glaphyra* his fayre mothers sake. In *Syria* he deliuered the townes of Tirannes. In *Cilicia* he accused *Cleopatra*, bycause she did not helpe *Cæsar* in his wars. She did not so much excuse hir selfe, as boaste that she had sent foure legions to *Dolobella*, at the beginning of ẏ war, & hauing prepared a Nauy, was letted by tempestes, and by the chaunce of *Dolobella* that was sooner ouercome than she loked for: and that notwithstanding, *Cassius* twice threatning hyr, she contemned him, and *Murcus* also, and with a riche Nauy, sayled into the *Ionian* sea, & there beside other losses, fel sicke. Wherfore she returned no more to the sea, after the victorie was won.

Then *Antonie* being caughte in minde with the sight of hir, hée began to loue hir, like a yong man, though he were fourty yéeres of age, his nature (as it séemeth) euer being pliant to that thing: and before, he hadde a minde to hir, when he was a Captaine of horsemen at *Alexandria*, vnder *Gabinius*.

Antony in loue.

Now leauing his wonted diligence, hée did all things as *Cleopatra* woulde haue him, without respecte of God or mannes lawe. In so much, as he sente Souldiours to kill *Arsinoe* hir sister, that was fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, crying for mercy: and commaunded the *Tyrians* to deliuer *Serapion*, Captaine of *Cypres*, to *Cleopatra*, being fledde for safetie to *Tyrus*. Likewise he commaunded the *Arcadians* to doe with an other fugitiue, bicause he toke vppon him the person of *Ptolomeus*, *Cleopatras* brother, being ouercome in *Nilus* of *Cæsar*, and neuer séene after. He also commaunded *Megabysus* a Priéste of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, to bée deliuered, bicause he receyued *Arsinoe* as a Quéene: but when the *Ephesians* made sute to *Cleopatra* for him, he let him goe: so sone was he changed. This affection was the beginning of his troubles, and ende of his life. When *Cleopatra* was gone home, he sent his horsemen to spoyle the *Palmirians*, a Cittie not farre from *Euphrates*, a lighte offence beeing obiected to them, for a fashion, bicause dwelling in the confines of the *Romanes*, and the *Parthians*, they séemed to bee of doubtful faith, for they were merchants, and brought and fetched the wares of *India* and *Perside*, to the *Romanes*: but in very déede it was to enrich his horsemen. And when the *Palmirians* had vnderstanding of it, they conueyed away their goods, and garded them with Archers, wherin they excelled. The horsemen finding the Cittie voyde, went away emptie and vnhurtfull. Of thys occasion the warres of *Parthia* séemed to ryse, many of the tyrannes of the countreye of *Syria* resorting to them. For this countrey (till *Antiochus* the good, and his sonne) was vnder Kings, successoures of *Seleucus*: but being brought into the forme of a prouince, they had *Scaurus* their Président, to whome the Senate sent other successours, and among them, *Gabinius*, which made warre vpon the *Alexandrians*. *Crassus* succéeded *Gabinius*, which was after slayne of the *Parthians*.

Antony made cruel by *Cleopatra*.

Tyrus, sometime an Iland after ioyned to the land by *Alexander*.

The king of *Aegipt* deade & neuer founde.

The lightnesse of *Antony*.

The state of *Syria*.

Scaurus.
Gabinius.
Crassus.

Parthians. But after the death of *Cæsar*, and sedition ryling, euery City was holden by an vsurper, the *Parthians* helping them. And nowe hadde they entred *Syria*, (*Crassus* being deade) one alluring another: from whence *Antonie* droue them away, and made them flée to the *Parthians*. Which being done, he put tributes vpon the people, and did not pacifie the prouince after the commotion of the *Palmirians*, but diuided his armye into wintering places. He went to *Cleopatra* into *Egipt*, of whome being princely receyued, he taried the Winter with hir, lyke a priuate man in another mans kingdome, eyther to shewe, that the rule perteyned not to him: or to be the more fitte to frequent the feastful daies of the Winter. And leauing all cares of a Captaine, he put on a *Greekes* robe, and such a garment, as the *Athenienses* and *Egiptians* Priestes do vse. And he resorted onely to temples, scooles, and assemblies of Philosophers, keping company with the *Grecians* that obeyed *Cleopatra*, for whose cause hée had (as hée sayde) made that voyage. *Antony* priuate.

Cæsar Octauian in the meane time fell sicke in his iourney to *Rome*, and verie dangerously at *Brundusio*, where it was sayd, he was deade. Being recouered, he entred the Citie, and deliuered *Antonies* letters to his Captaines, who straygbt commaunded *Calenus* to deliuer two legions to *Octauian*, and wrote into *Africa* to *Sextius*, to deliuer that prouince: both the which were done. Then dyscharging *Lepidus* of his suspition, he committed *Africa* to his gouernement, and solde such goods of the condemned men, as were not yet bought. Going about to place his Souldiors in their dwellings, and to diuide their landes, he founde greate troubles: For, the Soldiors required euery best Citie in *Italie*, as they were chosen before the warre. Contrary, those Cities required, that all *Italy* might be contributarie to this diuision, or the places of dwelling might be apointed by lot. The soldiors also required the valewe of the lands, bycause there was no cõmon pay. Both olde and yong women, and children, assembled togither in the Temples, and publique places, lamenting and complaynting, that they being natiue of *Italy*, should be putte from theyr houses and landes, as prisoners in the warre. The people *Octauian* sicke.

Diuision of *Italy* to the souldiors.

people wepte for these miseries, and moste of all, when they remembred that it was not done for the common wealth, but for the priuate lust of a fewe, the whiche had ouerthrowne the common weale, and now gaue their Souldiours rewardes, that they, by that gifte, should be ready to serue their turnes, and stil kæpe downe the common state. *Cæsar* appeased the Cities, and shewed the cause of necessitie, and that all was not sufficient. And hæ sayth truth, for the neyghbours were oppressed of the soldiours, goyng beyond their boundes, & catching more than was giuen them, & taking euer the best. Neyther were they frayed by *Cæsar* rebukes, nor cõtented with new gifts, for they did now litle force of the princes, who had næde of their helpe, to hold vp their ambition. For now the ende of the fiue yeares approched, & euery one had næde of seuerall helpe to maintayne his Lordship. The Soldiours had næde of them, to kæpe stil that which was giuen them: they had næde of the Souldiours fauour, to confirme their rule. *Cæsar* also comforted the nædy Soldiours with other gifts, borowyng money of Temples, wherby he wonne their hartes, they beyng thankefull to him, as of whome they had receyued their landes and gœdes, and they that were spoyled, crying out vpon him, whiche he suffred for the Soldiours sakes.

Miserie of Italy.

Insatiablenesse of Soldiours

Octauian exclaimed vpon.

Lucius brother to *Antonie* beyng Consull, and his wife *Fuluia*, and *Manius* that had the ouersight of his things in his absence, that this benefite might not sæme to be onely of *Octauian*, nor he haue only the thanke, and the other generall be defrauded of the fauour of the Soldiours, vsed subtill meanes, that the placyng of the inhabitauntes might be deferred till *Antonies* commyng. Whiche when it sæmed vnpossible, for the haste of the Souldiours, they desired of *Octauian*, that they might place *Antonius* Souldiours, although by agreement it was graunted to *Cæsar Octauian* by *Antonie*, whiche they denied to be true. Therefore bryngyng *Fuluia* with *Antonies* litle children to the campe, they besought them instantly, not to suffer *Antonie* to be defrauded of his thankes, and renowne that he had gotten. *Antonies* name was then very glorious among the Soldiours and others, for the victory at *Philippi* was attributed to *Antonie* onely, bycause

Antonies Souldiers placed by his friendes.

Antonie renowmed.

of

of *Cæsars* sickneſſe. Though *Octauian* sawe that couenaunt was broken, yette for *Antonies* sake, hée was content to gyue place. So *Antonies* legions were placed wyth very much licence, that they shoulde not seeme to bée inferiour to the benefite of *Cæsar*. There were other Cities neare to these, whose lands were deuided to the Souldiours, whiche suffered many iniuries of the Souldiours, the Citizens crying to *Octauian*, that diuision of landes was nowe more cruell, than proscriptions of lyfe. For then enimies were punished, now innocentes are plagued. *Cæsar* did well perceyue the iniurie, but coulde not remedie it. For neyther had hée money wherewith to pay the possessours of the lande, neyther could the rewardes of victory be deferred, for the warres that myght ensue, *Pompey* beyng Lorde of the Sea, who caused famine in the Cittie, all victuall beyng kepte away: *Aenobarbus* and *Murcus*, hauyng an other army, and gatheryng an other naue: and the Souldiours the more vnwillyng, except they haue promyse kepte: and the space of fiue yeares was almoste come, so as they muste haue néede of Souldiours, and therefore bare with their insolencie: In so muche, as in the Theatre, a common Souldiour wantyng a proper seate, wente and satte in the place of a Gentleman. The people noted it, and *Cæsar* rayſed hym. The Souldiours were angry at it, and when *Cæsar* came from the passe tyme, they compassed him, and requyred their felow Souldiour, whome they thought to be destroyed. But when hée came, they sayde he came out of prysion, whiche bycause hée denied, they sayde hée was hyred so to say, and was a Traytour to hys company. This rudenesse was vsed in the Theatre.

Oppression of Cities.

Pompey, *Aenobarbus* and *Murcus* Lordes of the sea.

Insolencie of Souldiours.

Theatre the place vvhere they behelde pastyme.

Insolencie of Souldiours.

Beyng called to the diuision into the campe of *Mars*, and comming to it by night, they were angry that *Cæsar* tarried so long. *Nonius* a Capitayne rebuked them, and tolde them their dutie, and put the cause vpon *Cæsars* sickenesse. They called him flatterer, and threwe stones vppon him, and droue him to take a water, out of the whiche they toke hym vp dead, and layde hym in the waye where *Cæsar* shoulde passe, who was monished by hys frendes, not to truste theyr rage: but hée to auoyde

Nonius kylled of the Soldiers.

Vprore of Soldiours.

furder inconuenience by hys absence, wente on, and when hée sawe the dead body of *Nonius*, he went aside. And when the fault was layde vpon a fewe, hée willed them hereafter one to spare another, and so gaue them giftes and distribution of lands, and rewarded some beyonde their owne expectation. Which constancie of hym they so lyked, as they requyred that the kyllers of *Nonius* myghte bée punyshed. Hée sayde, hée knewe them well inough, and was satisfied wyth their confession and conscience: and the reste hée forgaue. By the whyche mercy and liberalitie, beyng prouoked, they made greate shoutes of hys felicitie. These two contempts of the Souldiours among many other, may suffice to be shewed.

Sufferance and liberalitie of *Octauian*.

The cause of thys, were they, that without lawfull authoritie, (as happeth in ciuill warres) takyng vppon them to bé Capitaynes, led these Souldiours, not to serue their countrey, but themselues: not agaynst enimies, but agaynst Citizens. This destroyed the discipline of the *Romanes* warre. The Souldiour, rather desirous to serue for pryuate affection, and the Capytaynes to abuse them for priuate commoditie. Not onely a Souldiour, but whole armies were to bée bought for money. And it was offence to fauour the good, and prayse to aduaunce the euill. So as for lighte causes, whole armies would go from a good and lawfull leader, to a lewde and vsurpyng Captayne: (lyke agréeyng with lyke) the Souldiours toke them for enimies, were they neuer so honest, that their Capitaynes hated. And the Capitaynes, to haue Souldiours at hande, suffred them to committe thyngs abhominable, without al reuerence of lawe and iustice. So nowe all discipline beyng corrupted, they were compted best, that could rayse moste sedition.

Cause of disorder among the Soldiours.

Discipline corrupted.

The Citie in the meane time, was in great penurie, their prouision of corne beyng stopped by *Pompey*. In *Italie*, tillage beyng almost lefte for the continuaunce of warre, and that that there was, being consumed of the Soldiours: and in the Citie, théeues and murderers by night, were vnpunished, for what soeuer was done, was imputed to the Souldiour. The commons shutte vp theyr shoppes, and were withoute officers, whiche woulde not

Penurie and troubles in *Rome*.

seruy

ſerue where theſe was ſuſſred.

But *Lucius*, beyng well affected to the common wealth, and greeued with the power of the three Princes, continuyng longer than the time appoynted, contended with *Cæſar*: for he onely promiſed helpe to the olde poſſeſſioners, making ſupplication to all the officers, & they promiſed their ſeruice to him. Wherby, bothe *Antonies* Soldiours, and *Cæſar* himſelf, accuſed him as an enimy to him, and *Fuluia* alſo, as ſtirrers of warre out of time. But a deuiſe of *Manius* preuayled, which perſuaded *Fuluia*, that if *Italie* were in quiet, *Antony* woulde remayne with *Cleopatra* in *Aegipt*, but if warres were ſtyred, hée woulde come quickly. Then *Fuluia* of a womanniſhe paſſion, incenſed *Lucius*, & when *Cæſar* wente to place the newe inhabitancies, *Antonies* chyldren and *Lucius* wente with them, that *Cæſar* ſhoulde not haue the whole thankes, by goyng alone. *Cæſars* horſemenne ſcoured the coaſte towarde *Sicelie*, that *Pompey* ſhoulde not ſpoyle it. *Lucius* eyther afrayde in déede, or fayning to bée afrayde, that theſe horſemen were ſente agaynſt him and *Antonies* chyldren, wente in haſte to the inhabitauncies of *Antonie*, to gette a garde about him, accuſing *Cæſar*, as vnfaithfull to *Antony*. But he anſwered, that he kept faith & friendſhip with *Antonie*, & that *Lucius* ſought to moue warre, for ỳ he was offended with the rule of thē three, by the which the newe inhabitants might take full poſſeſſion, & that the horſemen were yet in the coaſt, & did their duties. Whē *Antonies* Soldiours vnderſtode this, they made a méeting with him at *Theano*, and were reconciled to him with theſe conditions.

That he ſhuld deuide no lāds but to ſuch as ſerued at *Philippi*.

That the money of the condemned men, & their landes, ſhould be equally diuided among *Antonies* Souldiours.

That hereafter one alone ſhould not leuy men.

That two legiōs of *Antonies* ſhould ſerue *Cæſar* againſt *Pōpey*.

That the *Alpes* towarde *Spaine* ſhoulde be open to them that *Cæſar* ſent, and not be ſhutte by *Aſinius*.

That *Lucius* ſhould put away his garde, and exerciſe his office with quietneſſe.

Theſe were the couenants, whereof onely the two laſt were

Sſ.ij. kept.

Lucius taketh parte vvith the old husbandemen.

Manius counſel.

Fulaia Antonies vvife ſtirreth vvarre.

Begynnyng of ſuſpition.

Teano, a citie in *Via Appia*. An other in *Apulia*.

Conditions betvvene *Cæſar* & *Antonies* ſoldiours.

kepte. And *Saluidienus* passed the *Alpes* spyte of them that kepte them, the rest were defeated. Wherfore *Lucius* went to *Preneste*, affirmyng he was afrayde of *Cæsar* hauyng a garde aboute him, and he none. *Fuluia* also went to *Lepidus*, saying, she was afrayde of hir children, for she trusted him better than *Cæsar*. And they bothe wrote to *Antonie*, certaine frendes carying their letters, that might certifie him of all thyngs, the copies whereof I haue long sought, and can not finde. Then the chiefe of the armies, agréed to take vp thys matter, and affirmed they woulde compell hym that were vnwillyng. They sente for *Lucius* friendes to come to them, whiche they denying to doe, *Cæsar* accused them, as well to the chiefe of the armies, as to the officers of the Cities.

Preneste nowe *Pilestrina* a Citie in *Latio*.

Fuluia fleeth to *Lepidus*.

Then great resorte was made to *Lucius* out of the Citie, beséechyng him to haue compassion of afflicted *Italie*, and take some man, that eyther with him, or with the Capitaynes might make an ende of the matter. And where as *Lucius* had regarde both of them that spake, and also of the thyngs spoken, *Manius* answeared sharpely. That *Antonie* onely gathered money of strange nations, but *Cæsar* did gette mens loue by preuention of the armies and fitte places of *Italy*. For by fraude he had gotten *Fraunce*, which was *Antonies* prouince, and for xviij. cities, that should be giuen to the Souldiours, he ransacked almoste all *Italy*. And also gaue money to foure and thirty legions, not onely to eight and twentie that fought in hys quarrell: and that he had spoyled Temples in pretence of warre agaynst *Pompey*, whiche was not yet begon, for all the greate dearth in the Citie, but in dede to winne the fauour of the Souldiours agaynst *Antonie*, in so muche as the goodes of the attaynted, are not solde before they be giuen to the: but if he séeketh peace, in good fayth, he must make accompt of things he hath done, and hereafter do nothing but by consent of bothe. This was the bolde answeare of *Manius*, that neyther *Cæsar* should doe any thing alone, nor the couenaunts betweene him and *Antonie* remayne firme, that is, that either of them should haue full authoritie in their prouinces, and each confirme others actes.

Great resorte to *Lucius*.

Manius answer sharpe.

Cæsa

Cæsar seeyng that they soughte warre, prepared hymselfe for it, but the two legiõs that wer placed about of *Ancona*, and first serued his father, and after *Antony*, for the loue they bare to them both, sente Ambassadors to *Rome*, to pray them to haue respect to peace. And when *Cæsar* aunswered that he swerued not with *Antony*, but *Lucius* wyth hym, the Embassadors conferring with the officers of *Antonyes* Souldyoures, sente a common Embassage to *Lucius*, requiring hym to be contente to committe hys difference wyth *Cæsar*, to arbitrement, affirmyng they woulde take vppon them, excepte he woulde condiscende. Hauing obteyned their request, *Gabij* was appoynted the place of meeting, in the midde way betweene *Rome* and *Preneste*. There was prepared a seate for the Iudges, and two chayres to shewe the cause. *Cæsar* came firste, and sente Horsemen that way that *Lucius* shoulde come, eyther to see what *Lucius* dyd, or whether there were any traynes layde. They lyghted vpon *Antonyes* Horsemen, whyche came as forerunners of *Lucius*, or to see if all were cleere: they fell to fight, and some were kylled. Wherefore *Lucius* wente backe for feare of treason (as he sayde) and beeing called of the chiefe of the army, promising hym to conduce him safe, he refused. Thus the pacifyers beeyng deceyued, warre was threatned wyth bitter wordes betweene them. *Lucius* hadde fyre legions, of the leuie whiche he toke when he was created Consull, beside eleuen of *Antonyes*, vnder Captayne *Caleno*, and all those in *Italy*.

Souldioures of *Ancona* labour for peace.

Gabij a people, destroyed by *Tarquinius Superbus*.

Meeting at *Gabij*.

A fight by chance.

The daye frustrate.

The warre breaketh.

Lucius power.

Cæsar hadde foure Legions at *Capua*, and certayne bandes for his person.

Caesars power.

Antium was a Citie in *Latio*, very good vpon the Sea.

Saluidienus broughte other fyre Legions out of *Spayne*.

Lucius had money of the prouinces that *Antony* had pacyfyed.

Lanuuium, now *Indonina*.

Cæsar hadde of all them that came vnto hym by lotte, excepte *Sardinia*, whyche was then in warre.

Treasure houses of holy money.

He gote much of Temples, promising to render it with interest, that is, of *Capitolio*, *Antio*, *Lanuuio*, *Nemore*, *Tibure*, in the whyche Cities be treasures at this day of holy money.

Tibure now *Tiuoli*.

Nemore, not farre from *Aritia*.

Out of *Italy* all things were not quiet, for *Pompey*, by resorte of condemned Citizens, and auntient possessioners, was greatly

Pompey increaseth.

increased, both in mighte, and estimation: for they that feared their life, or were spoyled of their goodes, or lyked not the present state, fledde all to hym. And this disagreemente of *Lucius*, augmented hys credite: beside a repayre of yong men, desirous of gayne and seruice, not caring vnder whome they went, bycause they were all *Romanes*, sought vnto him. And among other, hys cause seemed most iust. He was wared riche by bootes of the Sea, and he hadde good store of Shyppes, with their furniture. *Murcus* also brought him two legions, and fiue hundred archers, much money, and fourescore Shippes: and he had another army from *Cephalenia*. Wherefore mē thynke, that if he had then inuaded *Italy*, he might easily haue gotte it, which being afflicted with famine and discord, loked for him. But *Pompey* of ignorance had rather defend his owne, than inuade others, till so he was ouercome also. In *Affrica Sextius* the Lieutenant to *Antony*, beyng lately commaunded to deliuer his charge to *Fagion Cæsars* Lieutenant, and sent againe to take it from *Fagio*, who would not deliuer it, but made warre, hauing a bande of discharged Souldyoures, and a number of *Africanes*, and the helpe of the Princes there. And when *Fagio* was ouercome in both wings of his battell, and also lost his Campe, thinking it had come by treason, killed himselfe, and so *Sextius* once agayne was Lord of both prouinces of *Affrica*. *Bocchus* King of the *Mauritians*, at the persuasion of *Lucius*, made warre vpon *Carinas*, Gouernour of *Spayne* for *Cæsar*. And *Aenobarbus* with lxx. Shippes, and two legions, and a band of archers and venturers, scouring the sea of *Ionia*, destroyed the regions that accepted the rule of the thrée men. And being come to *Brundusse*, he partly toke the Gallyes of *Cæsar*, and partly burned them, and driuing the *Brundusians* within their wall, spoiled the lands. *Cæsar* sent a legion thither, and willed *Saluidienus* to come out of *Spayne*. And throughout *Italy* men were mustered in hast, as well of *Cæsars* Captaynes, as of *Antonyes*, for *Lucius*. Dyuers fightes there was betwéne them both, in iust battell, and in ambushmentes. The fauoure of *Italy* was more enclined to *Lucius*, bycause he fought for them against the new inhabitants. Not onely the Cities that were giuen in pray, but also all *Italy*

Resort to *Pompey*.

Cephalenia, an Ilande in the *Ionian* Sea.

Pompey loseth his occasion.

Honor of *Pompey*.

Sextius.

Fagio.

Fagio killeth himselfe.

Bocchus.

Carinas.

Italy troubled all ouer.

was

was stirred, fearing the lyke calamitie, and reteining *Cæsars* soul-
diours that borowed holy money, and partly kylling them, they
gaue aide to *Lucius*, keping their Cities for him. Contrarywise
the new inhabitants stucke to *Cæsar*, as though eyther laboured
for their owne. In this state, *Cæsar* called the Senatoures and
the Gentlemen, and thus spake vnto them: I know I am con-
temned of *Lucius* faction as a coward, and afrayde of myne owne
weakenesse: and that contempt is increased by your assembly. I
haue a valiant army, both that which he iniureth by hyndering
their possession, and also that which aforetime haue serued vnder
my banner, the rest be as sure, except one meaning. I delighte
not in ciuill warres that be not necessary, nor do thinke to abuse
the Citizens that be left, to destroy one another, chiefly in thys
ciuill motion, the miserie whereof shall not be tolde from *Mace-*
donia or *Thracia*, but shall be seene in *Italy*. The which if it be the
fielde of this warre, what incommodities shall it suffer. This is
the cause why it yketh me to beginne first. And now I protest,
that I neyther quarrell with *Antony*, nor do anye thing why he
should quarrell with me. It is your part, that for your selues you
do remoue *Lucius*, with his abettors, whome I praye you to re-
concile vnto me: but if they continue in their obstinacie, I shall
make it knowen, that I am not slowe for feare, but for conside-
ration. You shall be witnesses not onely to me, but also to *An-*
tony, that I am driuen to this necessitie, by the insolencie of *Lu-*
cius. When *Cæsar* had thus said, they returned in hast to *Preneste*.
Lucius answered only this, that the matter would come to tryall
on both sides shortly, and that *Cæsar* dissembled, who had sente a
legion to *Brunduse*, to stoppe *Antonyes* passage from *Italy*. *Manius*
also shewed *Antonyes* Epistle, false or true I can not tell, whych
willed his estimatiõ to be mainteyned, though it were by warre.
And when the Embassadors of the Senate did demaunde, if any
mã did blemish his estimation, & if they did, they should cõplaine
to ẏ Iudges. *Manius* vsed many threatnings againe, till they wẽt
away without concluſiõ. Yet ẏ Embassadors dyd not shew ẏ an-
swere to *Cæsar*, either bycause he knew it particularly, or bycause
they wer abashed, or for some other cause. Then present war ap-
peered. *Cæsar* made prouisiõ, & left *Lepidus* Gouernor of ẏ citie wᵗ a
garrison

Manius to the Senate.

A letter of *Antonyes* shewed.

No concluſiõ of peace.

Lepidus Gouernoure of the Citie.

garrison of two legions. Many of the noble men of *Rome* resorted to *Lucius*, declaryng that the authoritie of three men did displease them. And thus thys warre followed after thys sort. Two legions of *Lucius* at *Alba* made a tumulte, and droue away their Captaynes, and were readye to reuolte. *Cæsar* and *Lucius* both made hast to them. *Lucius* came fyrste, and wyth many fayre wordes and promises stayde them. *Furnius* broughte hym another army, and *Cæsar* cutte off the tayle of it, and droue *Furnius* to an hyll. He that nyght following wente to *Sentia*, a Citie of hys faction, whome *Cæsar* would not follow for feare of traynes, but the next day besæged the Citie. *Lucius* went to *Rome* wyth al hast, and sent in three bandes by night, he followyng with his armye, where he was receyued of *Nonius* that had the gard of the gate, and toke hys Souldyoures to serue. *Lepidus* escaped, and wente to *Cæsar*. *Lucius* assembled the people, and put them in good hope, that *Cæsar* and *Lepidus* shoulde be punished for their misgouernement, and that hys brother woulde willingly giue ouer his vnlawfull authoritie, and take the Consulship for it, which was an office instituted by theyr auntient fathers. When he had sayd thus muche, the people beeyng glad, and thinking that the three mens authoritie should sone ceasse, saluted hym Generall, which done, he went against *Cæsar*, gathering by the way another host of the plates of *Antonyes* inhabitance, and settled them, beeing well affected to *Antony*: but *Barbatius*, who had bin his treasourer in warre, and was sente from hym in displeasure, tolde the people that *Antony* was angry with them that stycked against *Cæsar*, and the common authoritie. The people beeyng thus abused, forsoke *Lucius*, and wēt to *Cæsar*. *Lucius* now marched against *Saluidienus*, that brought great power out of *France* to *Cæsar*, and *Asinius*, and *Ventidius*, *Antonyes* Captaynes, followed at ỹ tayle, so as he coulde not goe forward. *Agrippa* a man most truely to *Cæsar*, fearing least *Saluidienus* should be cōpassed, toke *Lombardy*, ỹ which place he thought *Lucius* could not spare & that he woulde leaue *Saluidienus*, & come against him, & so mighte *Saluidienus* follow at ỹ taile. And *Agrippa* was not deceiued, for whē *Lucius* saw he was deceiued of his purpose, he repaired to *Asinius*, & *Ventidius*, whereby

Resort to *Lucius*.

Alba Longa.

Mutinie of two legions.

Furnius besieged at *Sentia*, betweene *Campania* and *Vmbria*.

Lucius entreth the Citie.

Lepidus fleeth.

Lucius to the people of *Rome*.

Barbatius.

People forsaketh *Lucius*.

Saluidienus.
Asinius.
Ventidius.
Agrippa.

whereby *Saluidienus* and *Agrippa*, were frée to take what aduãtage they could: whiche, when *Lucius* perceyued, and durste not fight with them both, he went to *Perugia*, a Citie wel defensed, and there encamped, loking for *Ventidius*: but by and by *Cæsar*, *Agrippa* & *Saluidienus* comming vpõ him, he was besieged with thre armies at *Perugia*: and least *Lucius* might escape their hãds, they sent to *Cæsars* other forces, to deteine *Asinius* & *Ventidius*, although they made no great hast, nor approued that warre, nor were sure of *Antonies* minde. Beside, there was emulation betwéne them, eyther of them séeking to be leader of all.

Lucius goeth to Perugia.

Occasion of the hinderaunce of *Lucius*.

Lucius being thus besieged, neyther durste giue battel, being inferiour not only in number, but also in goodnesse of Soldiors, nor departe from thence, so manye being readye to molest him: therfore he sent to *Ventidius* and *Asinius*, by *Manius*, to perswade thẽ to come to helpe hym & thẽ that were besieged. He sent also *Titinius*, with four thousande horse, to spoyle *Cæsars* landes, that thereby he myght call him from the siege, and so haue *Perugia*, frée to winter in, if néede were, til *Ventidius* and his companye myghte come. But *Cæsar* hauing al his power togither, compassed the place, eight miles aboute, bycause of the hills that be there, and made a long trenche to *Tiber*, that nothing shoulde bée brought from thence to *Perugia*. *Lucius* after lyke sorte trenched the rootes of the hilles. *Fuluia*, commaunded *Ventidius* *Asinius*, *Ateius* and *Calenus* to make haste to helpe them that were besieged, and gathered a newe hoste, and sente it by *Plancus* to *Lucius*. Thys *Plancus* by the waye cutte off a legion of *Cæsars*. And whereas *Asinius* and *Ventidius* went very slowly, as vncertaine of *Antonies* wil, yet, for *Fuluia* and *Manius* sake, they came forwarde. *Cæsar* with *Agrippa* went to méete them, leauing sufficient forces at *Perugia*. But they dissenered themselues: the one to *Rauenna*, the other to *Arimeno*, and *Plancus* to *Spoleto*. *Cæsar* leauing agaynst eche of them power to kéepe them from ioyning againe togither, retourned to *Perugia*, and added rampires to the ditches, making the ditches more large, by thirtie foote, both in breadth and déepnesse. He made also the trenches stronger, and ioyned to them .1500. towers of woode .xx. foote assun-

Siege of Perugia.

Cæsar encloseth *Lucius*.

Tiberis springeth aboute *Arezzo*, and goeth thorough *Tuscan* to *Rome*. novv *Tenere*.

Fuluia.

Plancus.

Lucius povver dissenereth them selues.

Rauenna stãdeth at the gulfe of *Venice*.

Arimeno on the side of the *Venetian* Sea

Spoleto in *Vmbria*

Vt. der,

der, so as they serued for bothe turnes, as well to resiste them that came to the Citie, as to keepe them in, that woulde come out of it. In the whych tymes there were manye sallies made out of the city, *Cæsars* men being the better a far off with shot, & *Lucius* more bolde at hand stroks. But whē the work was finyshed, famine toke the city, & encreased daily. For neither ỹ citizēs nor *Lucius*, had made any prouision of victuals. Which, when *Cæsar* vnderstood, he kept thē the straighter. The night before the Calends of January, *Lucius* thinking ỹ feastful time would haue wrought negligēce among the enimies, he gaue an assaulte to ỹ camp, thinking he might haue put in some companions, whiche he had many in diuerse places: but one legion being quickly called of the watch, & *Cæsar* comming with his bands, after a sharp fight, *Lucius* was repulsed. At this time in *Rome*, corn being kept for the vse of the soldiors, the people with tumult & contention, ran into priuate houses, & toke what corne they could. Now *Ventidius* soldiors thinking it a shame, not to helpe *Lucius*, marched forth, and ouerthrew *Cæsars* garisons in euery place: But when *Agrippa* and *Saluidienus* were come with more mē, they turned to *Fulginio*, a castle not far off frō *Perugia*, where being besieged of *Agrippa*, they signified by night to *Lucio*, wt many fiers, where they were. Then it was thought best to try it out by fight. But *Plancus* thought it best to stay, & not to hazard thēselues betwene *Cæsar* and *Agrippa*, which sentence preuayled. They that were besieged at *Perugia*, when they saw the fiers, they were glad, and thought there was some impediment ỹ they came not forward: and when the fire ceassed, they thought they had bin destroyed. Then *Lucius* oppressed with famine, made issues out of the city, from the first watch vntil break of day, on euery side: but being repulsed in euery place, he retired, & perusing the victuals, commanded, that the bondmen shold haue none, & yet to be kept, that they shold not get out to shew the nēd to ỹ enimie. They ran about in Orchards & gardens, & eate grasse & leaues where they could find any: & whē they were pined, *Lucius* put thē into diches, that the enimy shold not perceiue any burials, nor the Citty be infected with the sauors. But no end being of hunger nor death, thy

Sallies out of the cittye.

Famine in *Perusia*.

Calendes be the firste daye of the moneth.

Ianuarie, is the firste moneth of the yeare.

Lucius assayleth the campe.

Tumulte in *Rome* for corne.

Ventidius.

Fulginio.

Plancus counsel.

Extremitie of famine.

Misery of slaues

the soldiors being weary, desired *Lucius* to sally out again, & they would breake the contrary trench. Whose feruentnesse when *Lucius* saw, he said: Of late we did not fighte so valiauntly as we might haue done, now therfore yéelde, or fight to death. Euerye man consented. Therfore that the night shoulde giue none occasion to cowardnesse, they desired they might go to it in the daye: and so *Lucius* led them forth, at breake of day, with many scales and engins of yron and other, to fill the ditches and climbe the trenches, and wyth all kind of weapons to throw. Thus they issued with great violence, and filed the ditches withoute stoppe, and casting their engins to the wall, some did beate downe the trenche: some set vp their scales, and some assaulted the toures, and without all respect of death fought it out, notwithstanding the great resistaunce that was made with the shotte on the contrary parte. This fight was in diuers places, so as the defence was the weaker. The fight was fierce vpon the bridge which they passed, and also scaled the rampire, and were like to haue done some desperate feate, except the most valiãt of *Cæsars* host, had with like courage come to the resistãce, euer being relieued with fresh men: & the other at length being tyred, were thrown from the trench, and their engins broke, and yet they stucke to it without shrinking, though strength and voice fayled them. Yet not being able to resist, and ashamed to giue place, they abode it, til *Lucius* did blow the retreat, at the which, when *Cæsars* souldiours did make great token of gladnesse, *Lucius* men stroken with shame, toke their scales again, and approched the wal: but not able to do any good, *Lucius* againe did cal them backe, ỳ they shoulde not casse away their liues in vaine. Then with heauye harts and against their wils they retired.

Lucius to hys souldiors.

Assaulte of the Trenche.

The fiercenesse of the fyght.

Lucius repulsed.

This was the end of this sharpe assaulte. *Cæsar* then appointed souldioures to warde at the trenche, and at a token, to leape vppe to the wall, whyche they dydde, thoughe they hadde none occasion, exercising themselues, and discouraging their foes. *Lucius* Souldioures remained sadde, and the wards were negligentlye kepte, so as diuers fledde into the Campe not onely of the common sorte, but also some Capitaynes. *Lucius*

was inclined to peace, pitying the multitude that perished, one thing hindred it, that *Cæsars* enimies were afraid of themselues, but whē it was heard that he vsed the fugitiues gētly, and that he was desirous of no mans death, thē *Lucius* thought it expedient, without anye further respect, to seeke peace. And least the people wouloe deliuer hym for all, he thoughte he would proue their mindes, and thus saide:

Lucius enclined to peace.

Lucius to the besieged.

My desire and intent was (O souldiour fellowes) to haue reduced the common wealth, to that state ẏ our ancestors left it, bycause I sawe the office of the three men tourned into Tirannye, and not amended after the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by whome they made their pretence of warre. For *Lepidus* being remoued from their Collegeship, & *Antony* occupyed in far parts, this man alone dothe here what he listeth: the lawes be onely pretences, and shades. I seeking remedye for these incommodities and minding to haue restored the commō wealth, I required that the souldiors, hauing their due rewardes, the power of one might haue bin abolished, which bicause I coulde not do, I went about to doe it by force and power. Then thys man accused me to the army, as one that pitied the antiēt inhabitance: of the which accusation being ignorant, & not beleeuing it when I hearde of it, bycause I was sure you receyued landes by my diuision: yet many beleeues that false accusation, and ioyned with him to make warre against vs, which one day they shal find to be done against themselues. For I am witnesse, that you following the better part, haue labored for thē aboue your strength. Yet we be ouercome, not of the enimye, but of hunger, and as it were forsaken of our Captains. It should haue become me to haue abiden the vttermost for my country, & therby in the ende haue had the prayse of my good will: but I can not for you, whose safetie I preferre before my glory. Therfore I will send Ambassadors to the victour, and I will require him to punish me only, and let you go, & that he would giue you ẏ forgiuenesse, which I do not aske for my selfe. You being Citizens as he is, & sometime his souldiours, not nowe offending, but hauing a iuste cause of war, be ouercome, not with fight, but with famine,

famine. When he had thus said, he sent by & by three of the officers that were chiefe. The rest of the multitude lamented, either their own case, or the Generalls, which meant well as they did, and seemed to be a friende of the common wealth, and fayne to giue place to extreame necessitye. The Ambassadoures that were sent to *Cæsar*, remembred to him their common country, their common souldiourfare passed, the friendships of the noble men of both sides, the custome of their ancestors abhorring from suche deadly Dissentions, and other things to thys purpose. *Cæsar*, knowing that his enimies hoste consisted in olde and young souldiors, vsed arte, and saide, he pardoned all *Antonies* souldiors, the other he required to submitte to his discretion. Thus he spake openly, but secretly to *Furnio*, he signified he would pardon all, except his priuate enimies: which priuate talk with *Furnius*, they had in suspition, and saide, that war was not made for displeasure, but for common cause, and required *Lucius* either to haue general peace, or martial war. *Lucius* hauing pitie of those noble men that were equall in dignitie with the other, praised them, and saide he woulde sende other Ambassadors to him: and because he thought none so fit as himselfe, he woulde go alone without an Heraulte. When it was tolde *Cæsar* that *Lucius* was comming to him, he went straight to mæte him, and they bothe came in sight, accompanied with their friends, in the habite of a General. Then *Lucius* sending aside all his friends, wente on with two Sergeants, signifying what he meant: and *Cæsar* following that beneuolence, shewed the lyke token of modestie. And when he saw *Lucius* come within his trenche, that so he might shew himselfe to be in his power, he firste wente oute of the Trenche, that *Lucius* might be free to saue himselfe. Thys they dyd outwardly by tokens of courtesy, and when they were come to the ditche, and had saluted eche other, *Lucius* thus bega.

Ambassadors to *Cæsar*.

Cæsars answere

Priuate talke.

Lucius goeth to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar meeteth with *Lucius*.

Lucius to *Cæsar*.

If I had made this warre with straungers, I would haue bin ashamed (O *Cæsar*) to haue bin ouercome, and more ashamed to yelde myselfe: from the whiche ignominie, I woulde easilye haue deliuered my life: But bicause I haue dealt with a Citizen of lyke authoritie, and that for my country, I thinke it no

shame for such a cause to be ouercome of such a manne, which I speake, not that I refuse to suffer any thyng that thou wilt put vpon mée, beyng come to this campe, wythout an Herauld, but to aske pardon for other, iuste and commodious for thyne estate. Whych, that thou mayste vnderstande the more playnly, I wyll separate theyr cause from mine, that after thou shalt vnderstand that I am the onelye cause, thou mayste exercise thine anger vppon me. Thinke not that I will inuey againste thée licentiously, which now were oute of tyme, but wyll onelye tell the truth, which I cannot dissemble.

I toke thys warre agaynste thée, not that I woulde bée a Prince, if I hadde dispatched thée: but that I myghte haue broughte the Common wealth to the rule of the Senate, whyche is nowe taken awaye by the power of thée, as thou thy selfe canste not denye.

For when you begunne it, confessyng it vnlawfull, you sayde it was necessarye for a tyme, *Cassius* and *Brutus* beyng alyue, who coulde not be reconciled vnto you. They being taken awaye, the reste, (if any reste there be) being afraide of you, and takyng armes, not agaynste the Common wealth, and youre tyme beeyng ended, I requyred that the oppressed Senate myghte be restored, not regardyng my brother before my Countrey. For I hoped to haue perswaded him at his retourne, and I made haste to doe it in the tyme of myne office. If thou wouldest haue done so, thou shouldest haue hadde the glorye alone, but bycause I could not perswade thée, I wente to the Cittye, and thought to gette it by strength and force, being a Senatoure, and a Consull.

These were the onelye causes of this warre, not my brother, not *Manius*, not *Fuluia*, nor the landes diuided to the Souldyoures, that wanne the fielde at *Philippis* not the pitie of the olde possessioners cast out of the landes: for by myne authoritie, some were appoynted to landes for my brothers

Legions,

Legions, the olde owners spoyled. But thys calumniation thou
hadest deuise, that thou myghtest putte the faulte of the
warre from thy selfe, to me, and the newe inhabiters. And by
thys arte, wynnyng the heartes of the olde Souldyoures, thou
hast wonne also the victory: for it was persuaded them, that
I woulde putte them out by violence. These deuices were to be
vsed, when thou madest warre agaynste me. Nowe bæyng
Conqueroure, if thou bée an ennimie of thy Countrey, make
mée an enimie also, that coulde not remedie it, bæyng lette
by famyne. And thys I speake frælie, gyuing my selfe (as
I sayde) into thy handes, shewyng what I thought of thée
before, and nowe also, bæyng with thée alone. Thus much
of my selfe.

Now, as concernyng my friendes, and the whole army:
if thou wilte beléeue me, I wyll gyue thée most profitable
councell. Doe not vse them hardly for my cause, and matter:
and séeyng thou arte a man, and subiect to vnstable fortune,
make not thy friendes the slower to venture, for thée, if
they shall sée examples gyuen of thée, nothyng to be hoped,
but to the Conqueroures. And if thou reiect all my councell,
as of thyne enimie, I maye not bée ashamed to craue par-
don of thée, that thou wouldest not exacte punishmente
of my friendes for my faulte or missefortune, but rather
turne all vppon mée, whyche am the cause of all these
troubles: for I haue lefte them behynde me of purpose,
least if I shoulde speake these things in theyr hearyng, I
shoulde séeme to séeke myne owne cause. To thys *Cæsar* aun-
swered.

When I sawe thée come to mée withoute an Heraulde, I
came apace out of my campe, that thou myghtest frælie doe
that myghte bée for thy good. And séeyng thee acknowled-
gyng thy faulte, thou commyttest thy selfe to my po-
wer, I néede not confute the thyngs whyche thou hast obie-
cted a-

ced againſte me firmely, but falſely, hurting mée now as then
dydeſt before. For if thou haddeſt come to make confederation,
thou ſhouldeſt haue come to an angrye Conquerour not with-
out a cauſe. But now, ſéeing without any condition thou giueſt
thy ſelfe, thy friends and army to vs: al anger is taken awaye,
al neceſſitie of truce is cutte off. For nowe I muſte conſ-
der, not ſo much what you haue deſerued, as what is ſéemly for
mée to doe, whyche I haddе rather doe, eyther for Gods
cauſe, for my cauſe, or for thy ſake (O *Lucie*): neither will I de-
ceiue the expectation that thou haſte brought with thée.

Cæſar pardoneth

Thus much do I find in the dayly notes of the Chronicles of
that time, in this matter. ¶ *Cæſar* maruelled at the noble & ſtout
courage of *Lucius*, ioyned with prudence: and *Lucius* maruelled at
the clemencie and quicke briefeneſſe of *Cæſar*: the other gathered
coniecture of their talke, by the countenaunce of them bothe.
Then *Lucius* ſent to the chiefe Captaynes, that they ſhoulde re-
ceiue the watche worde of *Cæſar*. They brought a booke of the
number, for ſo was the manner, as it is now, that when the cap-
taine aſketh the watche worde, he offereth to the Prince a booke
of hys number euery day. Receyuing the watch worde, they did
not leaue the wonted watches, for ſo *Cæſar* commaunded that
they ſhould keepe watche ſeuerally. The nexte day *Cæſar* ſacrifi-
ced, and *Lucius* ſent the hoſte to *Cæſar*, carying their harneſſe, but
going in their common apparel, and a farre off they ſaluted *Cæ-
ſar*, as Generall, and ſtayde legion by legion, as *Cæſar* hadde ap-
pointed: for he deuided the olde legions from the young. When
he hadde ſacrificed, he ſate in the Generals ſeate, and comman-
ded euery one to lay downe their armour, which beeing done, he
commaunded the old ſouldiors to drawe nighe, that he might
reproue their vnkindneſſe, and make them afraide, yet his mea-
ning was knowne well ynough. Then whither it was of pur-
poſe, or of affection, *Cæſars* ſouldioures came oute of theyr pla-
ces, and embraced *Lucius* ſouldiors, and wept, and ſued to *Cæſar*
for them, and they woulde not leaue, but ſtil cryed vppon *Cæſar*,
ſo as there was muche mourning. But *Cæſar* chaunging hys
minde, and appeaſing the multitude, ſaid thus:

The maruell of both Generalls.

Lucius rendereth

A booke of the number of ſoldi-
oures.

Lucius ſouldiours receiue vvatche vvord of *Cæſar*.

Souldiours em-
bracing.

You

you my (fellowe Souldyers) haue alwayes so well serued me, as I can not deny you anything. The yong Souldyers, which I thinke haue serued iustly vnder *Lucius* standerd, I remitte: but those that haue heretofore bin ioyned wyth you in warre, and now be saued by your meane, I woulde aske, what iniurie I haue done them, or what grace denyed them, that they shoulde serue another, and beare armoure against me and you, and themselues? for I suffered all the paynes for diuision of the landes, of the which these were partakers, whose leudenesse nowe, if you will suffer me, I will punish. But they denying that, and cõtinually calling for pardon, I graunt (quoth he) that you demaunde, let them goe free, so as hereafter they agree with you: whyche beyng promised on both partes, thanks were cryed to *Cæsar*, who was contente that some shoulde be lodged in houses. The common sorte he wylled to lye in theyr Campe, where they fyrste were placed, tyll he sente them to wintering. Then sitting in the hygh seate, he called *Lucius*, and the chiefe out of *Perugia*, among whome, were many Senatoures and Gentlemen, all in heauie shape, who beeyng out of the Towne, a garrison entred. When they were come, *Cæsar* toke *Lucius* to hym, the other were committed to hys friendes and officers, beeyng warned to keepe them in honest and secrete custody. The *Perugians* crying for pardon ouer the wall, he commaunded to come without the Senate only, whyche beeyng done, he pardoned them.

Cæsar pardoneth the yong Souldyoures.

Souldyers still crie for pardon.

Pardon.

Romanes appeared, and were well vsed for a time.

Perugians pardoned.

The Senatoures were putte in prison, and after kylled, except *Lucius Aemilius*, who being in *Rome*, when ỳ killers of *Cæsar* were cryed, he thoughte good they shoulde be punished, and the Citie purged. He mynded to haue gyuen the Citie in spoyle to the Souldyoures, but one *Sextius*, a madde fellowe, surnamed *Macedonian*, bycause he hadde serued in *Macedonia*, sette hys owne house on fyre, and threwe himselfe into it, and the wynde beeyng great, blew the fyre ouer all the Citie, and burned it, the temple of *Vulcane* only excepted. Thys was the ende of *Perugia*, an auntient and goodly Citie, for (they say) it was one of the twelue

Captaynes of *Perugia* killed.

Sextius setteth the Citie on fire.

Perugia set on fire.

Antiquitie of *Perugia*.

Au.

It vvas first called *Vibia Colonia*, of *Vibius* a Captayne of the *Acheanes* that first came thither: but the *Cretagines* of *Armenia* did build it, and of a Griffon vvhich they bare in their standerd, called in their language *Perugio*, they called the Citie *Perugia*. *Cæsar* repayred the Citie, and it vvas called *Perugia Augusta*, with this inscription, *Augusto Sacro Perugia restituta*.

twelue Cities, which the *Hetrurians* buylded after their firste comming into *Italy*. Wherefore, after the *Tuscane* fashion, they honor *Iuno*. And after that, they that followed, chose *Vulcane* instead of *Iuno* for their patrone.

The nert day, *Cæsar* made truce with all the armyes, yet some tumultes continued betweene them, til, *Canutius*, and *Flauius*, *Clodius*, *Bithinicus*, and diuers other were slayne, who were deadly enimies of *Cæsar*.

This ende had the sæge of *Perugia*, and the warre that *Lucius* made, which certaynely was very daungerous, and like to haue continued long. For *Asinius*, *Plancus*, *Ventidius*, *Crassus*, *Attieus*, and others of this faction, hadde an army diuided into thirténe partes, with fiue thousande Horsemen, and aboue. All the which, scattered, some to *Brunduſio*, some to *Rauenna*, and some to *Tarento*. Some wente to *Murco*, some to *Aenobarbo*, and some to *Antony* himselfe. *Cæsars* bandes chaced them by land, and *Agrippa* gote two legions from *Plancus*, which were left at *Camerina*. *Fuluia* with hir children fledde to *Putzolo*, and from thence to *Brunduſio*, with thrée thousand horse, which the Captaynes appoynted for hir conduit. At *Brunduſe* she toke Shippe with fiue Gallyes that were sente from *Macedonia*, and *Plancus* went with hir, who for cowardise, had forsaken the rest of his army whiche serued *Ventidius*. *Asinius* entised *Aenobarbus* to *Antonyes* side, whereof they both wrote letters vnto him, and prepared for him agaynste his comming into *Italy*. There were other bandes of *Antonyes* vnder the *Alpes*, wherof *Calenus* was Captayne. *Cæsar* intended to winne them to him, bycause he had *Antony* now in suſpition, that if he were his friend, he would kæpe them for him, if he proued his enimie, he would serue himselfe: and whyleſt he sought a good occasion, *Calenus* dyed. *Cæsar* toke the aduantage, and had the army, for *Fuſius*, *Calenus* sonne, deliuered all for feare. Thus *Cæsar* without any businesse, gote eleuen legions, and most ample prouinces, from the whiche he remoued the old officers, and placed his owne, and went to *Rome*. *Antony* kepte the messengers that were sent from the inhabitancies, eyther bycause of ỹ winter, or bycause he would not haue them repoꝛt his doings.

Lucius army scattered.

Cameria in *Latio*.
Fuluia fleeth.
Putzoli in *Campania*.

Plancus the coyvard.

Cæsar taketh *Antonyes* bands in *Lombardy*.

Antony deteyneth the messengers.

At the beginning of the Spring, he wente from *Alexandria*, came

came to *Thus*, and from thence vnto *Rhodes* into *Asia*, where he heard of the seege of *Perugia*, for the which he blamed his brother and his wife, and most of all *Fuluia*. He founde hys wife at *Athens*, that was fledde from *Brundusium*. His mother *Iulia*, *Pompey* had sente out of *Sicelie*, whither she fledde in company of *Libone*, his father in law, *Satyrninius*, and others of the best sorte that he had, the which assayed to allure *Antony* to *Pompeys* parte against *Cæsar*. *Antony* thanked *Pompey* for sending him hys mother, the which he would requite in time conueniente, and if hee did make warre against *Cæsar*, he would vse his societie, but if *Cæsar* and he continued in agreement, he would reconcile him to *Cæsar*. And this was *Antonyes* answere. *Cæsar* beeyng come to *Rome*, vnderstoode that some were gone to *Athens*, but what answere they had of *Antony*, he could not tell. Then he sought to discredite *Antony*, with the souldyoures, as he that would ioyne with *Pompey*, to put them from their possessions, and that manye were fledde to *Pompey*, but for all that, he could not winne the souldyoures from *Antony*, so greate was the glory that he had gote at *Philippi*. *Cæsar* thought himselfe good ynough for *Antony* & *Pompey* by lãd, for he had aboue 40. legions, but he had no ships, & they had more than 500. with the which, if they would beset the coast of *Italy*, they might soone oppresse it with famine. Therfore of many maydens y were offered him in marriage, he thought to make his best match, & by intent to *Prætende*, that he should cõtract him to *Scribonia*, sister to *Libo*, father in law to *Pompey*, y he might haue a pretence to agree with *Pompey*, if need were. This done, he remoued diuers of *Antonyes* friends from their authoritie, & sent *Lepidus* into *Affrica* with fiue legions of *Antonyes*. Then he called to him *Lucius*, and praised him as kind to his brother, that he would take his faulte vppon himselfe: but he coulde not but thinke vnhonneste in him, that after so great benefite shewed to him, he would not playnely tell his brothers conspiracie.

Antony findeth his vvife.

Pompey sendeth *Iulia*, *Antonyes* mother to him honourably.

Pompeys friends assayed *Antony*. *Antonyes* answere.

Cæsar discredi-teth *Antony* at *Rome*.

Glorie of *Antony* great.

Marriage for *Cæsar* to serue his turne.

Cæsar to *Lucius*.

To thys *Lucius* answered, I know my sister in lawes ambitious desire to rule, but I toke the commoditie of my brothers armye, to take the rule from you all, and if my brother woulde come nowe to abolishe youre Monarchie, I woulde take hys parte alwayes agaynste thee for my Countreys sake, although priuate-

Lucius to *Cæsar*.

'priuately I am most beholden vnto thée. But if hée will séeke
'companions of hys tyrannie, I will take thy parte against him,
'so thou wilte destroy the Monarchie: for the affection to my
Constancie of Lucius. 'Countrey shall alwayes preuayle more with me, than fauoure
'or kindred.

Cæsar to Lucius. *Cæsar* marueiling at the constancie of *Lucius*, saide, he woulde not vse hym against hys brother, though he would followe him: yet he woulde committe to him the prouince of *Spayne*, and appoynt *Peduceus* and *Luceius* his Lieutenantes.

Lucius is honored of Cæsar with regard. Thus in shewe of honor he sente away *Lucius*, yet secretely commaunded he should be priuily watched.

Sicyone not farre from Corinth. *Antony* leauing his wife sicke at *Scicyone*, toke the Sea with no great army, with a Nauie of two hundred Shippes, whyche he had made in *Asia*.

Aenobarbus goeth to Antony. Whē he vnderstode that *Aenobarbus* came to méete him with a great army, who was suspected not to be trusted of his worde, (for he was one of the condemned men of conspiracie against *Cæsar*, and in battel at *Philippi*, fought against *Cæsar* and *Antony*,) yet he went toward him with fiue good Shippes, that he myghte séeme to truste him, willing the rest to followe after. *Aenobarbus* whē he had sight of him, came forward with al his Nauie. Then was *Plancus* afrayde, and wished him to stay, and firste to trye what he meante, bycause he was to be doubted. *Antony* answered, he had rather dye, being deceyued by truste, than be thoughte to flée for feare. Being come nére, both the Admirals were knowen by their flagges, and sayled one to the other. The Herald of *Antony* standing in the forepart, eyther ignorante that he was not a sure friend, or of a boldnesse of minde, that the inferioure should stoupe to the superioure, commaunded the other to strike saile, whiche they did, and drewe to the side of *Antonyes* Shippe, where they saluted and embraced one another: and the armye of *Aenobarbus* receyued *Antony* for theyr Generall: yet was *Plancus* scarsly assured. And *Antonie* toke *Aenobarbus* into his owne ship, and sayled to *Poloma*, where *Aenobarbus* had his footemen. And there *Aenobarbus* gaue place to *Antonie* in the Generals tent.

Plancus afrayde.

Antony to Plancus.

Poloma.

From

From thence they sayled to *Brunduse*, where was fiue bandes of *Cæsars* in garrison. The *Brundusians* shut the gates to *Aenobarbus* as an auncient enimie, and to *Antonie*, as one that brought an enimie. *Antonie* toke this pretence to be done by *Cæsars* commaundement, and therefore, fortified the narrow parte of earth that ioyned to the Citie, with ditche and trenche. For this citie is almoste an Iland in a porte lyke a cresent, whiche by lande, could not be come vnto, when this cliffe was cutte from it, and the place fortified. *Antonie* also did beset the hauen, which is very great, and all the Ilandes in it, with many Castels that hee made. He sent also into sundry coastes of *Italy*, to take the litte places, and erhorted *Pompey*, also that hee should inuade *Italie*, as much as he coulde. He gladly sent *Menodorus* with a great army .iiij. legions, to gette *Corsica*, which was *Cæsars*, where he toke two legions, beyng amased at this attonement with *Antonie*. *Antonies* Captaynes toke *Sigunto* a citie in *Ausonia*. *Pompey* besieged *Thury* and *Cossentia*, & placed his horsemen in their fieldes. *Cæsar*, troubled in so many places at once, sent *Agrippa* to releue *Ausonia*. He commaunded the Souldiours that were placed, to serue: but they, vnderstandyng that it was done by *Antonies* consent, denied, whiche troubled *Cæsar* moste of all. Yet he wente to *Brunduse* with an other army, and by fayre wordes made the souldiours to go with him, the whiche practised by secrete meanes to reconcile *Cæsar* and *Antonie*. And if *Antonie* woulde not, they woulde sticke to *Cæsar*, who was now sicke at *Canusio*, and had a greater armie than *Antonie*. When he was come to *Brunduse*, he sawe how *Antonie* had cut off the lande from the Towne, hee lay and wayted his aduersaries doyngs. *Antonie* was stronger in munitions, by the meane whereof he sente for his armie out of *Macedonie*, and vsed this policie, to put countrymen by nighte into his shippes, bothe Galleys and other, and to make a shewe of a great army, to come from *Macedonia*, and so began to beate *Brunduse*, whereof *Cæsar* was sory, for he coulde not helpe it. At that euening it was tolde, that *Agrippa* had recouered *Signium*, and that *Pompey* was repulsed from *Thurio*, and that *Cossence* was still besieged: whereat *Antony* was sory. And hearing that

Antony and *Aenobarbus* to *Brunduse*.

Antony is kepte out of *Brunduse*.

Antony besieged *Brunduse*.

Brundusie vvas builded of the *Aetolians*, and after inhabited of *Cretenses*, and at laste made an inhabitaunce of *Rome*: it hath the name of the forme of an Hartes head vvith the horres vvhich the *Messapians* call *Brundusium*, for that shape hath the porte, vvhich is one of the beste of the vvorld.

Antony vseth *Pompeis* helpe.

Pompey sendeth a nauy vvith *Menodorus*, and besiegeth *Cossensa & Thurij*.

The space from *Tiber* to *Beneuento*, vvas called *Ausonia*, by the vvhich name also, *Italie* vvas called.

Cæsar troubled.

Consentia, is yet a Citie, buylded vpō seuē hilles, and thereof gyueth seuen hilles for their armes.

Souldiours practise peace.

Canusio nowe *Canossa*, in *Apulia*.

Antonies policy.

Agrippa recouereth the besieged places.

Thurio vvas a citie builded by *Nicias*, comming from *Athens* not farre from the vvhich *Mamma* is gathered.

Antonies valiantnesse.

Vria ona, in *Calabria*.

Seruilius was comming to *Cæsar* with one thousande and two hundreth horse: he could not stay, but straight frō supper with greate rage, toke his frendes and .iiij. C. horse, and valiantly gaue the onset vpon a M. and v. C. and toke them slæpyng at *Vria*, and brought to *Brunduse*. So great a fame was still of him, for the victory hée gotte at *Philippi*. The garde of his person, would come to *Cæsars* campe, and vpbrayde them, their vnkindnesse to hym that saued them at *Philippi*. Who answeared, that they did but defende themselues. Then they obiected one agaynst an other. The one, that they were excluded from *Brunduse*, and that the armie of *Calenus* was taken from them. The other, that *Brunduse* was besieged, and that the coast was inuaded, and aliance made with *Aenobarbus*, a killer of *Cæsar*, and with *Pompey*, a chief enimie. At length *Cæsars* men opened their minde to *Antonies*, that they followed *Cæsar*, not forgettyng *Antonie*, beyng desirous that they might be reconciled. But if *Antonie* would not relent, they woulde do their vttermost. And this talke had they in *Antonies* campe. Whyles this was a doyng, newes came that *Antonies* wyfe was dead, who coulde not beare hys vnkyndnesse, leauyng hir sicke & not bidding hyr farewell. Hir death was thought very cōmodious for them both. For *Fulsia* was an vnquiet woman, & for ielousie of *Cleopatra*, raysed suche a mortall warre. Yet the matter vexed *Antony*, bicause he was cōpted the occasion of hir death. *L. Cocceius* was frend to thē both. In the Sommer before was sente of *Cæsar* with *Cecinna* to *Antonie* into *Asia*, and *Antonie* sente *Cecinna* home & kept *Cocceius* still. He seekyng occasiō to trie *Antonie*, told him, *Cæsar* had set for him, & desired he might departe, & asked whether hée woulde wryte to *Cæsar* or no, *Antonie* was content hée should departe. But as for wryting (sayde hée) what shoulde we wryte but tauntes one to an other, seyng wée are nowe enimies. And I wrote to hym by *Cecinna*, the copie whereof you shall haue if you wyll. I brought you letters from hym, (sayde *Cocceius*) and enimie you can not take hym, that vsed your brother *Lucius* and your other frendes so well. Why (quoth *Antonie*) hée shutteth me out of *Brunduse*, and hath taken myne armie and prouince that *Calenus* kepte. And where

Obiections of Soldiours on both partes.

Antonies vvyfe dead.

Cocceius talke vvith *Antonies*

hée

hée is good to my frendes, hée hath made them by hys benefites mine enimies. Then *Cocceius* not mindyng further to stirre so angry a man, departed. And when *Cæsar* saw hym, marueling he had tarried so long, sayde, I haue not saued your brother that you should become mine enimie? how cal you (sayd he) your frends enimies, & take frō them their armies & prouinces? wherto *Cæsar* sayd. After the death of *Calenus*, so great a charge ought not to be giuen to so yong a man, as *Calenus* sonne, *Antonie* being absent, & *Lucius*, *Asinius*, & *Aenobarbus* in armes against me. As for *Plācus* legions, I intercepted, that they shoulde not go to *Pompey*, as the horsemen did. These things were tolde otherwise to *Antonie*, (sayde he) yet he beléeued nothing till he was shutte from *Brunduse*. I knewe not of it, sayde *Cæsar*, neyther did I commaunde it: the *Brundusians*, & the garrison that I left, could not abide him, when hée brought with him *Aenobarbus*, a killer of *Cæsar* and a proscribed mā, who after the field at *Philippi*, besæged *Brunduse*, and yet troubleth the coast of *Italie*, burned my shippes, & spoyled the countrey. You haue (sayd he) cōsented one to the other, to make alliance with whom ye wil. Neither haue *Antonie* ioyned with any manqueller more than you haue for regard of your father. *Aenobarbus* is no man killer, neyther any decrée of anger made against him, neither was he priuie to that purpose. And if he be thought vnworthy pardon bicause he was frend to *Brutus*, then must we sée whether al other be not in his case. Cōfederacie is made with *Pompey*, not to hurte you, but if you make warre vpon *Antonie*, to haue his societie, if not, to reconcile hym to you, who is voyde of faulte: but you are in the faulte. For if warre had not bene made in *Italie*, they durste neuer haue sente Embassages, to *Antonie*. *Cæsar* replied, and sayde, that *Enluia*, *Lucius* and *Manius* began the warre in *Italy*. And *Pompey* durst neuer before inuade the coast of *Italy*, but vpon the trust of *Antonie*. Not only trusting vppon *Antonie*, but sente of hym, sayde *Cocceius*, for I will not dissemble, and he shall inuade the reste of *Italie* being voyde of Naue, if you make not peace. *Cæsar* not vnwillyng to heare this diuise, stayde a whyle: *Pompey* shalbe punished, whelynow (quoth he) being already repulsed frō *Thurij*,

Cæsar to Cocceius.

Cæsars vvords of Pompey.

Then

Than *Cocceius* perceyuing all the controuersie, tolde hym that *Fuluia* was dead, for vnkindnesse of *Antonie*, and nowe that shee is gone, there is no way but to vtter one an others greefe without dissimulation. *Cæsar* beyng appeased by this talke, receyued *Cocceius*, who requested him to wryte somewhat to *Antonie*, as the yonger to the elder. He denied to wryte any thing to his enimie, that woulde write nothing to him. He also thought vnkindnesse in *Antonies* mother, that beyng of his house, fledde out of *Italie*, and would not seeke to hym, of whome she might haue obtayned any thing, as of hir Sonne: and to hir hee was content to wryte. When *Cocceius* came forth, many of the Capitaynes declared the mindes of the Souldiours, that except they woulde be reconciled, warre should be made. Which hee tolde *Antonie*, and wished him to countermaund *Pompey* from furder inuasion of *Italie*, and to sende *Aenobarbus* away, till they were agreed. *Iulia* his mother ioyned with *Cocceius*, and prayed hir sonne so to doe. *Antonie* stoode in doubte, for if the peace did not take, he muste desire *Pompeis* helpe agayne, the whiche woulde be a shame for hym: but his mother putting him in comfort, & *Cocceius* seeming to knowe more, *Antony* gaue place, and required *Pompey* to returne into *Sicelie*, and he would keepe promise with him, and sent *Aenobarbus*, with authoritie into *Bythinia*. When ỹ army heard this, they chose messengers that might goe to eyther generall, and cuttyng off al rehearsall of vnkindnesse paste, to requyre thẽ to linke in amitie. For this purpose, of *Cæsars* parte, there was chosen *Mecenas*: and for *Antonie*, *Pollio*: and *Cocceius* was ioyned to them as a frende to bothe. And bycause *Marcellus* was dead, that was husband to *Octauia Cæsars* sister, they required that shee might be made sure to *Antony*, whiche beyng done, all the army, cried, Happy may it bee, continuing their reioyce one whole day & a night. Then *Cæsar* and *Antonie*, once agayne deuided the whole *Romane* Empire, and made *Codropoli*, a Citie of *Slauonia* the boũdes of bothe their partes, bycause it stoode in the ende of the *Adriaticall* sea.

Cæsar is quieted by the talke of *Cocceius*.

Antony in doubt vvhat to doe.

Antony consenteth to peace.

Messengers of reconciliation.

A mariyage praysed for *Antony*.

Crodopolis.

That *Cæsar* should haue al prouinces, and Ilandes westward euen to the mayne Sea.

That

That *Antonie* shoulde haue the lyke Eastwarde, euen to the flood *Euphrates*.

That *Lepidus* should haue *Africa* still, as *Cæsar* had appointed.

That *Cæsar* should make warre vpō *Pompey*, vnlesse other order were taken.

That *Antonie* shoulde make warre vpon the *Parthians*, to reuenge the iniurie done to *Crassus*.

That *Aenobarbus* should be receyued into societie, with these conditions that he had of *Antonie*.

That it should be lawful for both, to leuie men in *Italie*, with like numbers of legions. This peace was solemnelie ratified.

Whervpō they sent away their friends about their affayres. *Antonie* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia*, to repelle the *Parthians*, & yong *Labienus*, who by the help of the *Parthians*, made new commotiōs in *Syria*, as far as *Ionia*, all the which he shewed in the *Parthians* warre. *Pompey*, by his Capitayne *Menodorus*, repulsed *Helenus Cæsars* Lieftenant out of *Sardinia*. Wherfore *Cæsar* would not be reconciled with him. They went to *Rome* togither, and celebrated the mariage. Where *Antonie* put *Manius* to death, bycause hée stirred *Fuluia* to make warre. He accused *Saluidienus* gouernour for *Cæsar*, of the armie at *Rhodanus*, that hée woulde forsake hys maister and cleaue to hym: whereof he wrote letters to hym to *Brunduse*. This was not lyked of all men, declaryng vnconstant dealing in too much séeking of amitie. *Cæsar* called *Saluidienus* vnto him, as about a matter of charges, and to sende him againe to the army, whom when he came, he slew him with reproche, and deliuered his army to *Antonie*, as suspected.

Menedorus dryueth *Helenus* out of *Sardinia*.

Manius is put to death by *Antony*, & *Saluidienus* accused.

Saluidienus killed of *Cæsar*.

In the meane time the cytie was oppressed with famine, for neyther durst the Marchauntes bring any corne from the East bycause of *Pompeis* being in *Sicelie*, nor from the Weast of *Corsica* & *Sardinia*, where *Pompeis* shippes also lay: nor frō *Africa*, where the nauies of the other conspiratours kepte their stations. Being in this distresse, they alleaged, that the discorde of the rulers was the cause, and therefore required that peace might be made with *Pompey*, vnto the whiche when *Cæsar* woulde not agrée, *Antonie* thought warre was needefull for necessitie, and bycause mo-

Famine in *Rome*.

Cæsar will not agree to peace with *Pompey*.

A payment put vpon the people.

ny wãted, a decrée was made by *Antonies* aduise, that euery maister should pay the half of. xx. b. drãmes, for euery slaue ẏ he had, which was determined to haue bene done in the war of *Cassius*, & that somewhat also shoulde be payde of euery mans heritage.

The people resist the decree of *Cæsar* and *Antony*.

The people for the decree of *Cæsar* and *Antony*. The people resist *Cæsar*. VVho buyeth friendship to deere shal smart as *Antony* did.

The people resist the decree of *Cæsar* and *Antony*. The people resist *Cæsar*. VVho buyeth friendship to deere shal smart as *Antony* did. The people refused the decree of *Cæsar* and *Antony*. The people resist *Cæsar*. VVho buyeth friendship to deere shal smart as *Antony* did.

Cæsar, to send him letters of safeconduit to come to treat of peace. which he did, although against his wil. The people also cõpelled *Mutia*, mother to *Pompey*, to go vnto him, threatning els to burne hir, & help to make peace. When *Libo* perceyued how the enimies were inclined, he desired to speake with the Captaines, that they might togither agrée in the couenants, the which the people cõpelled thẽ with much a do, & so *Antonie* & *Cæsar* went to *Baia*. All other persuaded *Pompey* earnestly to peace, only *Menodorus* wrote frõ *Sardinia* that he should make open warre, or dryue off, whyles the dearth continued, that hée might make peace with the better cõditions, & bad him take hæde of *Murcus*, who was a mouer for peace, as one that sought to be in his authoritie. Wherefore *Pompey* put away *Murcus*, and vsed his counsell no more, whome before hée honoured for his worthinesse and wisedome: whereat *Murcus* toke displeasure and wente to *Siracuse*, and to suche as were sent after him to kéepe him, spake openly agaynst *Pompey*, wherewith he beyng angrie killed diuerse of the best aboute *Murcus*, and sent to kill him, and to say that his slaues had done it, whiche beyng done, he hanged certayne of *Murcus* slaues as though they had done it. The whiche craft was not hid, nor the wickednesse that he did against *Bythinius*, a noble man and a valiant warriour, and constant to him from the beginnyng, & his friende in *Spaine*, from whence he came willingly to serue him in *Sicelie*. When he was dead, other men toke in hand to persuade him to peace, & accused *Menodorus* as desirous of his office by sea, not so much caring for his master, as for his owne power. *Pompey* folowyng their counsell, sayled to *Aenaria*, wt many chosen ships, himself being in a gorgious galley with fire ores on a seate, & so did passe *Dicearchia* proudly, towarde the euening, the enimies loking vpon him. The next morning stakes were set in the sea, & bridges made, into one of ẏ which ioyning to the lãd, *Cæsar* came with *Antonie*. *Pompey* and *Libo* entred the other bridge, in such distance, ẏ one could not heare an other, vnlesse they spake alowd. *Pompey* required societie of rule, in place of *Lepidus*. They onely graũted his return to his countrie, then al was dashed. Till oftẽ messages wer sẽt betwéen, offring diuerse cõditiõs on both sides.

Baia was a Citie not farre frõ *Naples*, where the old *Romanes* had great delight.

Menodorus counsel'.

Murcus is put from *Pompey*.

Siracuse, now *Saragosa*, a goodly citie of *Sicelie*.

Murcus and *Bythinius* killed of *Pompey*.

Now *Ischia*.

Dicearchia, now *Puzzolo*, *Puteoli*, an old ruined citie, nearer *Naples* than *Baia*, beyng three myles asunder by lande, to the which *Caligula* made a bridge by the sea, meeting of *Cæsar*, *Antony* and *Pompey*.

Pompey required that such condemned men as were with him for *Cæsars* death, might be safe in exile, & that the other men of honour & proscribed, might be restored to their countrey and goodes. The dearth continuing, & the people vrgyng peace, it was graunted that they should recouer the fourth part of their goodes, as redeeming it of the new possessioners, and wrote of it to the cõdemned men, thinkyng they would accept it, which toke the offer, beyng now afrayde of *Pompey*, for his wickednesse committed agaynst *Murcus*, to whom they went & moued him to agrée. He tore his cloke, as betrayed of them, whom he had defended, and oft called for *Menodorus*, as one expert in matters of state, and onely constant in faith. At length, by the exhortatiõ of *Murcia* his mother, & *Iulia* his wife, they thrée met agayne, vpon an old péere of the sea, beyng wel garded, where they cõcluded with these cõditions.

Pompey in a rage

The conditions of peace, betweene *Antony*, *Cæsar* & *Pompey*.

That peace shoulde be, bothe by sea and lande, and the Merchantes haue frée course.

That *Pompey* should take his garrisons out of *Italie*, & receiue no more fugitiues, nor kéepe no nauies in *Italie*.

That he should rule in *Cicelie*, *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and those other Ilandes that now he had, so long as the rule should be continued to *Antonie* and *Cæsar*.

That he should send to the people of *Rome*, the corne that now was due.

That he should also rule *Peloponesus*, besides the former Iles.

That he should exercise the office of Consul in his absence by his frende, and be admitted to the colledge of the Bishops.

That the noble mẽ that were banished, might returne home, except them that were condemned by publique iudgement of *Cæsars* death.

That they that were fled for feare should be restored to their goodes. And they that were cõdemned, only to the fourth parte.

That the slaues that had serued vnder *Pompey*, shoulde be frée.

That the frée men shoulde haue the same stipendes, that the old Soldiours of *Antonie* and *Cæsar* had.

These were the conditions of peace, whiche beyng written were sent to *Rome*, to be kept of the holy Virgins.

Then

Then they desired the one to banquet the other, and the lotte fell first to *Pompey*, who receiued them in his greate galley, toyned to the peere. *Pompey* banqueteth *Cæsar* and *Antony*, and they him.

The next day, *Cæsar* and *Antony* feasted hym in their Tentes, pitched on that peere, that euery man might eate on the shore, but peraduenture for their more safetie, for the Shippes were at hand, the gard in order, and the guestes with their weapons vnder their clokes. It is sayd, that *Menodorus* when they banqueted in *Pompeys* Shippe, sente one to *Pompey*, to put him in remembrance, that nowe was the time to reuenge his father and brothers death, for he would see that none should scape the Shippe: and that he answered, as became him then for his person and place: *Menodorus* might haue done it without me, it agreeth with *Menodorus* to be periured false, but so may not *Pompey*. *Menodorus* counceil. Answere of *Pompey*.

In that supper, *Pompeys* daughter, wife to *Libo*, was espoused to *Marcellus*, *Antonyes* nephew, sonne to *Cæsars* sister.

The next day, the Consuls were appoynted for foure yeares, first *Antony* and *Libo*, and that *Antony* mighte make a substitute, next *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, then *Aenobarbus*, and *Sosius*, lastly *Cæsar* and *Antony*, thrice Consuls, and as it was hoped, to restore to the people the gouernement of the common wealth. Consuls appoynted.

These things being concluded, they departed, *Pompey* with his Shippes to *Sicelie*, and they by land to *Rome*.

At the newes of this peace, the Citie and all *Italy* made great ioy, by the which, ciuill warre, continuall musters, insolencie of garrisons, running away of slaues, wasting of Countreys, decay of tillage, and aboue all, most greate famine was taken away: therefore, sacrifices were made by the way to the Princes, as to preseruers of the Countrey. The Citie had receyued them with a goodly triumph, hadde not they entred by nighte, bycause they would not charge the Citizens. Onely they were not partakers of the common ioy, that had the possession of the banished mens goodes, who should returne by the league, and be their beatie enimies. Reioyce for peace.

The banished men, a fewe except that went againe with *Pompey*, toke leaue of him at *Puzzolo*, and wente to the Citie, where Banished men returne.

a new ioy was made, for the returne of so many noble men. The *Cæsar* went to pacifye *France*, and *Antonie* to make war on ỳ *Parthians*. And ỳ Senate hauing approued his actes, as wel past as to come, he sent his Captaynes abroade, & did what he would. He appoynted also certaine kings, only such as should pay a tribute. Of *Pontus*, *Darius*, *Pharnaces* sonne, & *Mithridates* nephew. Of the *Idumeans* & *Samaritanes*, *Herode*. Of ỳ *Pisidiãs*, *Amyntas*. Of part of *Cilicia Polemon*, and others of other natiõs. He sente his army that should haue wintered about him, into *Parthiena*, a natiõ of *Illyria*, nigh to *Epidamno*, ỳ sometime entierly loued *Brutus*, that he might acquaint thẽ to gayne & exercise. Another army he set to *Dardanes*, which is a people of *Illyria* also, that was wõt to make rodes in *Macedonia*. Other he cõmaunded to abide at *Epirus*, ỳ he might haue them all about him, intending to winter at *Athens*. He sent *Fusius* into *Affrica*, to leade vj. legions of *Sextius* against the *Parthians*, for he had not yet heard, that *Lepidus* had taken them from *Sextius*. These things being done, he wintered at *Athens* with *Octauia*, as he did at *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*. Only he looked on the letters ỳ came frõ his armies, and leauing ỳ habite of a Generall, vsed ỳ garmẽts of a priuate mã, and without a garde, wẽt in cõpany of two frieds, to heare the lectors & disputations of the Philosophers. His dyet was after the Grecia maner, hauing *Octauia* euer in his cõpany, as one ỳ was fond vpõ womẽ. Winter being ended, he changed his maner & gouernement. He had his officers & Captaines attending at his gates, and all things were done to make feare. The Embassages that were differred, were now heard, audience was giuẽ, ships were prepared, and all full of bu[illegible]. Whil[illegible] *Antony* was thus occupyed, the league betweene *Cæsar* and *Pompey* was broken for some secrete cause, but the open matter was this. *Antony* cõmitted *Morea* to *Pompeym* vpon this condition, that he shoulde pay their debtes, or see them paide, or leaue the matter safe. He toke not the prouince with this cõditiõ, but to haue the coũtrey wỉ the debts. Being greeued at this, of his peruerse nature (as *Cæsar* said) or bycause he enuyed that others should haue greater armies than he, or for that he gaue too much credit to *Menedorus*, that said, it was no peace, but a truce, he repaired other ships, & gathered his Gallies, & made

Antonyes actes allowed by the Senate.

Antony maketh Kings.

Idumei, people betweene *Iudea* and *Arabia*.

Samaria, a regiõ of *Palestina*, besides *Iudea*, *Pamphilia*.

Parthini.

Dardani.

Epirus, now *Comera*, or *Albania*.

Antonyes behauiour at *Athens*.

Change of *Antony*.

Cæsar breaketh with *Pompey*.

The pretence of the breach.

am

an oratiõ to his army, declaring how war must nedes follow, & troubled ẏ sea by rouers, so as little commoditie came to ẏ Citie by that accord: wherfore it was spokẽ openly, that peace was not made for to releeue thẽ of perils, but to adde the fourth to ẏ nũber of Tyrantes encreased. *Cæsar* toke some of the Pyrats, & put thẽ to ẏ torture, to make thẽ confesse, ẏ *Pompey* sent thẽ. *Cæsar* told it to ẏ people, & signifyed it to *Pompey* by letters. *Pompey* excused it, & cõplained of ẏ dealings touching *Peloponnesso*. The noble mẽ that remained with *Pompey*, perceiuing him to be alwayes ruled by thẽ that had bin his bondmẽ, killed some of his frẽmade mẽ, either of thẽselues, or to please *Cæsar*, to kindle him against *Menodorus* hys maister. Thys they did of purpose, for the hate they bare to *Menodorus*. At ẏ time, *Philadelphus*, a frẽmade mã of *Cæsars*, sayled to *Menodorus* for corne: & *Micilio*, a most sure frẽd to *Menodorus*, wẽt to deale with *Cæsar* for him, promising him ẏ rule of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, with three legiõs, & many frẽds. This matter practised either by *Philadelphus*, or for displeasure of *Pompey*, *Cæsar* would not at ẏ first, but at lẽgth accepted it, thinking ẏ peace to be broke in dede, & called *Antony* frõ *Athens*, to *Brunduse* at a certayne daye for this war, and sent for the Gallies frõ *Rauenna*, and ẏ army frõ *Lombardy*, to lye at *Brũdusio* & *Putzolo*, to inuade *Sicelie* on both sides, if *Antony* would agree therunto. *Antony* came at his day, & not finding *Cæsar* there, tarried not, either for ẏ he liked not of ẏ war against ẏ truce, or for ẏ he saw *Cæsar* make great preparatiõ (for both of thẽ were ambitious of rule) or for ẏ he was feared with a token, for one of ẏ watch of his tẽt was deuoured of a Wolfe, al saue ẏ face, as though it shuld be knowẽ who it was, which he was done without any cric or noise. And the *Brundusians* said, they saw a Wolfe runne frõ his pauiliõs by breake of day. Notwithstãding, he wrote to *Cæsar*, not to breake ẏ couenant made, and threatned to take *Menodorus* as his slaue, for he was bond to *Pompey* ẏ great, whose goodes he had bought. *Cæsar* sent his officers to receiue *Sardinia* and *Corsica* of *Menodore*, and fenced ẏ coast of *Italie* with many fortes, that it shuld not be so subiecte to *Pompeys* rouing. Hée commaunded that more Gallyes should be made at *Rauenna* and *Ryme*, and sent for a great army from *Illiria*. *Menodorus* he made a frẽman, and to guide ẏ Nauie that he brought, as Viceadmirall vnder

Quarels against *Pompey*.

Cæsar calleth *Antony* from *Athens*.

Antony cõmeth to *Brunduſio*.
A ſuſpition betvveene *Cæsar* and *Antony*.
A token in *Antonyes* Campe.

Antony to *Cæsar*.

Menodorus is claymed of *Antony*.

Menodorus reuolteth to *Cæsar*, and is made free.

vnder *Caluisius*. He continued leysurely in making preparation, and was angry with *Antony*, that he would not tarrie. With ỹ Nauie prepard at *Rauenna*, he badde *Cornificius* go to *Tarento*. As he wente, a tempest rose, and crushed the chiefe Shippe, wherein *Cæsar* should goe, which was thought an euil token. And wheras the people thought that warre to be made against the truce, *Cæsar* to auoyde that suspition, wrote to the people of *Rome*, and spake to the army, that *Pompey* had broken the league, by sending Pyrats to the Sea, which was playne by the confession of *Menodorus*, and the Pirats themselues. Whereof *Antony* was not ignorant, and therefore would not let him haue *Peloponesus*. Whē he thought himselfe well furnished, he sayled into *Sicelie*, from *Tarent*, *Caluisius*, *Sabinus*, and *Menodorus*, from *Tuscane*, and his armye came by land to *Reggio*, and with great hast all things wer done. And *Pompey* did not knowe that *Menodorus* was fledde, till *Cæsar* was come, and sayled against both the Nauies. Himselfe tarried at *Messina*, and sent *Menecrates* against *Caluisio*, and *Menadoro*, that was a greate enimie of his, being of his condition. He came in sight of the enimie in the euening. They withdrew to ỹ gulfe of *Cuma*, and there rested that nighte. *Menecrates* wente to *Auernia*. In the morning, *Caluisius* Nauie coasted the shore of *Cuma* in the forme of a Cresent, to keepe off the enimie. *Menecrates* came forth, and made spēde against the enimie, whome, bycause he could not drawe into ỹ deepe sea, he set vppō them as they were, and kept thē at the shore, where they defended themselues. He might take the sea when he would, and come againe more fiercely, and change his Shippes at his pleasure, but they coulde not stirre, but keepe them from their aduersaries on the one side, and from their othes on the other side.

Tarentum is a Citie in *Apulia*, which hath a goodly porte twelue miles compasse.

An euill token to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar affirmeth the peace brokē by *Pompey*.

Cæsar into *Sicelie*.

Menecrates with a greate company keeping the sea.

Cuma was a goodly auntient Citie, not farre from *Baie*, now where nothing is left but maruellous ruines.

Menecrates fighteth with *Cæsars* Captaynes.

When *Menodorus*, and *Menecrates* saw one another, they left the rest of their Nauies, and came togither with rage and noyse, and it seemed, that which of them ouercame, should be the conqueroure of the Nauie. Their Shippes with great violence crushed one another, so as ỹ sterne of *Menodorus* shippe was broken, and the pumpe of *Menecrates*. Then grapeling their Shippes togither, they stode fyne. The marriners and souldyoures fought with

The fight betweene *Menedorus* and *Menecrates*.

fought with no lesse courage and foting, than as if they had bin on the land. They shotte, they darted, and threw stones, and dyd cast bridges, to passe from one to another. And bycause *Menedorus* shippe was higher than the other, they dyd the more harme, with lesse payne. Many were killed and hurte. *Menedorus* was stricken through the arme with a dart, the whych was streight pulled out. But *Menecrates* was hurt in the thygh with a forked Spanish arrowe, whych could not be pulled out. And not beyng able any longer to fyght, he exhorted hys company, and lept into the Sea, and then *Menedorus* toke hys Shyppe, and drew it to land, for he could fight no longer. This was the fight on the lefte side of the Nauie. On the right, *Caluisius* chaced certaine shippes of *Menecrates*. *Demochares* a freemade mã of *Pompeys* also, & viceadmirall to *Menecrates*, entred vpon the other shippes of *Caluisius*, whereof he droue some to shore, and some he made to flee, & some he set on fire. When *Caluisius* came from the chace, and sawe hys Nauie scattered and fired, he stayde the one, and quenched the other, and bycause it was night, both they withdrew to their former harborough. This was the end of the first fight by sea, wherein *Pompey* had the better. *Demochares* greuously taking the deathe of *Menecrates*, as a very greate losse, (for *Pompey* euer vsed *Menecrates* and *Menedorus* seruice by sea) leauing al other thyngs, as though not *Menecrates* body, and one shippe hadde bin lost, but the whole Nauie went streight from the broyle to *Sicelie*. *Caluisius* lay still as long as he thought *Demochares* would come against him, but when he saw him gone, he refreshed his ships, and kepte alongst ỹ shore. On the other side, *Cæsar* with a great Nauie frõ *Tarento*, and his army from *Reggio*, mette with *Pompey* at *Messina* with fortie shippes only. His friendes exhorted him to take the occasion of the few Shippes that *Pompey* had, and to sette vppon him before the rest of his Nauie came, but *Cæsar* would not, tyll he was ioyned with *Caluisius*, affyrming it to be a folly to hazard without helpe. When *Demochares* was come to *Messina*, *Pompey* made him and *Apollophanes* his freemade man also, chiefe of the Nauie, in stead of *Menecrates*, and *Menedorus*. When *Cæsar* heard of the losse that *Caluisius* had, he crossed the sea to meete with *Cal-*

Fight by Sea.

Menedorus hurt.

Menecrates drovvned.

Demochares.

Caluisius shippes distressed.

Cæsars and *Pompeys* shevve at *Messina*.

Cæsar refuseth the fight.

Nevv Admirals of *Pompeys* Nauie.

nisius, and as he passed betweene *Stylida* and *Scylla*, *Pompey* set vpon ẏ taile of his Naue, and prouoked ẏ fight by all meanes, but *Cæsar* refused it, either bycause he would not fight in the streights, or bycause he would first find *Caluisius*. He cõmanded all to draw nigh the shore, & to lie at anchor, & to stãd to defence, if any did set vpõ thẽ. But *Demochares* cõming in, & setting two of his ships vpõ one of the other, so droue thẽ togither & vpon ẏ rockes, as many were crushed & perished cowardly. And ẏ like lucke was heere, as was at the fighte of *Cuma*. *Cæsar* lept out of his ship into the shore, and holp to saue thẽ that swamme for their liues, but *Cornificius* & other Captaines without cõmandemẽt, hoysed anchor, & toke the sea, thinking it better to be ouercome fighting, thã to perish foolishly. And *Cornificius* with great boldnes toke the Ammirall that *Demochares* was in, who lept into another. The fighte cõtinuing wyth great losse, *Menodorus* & *Caluisius* were scene cõming, not of *Cæsars* cõpany, who trauelled for their liues, but of *Pompeys* people only, who therfore retired. It was neere night, & they would not match with the Frechmen, they being weery, the which chanced well for the other that were in danger. In the nighte, many forsoke their ships, and went to the mountaines, and made many tokẽs of fire to thẽ that were in the sea, & were all that night without meate, & without rest, wanting all things. *Cæsar* being in like case, went about, & praid thẽ to hold out til the morning. It was not yet knowẽ that *Caluisius* was come, neither was there any help frõ the ships, al being in dãger of drowning, but by another good lucke, the xiij. legion drew nigh by the mountaines, whiche hearing of the losse, resorted to the fires by the rocky places, & found their Generall & thẽ that were with him weery, & wanting all things: then one did help another. And they brought *Cæsar* into an old house, without any of his chamber, being dispersed in that nightes tumult. Whẽ he had sente aboute to shew that he was safe, he vnderstode that *Caluisius* was come, & so being recomforted by two ioyful newes, he toke rest. At breake of day he loked out, & saw his ships, some burned, some halfe burned, and some floting, and some broken. *Caluisius* being come, he caused as much help, and repaire to be made as could be, and the rather, bycause the enimie was gone: but be-

hold,

Scylla is one of the notable rockes of the narrow Sea of *Sicelie*, so named (as they say) of *Scylla*, the daughter of *Phoreus*.

Charybdis, now-e *Galofaro*, is another rocke ouer against, named also as they write, of a greedy woman of that name.

Stylida.

Scylla in the coast of *Sicelie* vnder the hill *Aegpo*, in the continent of *Italy*.

Cæsar refuseth the fight by Sea.

Cæsars Naue hurt.

Cæsar leapeth a shore.

Cornificius.

VVant in *Cæsars* host.

A good lucke to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar in distresse.

hold, a vehement Southwind bleawe, and made a rough sea, so as *Cæsars* ships were againe crushed on the cliffes & rockes, and one against another. *Pompey* was in the port of *Messana*. *Menedrus* fearing the violẽce of the storme, wẽt further into the sea, and many followed his exãple. The other, thinking the storme woulde sone haue ceassed, as is wont in Spring time, kept still about the shore, sauing thẽselues with labour: but the winde waxing greater, all went to wracke, Cabels burst, & ships brake. The estric was so great, that no good aduice could be heard, no difference betweene maister & mariner, no skil nor rule preuailed, all was alike, and so they perished. The ships were slitte, the mẽ were drenched, & they that coulde swimme, were broken at the rockes: and when the flood of that sea came, whiche is wont to be great, the ships were with new rage tossed hither and thither, beating one another, and the wind continuing toward night, made thẽ feare the losse to bee in the darkenesse, and not in the light. Greate lamentation was made, and calling one to another for help, but all in vayne. They that were cast into the sea cryed for help of thẽ in the ships. They that loked for help of thẽ on the land, were crushed at the cliffes. So present death was in euery place, and so great darkenesse, as neyther heauen nor earth coulde be seene, and so euery one loked for death, whiche was more greeuous, than death it selfe. Suddainely the winde ceassed, and the Sunne appeared, the storme hauing bin so great, as the mẽ of that countrey affirmed they had neuer seene the like, the which destroyed the most part of *Cæsars* ships and Souldyoures, who being afflicted with these newe calamities, went to *Vibo* by land with vnpatient minde. He sente for the Captaines from euery place, that no mutinies might bee made, nor trayne layde for him. He appoynted his army by land, to keepe ỳ coast of *Italie*, that *Pompey* being incouraged by this victory, shoulde not inuade, who neyther attempted any thing by lande, nor made an ende of them by sea, but suffered them to gather togither as they could, and with prosperous wind to gette to *Vibone*, either bycause he thought thẽ afflicted ynough, or could not vse the victory, or (as I sayd before) slowe to inuade, contente to defend. Of *Cæsars* Nauie, scarcely the halfe was lefte, and that

Tempest vpon *Cæsars* shippes.

The trouble in *Cæsars* Naue.

The looking for deathe greeuous.

A vehement storme.

Cæsar agayne afflicted. *Vibo*.

The great negligence of *Pompey*.

sore brused, leauing some to ouersee them, with sorowfull mind he went into *Campania*, for neyther had he any other Shippes, hauing neede of manye, nor time to make them, the dearth beeyng great, and the people crying for peace, and blaming that warre, that was made against promise. Neede also he hadde of money, whereof was great want, the people of *Rome* not to be moued to any payments. But *Octauius Cæsar*, subtile for his owne commoditie, sent *Mecenas* to *Antony* with instructions to call him to societie of warre, which if he refused, he would trãsport his legiõs into *Sicelie*, and trie ẏ matter by lãd. Being in these cares, it was knowen that *Antony* woulde ioyne with him in warre, and that *Agrippa* had a victory against the French *Aquitanes*. His friẽds also & some Cities promised him ships. So he leauing his sadnes, prepared a greater Nauie. At ẏ beginning of the Spring, *Antonie* came frõ *Athens* to *Tarentum*, with iij. C. ships, to ioyne with *Cæsar* in warre according to his promise. He changing his purpose, tarried til his Nauie was furnished, and when he was told that *Antonyes* Nauie was sufficiente, he allcaged he had other lettes, ẏ it might appeare he had more quarrell against *Antony*, or despised his help, trusting in his owne. *Antony* taking it greuously, remained yet still, and required him once againe. For hauing much adoe, to prepare money for the *Parthian* warr, & nede of *Italian* souldioures, he would haue chãged ships for mẽ, although by cõposition both of them might take vp mẽ in *Italy*, but it was ẏ harder for him to do, bycause *Italy* was another mãs prouince. Wherefore *Octauia* went to hir brother, to moue him therevnto. He said, *Antony* had forsaken him, whereby he was like to haue bin lost in ẏ sea of *Sicelie*. She aunswered, that matter was satisfyed by *Micenas*. Then he saide, *Antony* had sent *Callias* his late slaue, to confederate with *Lepidus* against him. She sayd, he went to treate of mariage. For *Antony*, before he should go to the *Parthians* warre, desired to bestow his daughter vpõ *Lepidus* sonne, as he had promised. When *Octauia* had affirmed this, *Antony* sente *Callias* to *Cæsar* to trie ẏ truth by torture, which he refused, & sente word to *Antony* to mẽte him, betwẽne *Metapontus* and *Tarent*. *Antony* when he saw *Cæsar* lept into a bote alone, signifying ẏ he trusted him, *Cæsar* seing ẏ, did the like, & either of thẽ made hast to get

Cæsars vvant.

Cæsars continuance in vvarre.

Aquitania is that they call *Gingeus*.

Antony commeth into *Italy*.

Cæsar contemneth *Antony*.

Antony desirous of *Italian* Souldyoures.

Octauia to hir brother.

Obiecting and answvering of quarrels.

Metapontus vvas a faire Citie, nowv vtterly destroyed.

Cæsar and *Antony* meete.

get groũd on ẏ contrary ſide, but *Cæſar* was the quicker, & arriued on *Antonies* ſide, and wente in charriot with *Antonie* to hys ſiſter *Octauia*, and lodged togither without garde. The nexte day *Antonie* did the lyke by him. Thus they were ſone at debate for ſuſpition, & ſone agréd for neceſſitie. *Cæſar* deferred the warre agaynſt *Pompey*, till the next yeare. *Antonie* could tarry no longer there for the *Parthians* warre, ſo they made an exchange. *Antonie* gaue *Cæſar* a hundreth and twenty ſhippes, for the whiche, *Cæſar* promyſed him twentie thouſande legions Soldiours *Italians*. *Octauia* preſented hir brother with ten ſhippes, that bothe ſerued for burden, and oares. *Cæſar* gaue *Octauia*, one thouſande choyſe men for his garde, as *Antonie* woulde take. And bycauſe ẏ time of thrée mens authoritie was expired by decrée of Senate, they continued it for fiue yeare more, of their owne authoritie, neither lokyng for conſent of Senate, nor confirmation of people, and ſo departed. *Antonie* making haſte into *Syria*, leauyng *Octauia* with hir brother and hyr ſonne, *Menodorus*, being a traytour by nature, or fearing the threates of *Antonie*, that ſayde he was his ſlaue, or not finding ſuch rewarde as he loked for, or being moued with the daylie rebukes of his olde felowes *Pompeis* late bonde men, and after *Menecrates* death exhorting hym to returne as vnfaithfull to hys Maſter, hauing aſſuraunce he fledde to *Pompey* with ſeuen ſhippes. Whiche *Caluiſius* the admirall did not perceyue, wherefore *Cæſar* put him from his office, and placed *Agrippa*. When his nauie was finiſhed, he did purge it, after this ſorte. Alters ſtande at the ſea ſide touched with the water. They with their ſhippes ſtande aboute with greate ſilence. The prieſtes in boates in the ſea make the ſacrifices and carie their purgations thrice about the nauie, the Capitaynes goyng with them, wiſhyng and prayying that all vnfortunate and vnfaythfull things might be remoued from it. The bowels of the ſacrifices beyng diuided, they throwe parte in the ſea, and parte they burne on the Alters, the people wiſhyng all good lucke. It was determined that *Cæſar* ſhould inuade from *Pureiol. Lepidus* from *Africa*, and *Taurus* from *Tarento*, and ſo beſette *Sicelie*, Eaſt, Weaſt, and South. And a day appointed, whiche was the tenth

Exchaunge of fortreſſe.

Continuaunce of three mens authoritie.

Menedorus fleeth from *Cæſar*.

Calniſius, diſplaced and *Agrippa* placed.

Purgyng of the nauie.

The maner of inuading *Sicelie*.

after the longeſt day of the yeare, which the *Romanes* cal *Calendes*, in the honour of old *Cæſar*, called *Iulie*, whiche before was named *Quintilis*. This day *Cæſar* appointed, bicauſe of the honour of his father, whoſe felicitie was perpetuall. *Pompey* placed *Plennius* at *Lilibæo*, againſt *Lepidus*, with one legion, and muche ſhotte. The Eaſt and Weaſt parte of *Sicelie*, he layde with garriſons chiefly the Iles, of *Lipara* and *Cæſſyra*, leaſt *Lepidus* ſhould get the one, and *Cæſar* the other, and be continuall annoyance to *Sicelie*. He kepte the ſtrength of his nauie at *Meſſina*, to be ready at all euentes. After the day was come, they all toke ſhippe in the morynyng. *Lepidus* came out of *Africa*, with a thouſande ſhippes of burden, lxx. Galleys, and.xy. legions, fiue thouſande *Numidian* horſe, and other prouiſion. *Taurus* from *Tarent*, of *Antonies*, a hundred and thirtie ſhippes, brought onely a hundreth and two ſhippes, the other were diſfurniſhed by the peſtilẽce that was the winter paſſed. *Cæſar* departed frõ *Putzolo*, hauing firſt ſacrificed to *Neptune*, and the calme ſea, to fauour him againſt the killers of hys father. Certen ſcoutes went afore, to eſpie the coaſt. *Appius* ledde the reregarde, with a multitude of ſhippes. The thirde day after they were entred, a South winde aroſe and drowned many of *Lepidus* ſhippes, yet he gotte to *Sicelie*, and beſieged *Plennius* in *Lilibæo*, and toke many townes of that coaſte. *Taurus* when the winde turned, returned to *Tarent*. *Appius* ſaylyng by the poynt of *Minerua*, had ſhippewracke by tempeſt, parte were loſte vpon the rockes, parte in the ſhalowes, and parte cruſhed one with an other. *Cæſar* ſo ſone as the tempeſt roſe, wente to the porte of *Velino* ſafe, except one Galley of fiue ores on a ſide. After the South winde folowed a Southweſt winde, whiche ſo ſtirred that porte, that the ſhippes could not go forth opening to the Weſt, nor be ſtayed with anchor, but were broken againſt the rockes, or cruſhed of themſelues, which euill was augmented by the comming on of the night. When it was calme, *Cæſar* buried the dead, healed the hurte, clothed the ſwimmers, and amended the loſſe as well as he colde. He loſt fiue great ſhippes, and.xxvj. of the leſſe ſorte, & very many of the ſmall veſſels. To amend this want.xxx. dayes were required, & now ſummer went away.

Quintilis Iuly.

Velibeo is one of the three elbowes called *Promontories* of *Sicelie*, looking towarde *Affrica*, and a Citye of that name. The Iles of *Lipare*, otherwyſe, *Eole* be ſeuen.

Cæſar ſacrificed to the Sea.

Lepidus. & *Taurus.*

Appius.

The point of *Minerua.*

The porte of *Velino.*

The loſſe of *Cæſars* Shippes.

away. Therfore it was thought best to deferre the warre til the next Sūmer. But bicause the people was oppressed with penurie he repayred his nauies as wel as he coulde, & got of his friendes some helpe, whiche he sente to supply *Taurus* number. After this losse, *Macenas* was sent to *Rome*, to appease them that yet had remembrance of *Pompey*, by the way himselfe wente into *Italie*, & bad the new landed men be of good chēre, and with great spēde came to *Tarent*, to view *Taurus* nauie, frō thence he went to *Vibo*, & chēered the legions, and trimmed the shippes, to inuade *Sicelie* shortly againe. *Pompey*, toke none aduauntage of this occasion, only he made sacrifices to *Neptune*, and to *Salatia*, whose sonne, now forsoth, he would nōdes be called, thinking certainly, that God fauoured him so much, as he would giue him victorie still. And was so inflamed with this successe, as he chaunged his purple robe, into an azure, as adopted of *Neptune*. He thought *Cæsar* would not haue stirred, but whē he heard he returned againe, he was stroken downe, bicause he sawe he had to do with an inuincible minde. Yet he sent *Menodorus* with .vij. shippes whiche he brought to espie his doyings. He disdayning that he had not his old authoritie, & perceiuing he was had in suspittō, bicause he had no more shippes than he brought, determined to flee againe. And thinking that it woulde turne to his good, if he shewed any feate worthy prayse, he gaue all his money to his companions, & with great hast came vpō *Cæsars* nauie, with such a violēce, as he toke the ships ẏ lay for the garde of the nauie, sometime two at once, sometime three, & the ships of burden he drowned, burned, & led away, & made great affray in ẏ coast, *Cæsar* & *Agrippa* being absent, who was gone to prepare matter for the nauy. Than he fel to flouting of his enimies, he droue his shippe into a softe ose, & pretended he had bin a groūd, which they thought to haue bene true, and ranne to catche him, as a cōmon pray: whiche when he perceyued, he went away & laughed: whereat *Cæsars* Souldiours were much agrieued. Whē he had shewed what seruice he could do, he deliuered *Rebilus* a Senator whom he had taken, making his way so. Than he layned that *Vinidius* a familiar of *Cæsars* woulde flee away to him, and sayling nigh the enimy, he desired to speake with *Vinidius*, of matters that concerned them both.

Macenas goeth to *Rome*.

Cæsar goeth to cheere the souldiours of *Italie*.

Pompey loseth occation. He is puffed vp vainely.

Salatia is the sea, here put for the Goddesse of the sea.

Menodorus maketh a newe stirre on *Cæsars* nauy.

Menodorus illudeth hys enimies.

Menodorus deliuereth *Rebilus* a Senator.

He maketh his deuise by *Vinidius*.

Whiche

Which when it was graunted, and they meeting alone, he tolde hym, that his fleeyng agayne to *Pompey* was for despightes that *Caluisius* had done him. But nowe that *Agrippa* was the Admirall, hee woulde returne agayne to *Cæsars* seruice, so *Vinidius* would bryng him assuraunce from *Messala*, that was *Agrippas* Leiftenant, promysing to recompence his faulte with singular seruice: but tyll he had his assuraunce, he sayde, he would molest them as he had done, to auoyde suspition, and so dyd. *Messala* doubted at the firste, as of a matter not honest, but at length hee graũted it, eyther for the necessitie of time, or for that he knewe *Cæsar* woulde be content. Thus once agayne hee fled, and when hee came to *Cæsar*, he kneeled to him and asked pardon, before hee shewed the cause of his former faulte. *Cæsar* bycause of promise was content to pardon him, and appoynted keepers to him, and gaue leaue to the Capitaynes of his Galleys to go whither they woulde. Than *Cæsar* toke his iourney againe, commaundyng *Messala* to take two legions and ioyne with *Lepidus*, and go to the hauen that is next *Tauromino*. He sente three others to *Stilida* in the furdest parte of the Sea to abyde occasion. He commaunded *Taurus* to goe to mount *Silatio*, that is a mountaine against *Tauromino*. Whiche hee did, beyng both fitte for the fight, and for the passages. The army by land followed, & was scouted with light horsemen: the nauy, with Brigandines and Foystes. *Cæsar* came from *Vibone* and praysed the order, and returned to *Vibo*. *Pompey* placed garrisons on the coast of *Sicelie*, and kept his nauie at *Messina*, to helpe when neede were. To *Lepidus* came out of *Africa* the other foure legions, with whom, *Papias* a Capitayne of *Pompeis* met, and by a pretence of friendship, destroyed them. For they thought hee had bene sente of *Lepidus* to conduct them and gaue place. Two of ỹ legions perished in the sea, if any escaped by swimming, *Tisienus* killed them on lande. *Cæsar*, sayled from *Vibone*, into *Strongile*, one of the *Aeolian* Ilãds, sending foystes to espie the coast, and perceyuing many shippes aboute *Pelorus*, *Milis*, and *Tyndaride*, he thought *Pompey* had bene there. Therefore he left *Agrippa* his Lieftenaunt, and went agayne to *Lisbon*. Frõ thence he wente againe to *Taurus* campe with *Messala* and three legions,

Messala.

Menedoras reuolteth once agayne.

Tauromino a towne of *Sicile*.
Tauromino was builded of the *Casidonis*, and after a Colonie of *Rome* hauyng the name of the bull of *Minos* which they beare in their armes.
Stylida.
Scylucceo, is nowe called *Capo di Squillacci* a daungerous place.
Vibono or *Hipponæo*: a citie with a gulfe, nowe called *S. Eufemia* in *Calabria*.
Papias.
Lepidus shippes distroyed.
Tisienus.
Strongyle, nowe *Shombile*, not far frõ *Sicelie*.
Pelorus, a poynt of *Sicelie*, ouer against *Scylla*.
Myle, nowe *Myllazzo*.
Tyndaride is not far from *Myle*.

legions, minding to take *Tauromenio* in *Pompeis* absence, and inuade him in two places at once. *Agrippa* passed from *Strongyle* to *Hiera*, and toke it. The next day he went to *Myla*, to match with *Democharis*, who had .xl. shippes. *Pompeius*, doubting of *Agrippas* purposes, sent other .xlv. shippes, to *Democharis*, vnder the leading of *Apollophanes* his late bondman, hee folowing with .lxx. more. Before day *Agrippa* set forth with halfe his naue to fight with *Papia* alone, but when he saw *Apollophanes* naue, and the rest of *Pompeis* shippes, hee signified to *Cæsar*, that *Pompey* was at *Myla* with the greater parte of his naue. He kept the battel with his great shippes, cõmaunding al the reste, to keepe course to *Hiera*, the preparation was great on bothe sides, and the shippes had turrets both at sterne and pompe. When the exhortation was giuen, they beganne the fight, *Cæsars* vpon the face, the others vpon the sides fetching compasses. *Pompeis* shippes were lighte and litle, apte to turne and returne aboute the enimies. *Cæsars*, were great & heauie, and therefore the slower, but of more force both to offende and defende. In them, the Soldiours were more manly: in the other, the mariners, they gotte aduantage by compassing aboute, & breaking the sternes & sides of the enimie, and with a violẽce somtime gaue as great a blow as they toke. On the contrary side, *Cæsars* ships, with their sternes, easily put backe these other being little, and either crushed, or pearced them, and when they fought at hande, they combred them with shotte, and with hookes, helde them harde, and then woulde they leape into the sea, and were take vp againe of the litle botes that wayted on the shippes. *Agrippa* gaue an onset vpon *Papia* his shippe with such force as he sitte it. They that fought in the toppe fell downe, the water entred, the lower sorte were drowned, and the other escaped by swimmyng. *Papia*, beyng receyued into an other shippe, fought agayne. *Pompey* standyng vpon an hyll, and perceiuing that his shippes were to weake and weary, and *Agrippa* continually refreshed with the rereward, commaunded them to retyre in order, whiche they did in a shewe of fight. But when *Agrippa* folowed, they fleede, not to the rockes, but to the softe ooze, that was brought in by the flouddes. *Agrippa* being

Hiera, nowe *Sudda*, an Ile betweene *Sicelie* & *Liparis*.

Pompeis naue.

Agrippa goeth to the fight.

The fighte by sea.

The difference of the Shippes.

The difference of the men.

Agrippa driueth *Papia* from his Shippe.

Papia fighteth agayne.

Pompeis Shippes retire.

aduertised, by hys Maisters, not to aduenture in those shalowes, did caste anchor abroade, as though he would giue a new charge if nede were, in the night. But beyng admonished not to folow anger more than reason, and not ouer-labour the weary Souldiours with watchyng, nor trust too muche the calmenesse of the Sea, he hardely departed. *Pompeis* men got to their portes when they had losse thirtie shippes, of the enimies, fiue were drowned, and many hurt. *Pompey* prayseth them for so manly resistyng the greate shippes, whiche hee sayde seemed to him, not a fighte by sea, but an assaulte of a wall, and rewarded them as victours, puttyng them in hope, that, in that narrow Sea, their shippes woulde euer be the better, and that they might so be, hee woulde adde somewhat to theyr height. This was the ende of the fighte by sea at *Myla*, betweene *Agrippa* and *Papia*.

Pompey hath the losse by sea.

Pompey prayseth his Souldiours.

Caesar in the meane season sayled from *Sylatio* to *Leucopatra*, being certified that *Pompey* was gone from *Messina* to *Myla*, because of *Agrippa*: and when he was determined to haue passed from *Leucopatra* to *Tauromeno* by night, after he had heard of the late fight, he chāged his purpose, & thought it more for his honour to passe by day. For he beleued that *Pompey* woulde not long tary nigh *Agrippa*. And when day was come, he loked from the moūtaynes and could haue no sight of his enimie: he filled his nauy with as many as might be, cōmitting the reste to *Messala*, till the ships should returne for him. Aproching to *Tauromeno*, he sumoned thē to render. But they wōn denying it, he passed ẏ floud *Onobala*, & ẏ tēple of *Venus* to *Archegeta*, making his praiers, to ouercome his enimies. *Archegeta* is a litle image of *Apollo*, which ẏ *Naxians* that were sent to inhabite *Sicile*, did first erecte. Goyng here out of his ship, he had a fall, but he rose agayne, and stayed. *Pompey* came in sight with a great nauie, wherat euery mā marueled, for they thought he had bene ouercome of *Agrippa*. Hys horsemen ranged the shore to be euen with his nauy, & his footemen were seene on euery side. The campe of *Caesar* was afrayde, & himselfe dismayde, because he could not sende for *Messala*. The horsemen set vpon the enimie as they were planting their cāpe. And if an onset had bene giuen by sea also, it had bene like that

Leucopatra, an Iland in the sea nighe *Reggio*, nowe *Capo de Iarme*, or *Spartamento di Calabria*.

Caesar came forth agayne.

Onobala.

Archegeta.

Naxians, of *Naxo* an Ile in *Aegeo*, nowe *Nicsia*.

Caesar falleth.

Caesar in feare.

Pompey

Pompey had done a great feate: but for lacke of knowledge at warre, and not vnderstanding in what feare the enimie was, and doubting to begin the fight so late, they went to harborough at *Coccineo*, and the footemen to *Phenice*, to haue some distance from their enimie. That night was quiet, and *Cæsars* men had leysure to finishe their trench, but for labour and watche, they were vnfitte to fight. *Cæsar* had three legions, fiue hundreth gentlemen without horse, one thousand light harneste, two thousand bowmen, & his soldiours for the sea. Deliuering his footemen to *Cornificio*, to resist the enimie as much as he could by land, he before day toke the sea, before he should be shut from thence. To the right battayle he appointed *Titinius*, to the leste, *Carcius*. And a Brigantine he went aboute the naue, and exhorted them, which being done, he put of his robe off honour, as he was wont to doe in extreme perils. *Pompey* twice gaue him the onset that day, & the night ended the fight, in ỹ which diuerse of *Cæsars* ships were taken & diuerse burned, & diuerse fled to *Italie* for all that he could doe, which were chased of *Pompey*: & such as swame to the lande, were dispatched of the horsemen or taken: some got to *Cornificius* campe, whome he receyued, sending onely light horse to conduct the, for he thought it not good to stirre his legions, being out of harte, & the enimy so nigh, in triuph of that victorie. *Cæsar* passed that night among his naues, vncerten what to do, whether to sende for *Cornificio* amiddest the wreckes of the sea, or to flee to *Messala*: & euen by chaunce, departing with one onely page, without seruats, soldiours, or families, he came to the port of *Abala*, where some founde him out, in great feare and desperation, and carying him from shippe to shippe, they brought him at legth to *Messala*, which was not far off, where before he toke rest, he sent a Brygantine to *Cornificio* and to all the shore, to signifie that hee was alyue, and promised he would shortly help them. When hee had a litle rested, hee wente by night to *Stilida*, from whence *Messala* caried him to *Carinate*, who was ready to saile with three legions, whome hee willed to go to *Lipari*, and hee would follow streyght. He wrote also to *Agrippa*, to deliuer *Cornificio* from daunger so sone as he could, and sent *Laronio* to help with speede,

Pompey loseth for lacke of experience.

Coccineo, a point nigh a lake.

Cæsar ordereth his battayle.

Cæsar leaueth the robe of a generall.

Pompey gaineth.

Cæsar in doubte departeth with one page.

Abala.

Cæsar in desperatiō is brought to *Messala*.

Cæsar signifieth that he is well.

Cæsar goeth to *Stilida*.

Lipari be the Ilandes nexte *Sicelie*, seuen in number.

He sente *Macenas* agayne to the citie, bycause some went aboute newe troubles which were punished openly. He sente *Messala* to *Puteolo* to bryng the firste legion. This *Messala* was condemned at *Rome* of the thrée menne, and rewarde was promised to them that would kill him. Then he fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and after their death, he gaue himselfe and hys naule, to *Antonie*. This I thought good to remember, as an example of the *Romane* vertue: that where *Messala* had hym that condemned him in hys power, cast into vtter desolation, he restored him to his state and preserued hym. *Cornificius*, although hée might easily haue kept the enimie from the campe: yet bycause hée wanted victuall, hé prouoked them to battayle. *Pompey* thought not good to fighte with them that were desperate, hopyng to subdue them by famine. *Cornificius* marched receyuing into his batayle the vnarmed that escaped the sea: beyng greatly annoyed wt the horsmen in the plaine, which were most part *Affricanes* and Mores. The fourth day he came to a dry place called ỹ parchyng plotte of the fire, burned & dryed euen to the Sea, the which the inhabitantes dare not go to, but in the night, so great is the heate. *Cornificius* durst neyther passe that way in the night, bycause the Mone did not shewe, nor they skilfull of the way, nor coulde not abide by day, the heate was so intollerable. Thirst could not be aswaged: nor they go but fast, bicause the horsemen so followed them. And being come to the issue, they sawe naked men, who ranne vpon them, and claspyng with them, put them in daunger of choking, with ỹ which beyng yet troubled, the soldiours were in desperatiõ. But *Cornificius* cõforted them, & tolde thẽ there was a well at hand, & so they put backe those rude people till they came to the well, which they found possessed with other enimies of like sort. Then they were vtterly out of hope. For they sawe an army cõming, and could not tell whether it was frend or foe, but it was *Laronius*, whom when they that kept the well sawe, they fled, fearing to be intercloſed. Whereat the weary soldiours made great ioy with shoutes & cryes, which *Laronius* answered. They runne on heapes to the wel. Their Captaynes forbidding thẽ to drinke too hastily, they that would not follow that cõsel, died presently.

Messala.

Romane vertue.

The drye place.

Daunger of *Cornificius*.

Naked citizẽs vpon the armed *Romanes*.

The *Romanes* grieuously troubled.

Laronius.

Soldiours perished vvith hasty drinking.

Thus

Thus beyonde all hope, *Cornificius* brought his army safe to *Myla* to *Agrippa*, who had taken *Tyndarida*, furnished wyth all things necessary, and fitte for the warre by Sea, whither *Cæsar* sent both footemen and Horse. He had in *Sicelie* one and twenty Legions, twenty thousande horsemen, and aboue fiue thousande light Horse. *Pompey* held yet with garrisons, *Mylas*, *Naulocо*, and *Peloro*, and all the Sea coast, who being afrayde of *Agrippa*, kept continuall eyes to vse against the Ships. He kept the mouthes of *Taurominio* and *Myla*, and shutte the pathes of Mountaynes with walles. He also molested *Cæsar* beyõd *Tyndarida*, who would not yet fight, and supposing that *Agrippa* would arriue, he went with spæde to *Peloro*, leauing the streightes of *Myla*, whiche *Cæsar* forthwith did take, with a little towne called *Dianio*, notable by the tale of the goodly Oxen, which were taken away when *Vlysses* slept. When the noyce of *Agrippa* his comming was ceassed, and that *Pompey* heard the streightes of *Myla* were possessed, hée called for *Tisieno* with his army. *Cæsar* going to encounter wyth him, missed his way in the nighte in the hill of *Myconio*, where he lay without a tent. And whereas the rayne was very greate, as is wont in Autumne, he stode all night vnder a French target, the Souldyoures holding it ouer him. The horrible and fearefull sounds of the hill *Mongibello* were heard, and the flashing of fire was sæne, and ỹ sauoure of ỹ brimstone was felt, in so much as the *Germanes* kept out for feare, and thought it no tale that they had heard of that hyll. After this, he wasted the Countrey of *Palesteno*, where he mette with *Lepidus*, taking vp corne, and they both layde sæge to *Messana*. Many skirmishes there were, but no great battell. Then *Cæsar* sente *Taurus*, to kæpe victuall from *Pompey*, and take the Cities that remained for hym, by the which difficultie, being driuen to his tryal, he determined to aduenture all at one fight. And bycause he thoughte himselfe too weake by land, he sent his Herald to require the fighte by Sea. And albeit *Cæsar* had no good will to match by sea, hauing hitherto had euill lucke: yet thinking it dishonorable to refuse him, he appoynted a day to the fighte, with thrée hundred shippes on a side, furnished with all weapons and defence that they coulde deuice. *Agrippa*

Agrippa taketh *Tyndarida*, vvhiche vvas a Citie named of *Tindarus* father of *Leda*.

Peloro is one of the foure hils of *Sicelie* towarde *Italy*.

Myla is a flouд and a Citie both, vvith a Port, nouv called *Melazzo*.

Dianio is a Citie also in *Spayne*. They vvere the Oxen of *Phætusa*, vvhich she and hir tvvo sisters kept.

Myconio.

Cæsar in perill againe.

The hill *Aetna*, nouv *Mangibello*, that spouteth fire.

Germanes afrayd of the noyce of *Aetna*.

Palesteno.

Messana besseged.

Pompey desireth to trie all by a fight of equall number of Shippes.

Graple, the inuention of *Agrippa*.

inuented a graple, that is, a rafter of fiue cubites long, layd ouer with yron, hauing a cricle or ring in eyther ende, and in the one, a crooked hoke of yron, and in the other, many ropes, which drew the hoke by gynnes, when it was cast with a sling agaynst the enimies Shyppes. When the day was come, the first onset was of the small vessels, not without escries, throwing dartes and stones, and shotte fyred, as well by hand as by engine. The ships rushed one against another, some on the sides, some on the sterne, and other on the Poupe, thereby the Souldyoures were shaken, and the vessels broken. Some vsed their shotte and dartes a farre off, and there were little boates to take vp all that fell in the water. The Souldyoures and the Marriners contended who should do best. The exhorting of the Captaynes did good, and the engines did help, most of all the graple, whiche reached the small Ships a farre off for the lightnesse, and held them fast, drawyng them by the ropes: neyther coulde it be cutte off, bycause it was couered with yron, nor the ropes be touched, bycause of theyr length. Neyther was this engine knowen, that they might haue armed their weapons with yron. They rowed on the suddaine, thrusting their Ships on the sterne, to get aloofe. When the enimies did so, then was the force of mē equal, but when the graple came, it was a thing by it selfe. The Ships fought ioyned together, and leaping out of one into another, and scarcely coulde the one be knowne from the other. Their armour and weapōs was alike, their shape was all one. Their priuie token was vnderstood to both, which was cause of muche deceyt, and after, of confusion, for they distrusted their owne, for feare to be deceyued, and so did not know what they might do. In the meane time the hurt was great, the sea was full, as well of men, as of armoure, and ruines of the broken and crushed vessels. For after they came to fyghte at hande, they threw no more fire.

The stoute and last fight by Sea.

The profite of the graple.

Likenesse of armour maketh confusion.

Both the armyes of footemen stode vppon the shore, wyth doubtfull mynde whyther the victory woulde encline, for in a multitude of fyue hundred Shyppes, they coulde not discerne, beeyng all alyke, excepte it were the couloure of theyr toppes, wherein they onely differed, and onely they coniectured by the

markes

markes they hadde, and by the noyses and voyces, howe the matter went. But when *Agrippa* vnderstoode that *Pompey* had the woorse, hee exhorted hys Souldyoures to stande to it, that they myghte obteyne the victory, whyche was in theyr handes, and so they dyd, wyth suche furie and violence, as the enimie fledde, and ranne themselues a ground, where they were eyther taken or burned, whiche when they that kepte the Sea, dyd see, they yelded. *Agrippa* getteth the victory.

Then the Nauie of *Cæsar* sang the song of victory, the whych the fotemen on the shore aunswered with no lesse gladnesse. Reioyce of victory by *Cæsars* men.

Pompey perceyuing the ouerthrowe, fledde to *Messina*, not remembring his forces of fotemen, the whiche by and by yelded to *Cæsar*, and shortly after the Horsemenne did the lyke. The whyche when *Pompey* hearde, he commaunded to put all things into the seauentéene Shyppes that were lefte, and leauing the habite of a Generall, woulde flee to *Antony*, whose mother hée hadde saued in lyke daunger. And that he myghte bée the better welcome, he sente to *Plennius* to bring the eyght legions that hée had at *Lelisbee*, whyche he woulde leade wyth hym. But when he perceyued that his friends and Souldyoures did continually yelde to *Cæsar*, and that the enimie was entred the narrow sea, although he was in a strong and well furnished Citie, yet hée would not tarrie for *Plennius*, but fledde wyth hys seauentéene shippes. After he was gone, *Plennius* came to *Messina*, and kept that Citie. *Pompeys* army yeldeth to *Cæsar*. *Pompey* fainteth, and prouideth to flee. *Pompey* fleeth vvith xvij. ships

This was the end of this last fighte by sea, in the whyche, only three of *Cæsars* ships were sonke, and seauen and twenty of *Pompeys*. The remnant were all defeated by *Agrippa*, except xvij. wyth the which *Pompey* fledde away.

Cæsar remayned at *Naulecho*, and commaunded *Agrippa* to besiege *Messina*, whiche he did with the fellowshyp of *Lepidus*. *Plennius* sente for peace. *Agrippa* thoughte it good to deferre the aunswere tyll the morning. But *Lepidus* was contente, and to winne *Plennius* Souldyoures to hym, permitted halfe the spoyle of the Citie to them, which they hauing obteyned beyonde all hope, beyng glad to haue gone with theyr liues that night, sacked ỹ citie *Naulechi*. *Messina* sacked.

with

with *Lepidus* Souldyoures. By this meanes *Lepidus* wanne *Plennius* legions, who ſware vnto him, ſo as nowe, hauing two and twenty legions, with a great nauie, was not a little proude, and thought to winne *Sicelie*, bycauſe he had gotten diuers places before, to the which he ſent his garriſons to kæpe out *Octauian*.

Lepidus diuideth the ſpoyle of *Meſſana* vvith *Plennius*, and receyueth his army.

Lepidus thinketh to be Lord of *Sicelie*.

The next day, *Cæſar* expoſtulated with *Lepidus* by his friendes, ſaying, he came as a confederate to reſort to *Sicelie*, and not to get ẏ Ile for himſelfe, and he alleadging, that his authoritie was taken frō him, and that *Cæſar* had it alone, he could be content to render *Africa* and *Corſica* for *Sicelie*. Then *Cæſar* was angry, and came vnto him, and charged him with ingratitude, and departed, ſo as they ſtode in doubt of each other, kæping warde ſeuerally. The Shippes lay at anchor, and it was ſuſpected that *Lepidus* intended to haue burned *Cæſars* ſhips. The armies fearing a new ciuill warre, had not the like eſtimation of *Lepidus*, that they had of *Cæſar*: for him they accompted wiſe and diligente, and ẏ other remiſſe and negligent, bycauſe he ſuffered their enimies to be partakers of the ſpoyle. When *Octauian* vnderſtode this, he cauſed his friends to deale with the Captaines ſecretly, and to promiſe them liberally, and many were wonne vnto him, ſpecially of *Pompeys* band, thinking their ſtate not ſure, excepte *Cæſar* cōſented to it. *Cæſar* came in perſon with many Horſemen, which he left without the trench, and entred the Camp with a few, vnbeknowing to *Lepidus*, for lacke of foreſight, proteſting that new warre was moued againſt his will: wherefore the Souldioures ſaluted him as Generall, and *Pompeys* parte that were corrupted, aſked him forgiueneſſe. To the which he ſaid, he marueled that they ſhould aſke forgiueneſſe, not hauing yet done that was conuenient for them. They vnderſtanding his meaning, toke theyr enſignes, and brought them to *Cæſar*. Other pulled downe theyr Tentes. But when *Lepidus* heard the tumulte, he came out armed, and ſtreight a fray began, where one of *Cæſars* Pages was killed, & himſelfe ſtroke through the breſt plate, but not hurte, wherefore he departed in haſt to his Horſemen. A garriſon iefted at his running away, whereat he was ſo angry, as he was not quiet, till he had beaten downe that Caſtell, the whiche being

Lepidus army reuolteth.

Pompeys Souldyours yeelde to *Cæſar*.

Cæſar ſtricken.

A Caſtell beſtendovvne, vvhoſe garriſon iefted at *Cæſar*.

being done, other Castels gaue ouer in like sort, some presently, and some the night following, some neuer spoken to, some pretending some occasion, by beeyng vexed of the Horsemen: yet some abode the brunt, and repulsed thē, for *Lepidus* euery where sent helpers to them, the which reuolting also, the rest that were willing to him, changed their mind. And first againe the *Pompeyans* that yet remayned with him, forsoke him by little and little, *Lepidus* caused other to be armed to kepe thē in, who being armed to that intēt, toke their ensignes, & with the aid of others, ioyned thēselues to *Cæsar*. *Lepidus* threatened them that went, and prayd them also, and he toke the Standerds, and sayd, he woulde neuer deliuer them, but whē a Souldyour said, Thou shalt deliuer them dead, he gaue place. The last that forsoke him was the Horsemen, who sente to *Cæsar* to know, if they shoulde kill hym, which he denyed. Thus *Lepidus* being forsaken of all men, and hauing lost his army, changed his habite, and went to *Cæsar*, and many came to sée that sight. *Cæsar* rose when he came, and would not suffer him to knéele, but depriuing him of all authoritie, reseruing only a priestly office, in ỳ apparell that he came, he sent him to *Rome*. Thus he that had bin many times a Generall, and sometime one of the thrée rulers, making officers: & condemning many as good as himselfe, liued a priuate life, vnder some of thē whome he had attainted before. *Cæsar* would not persecute *Pompey*, nor suffer other to do it, either bycause he would not meddle in another mans iurisdiction, or would behold *Antonyes* doings, to haue iust occasion to fall out with him. For now that al other aduersaries were taken away, it was thought ambition woulde make them two quarell, or bycause *Pompey* was none of the conspirators, as *Cæsar* did after affirme. Nowe had he an army of xlv. legions, of xxv. M. Horsemen, and of other Souldyoures as many more, which he gathered togither. He had fiue hundred Gallyes, and many shippes of burthen, which he sent to the owners. He gaue the Souldyoures a reward for victory, and promised more in time to come. He distributed crownes, garlands, and other honors, and forgaue *Pompeys* Captaynes. Thys so greate felicitie, Fortune did enuie: for his owne armie fell to

Castels giuen ouer to *Cæsar*.

Lepidus vtterly forsaken.

The horsemen sende to *Cæsar*, to knowe if he woulde haue *Lepidus* killed.

Lepidus depriued, only a speciall liuing reserued.

The mutabilitie of Fortune.

Cæsar woulde not follow *Pompey*.

Cæsars mighty armie.

Enuie followeth Fortune.

Mutinie of Souldioures.

mutinie, desiring to be discharged, and requiring the rewarde promised at the field of *Philippi*. He answered, that thys warre was not like any of the other, notwithstanding, he woulde reward them for all, togyther with *Antonyes* Souldyers, when he should returne. But as concerning their discharge, he put them in remembrance of their oth and obedience. But seeyng them styll obstinate, he ceased hys rebukes, least the Souldyoures lately yelded, should follow their trade, and promised that *Antony* and he, would discharge them in conueniente tyme, and that he would now not vse thē in any cruell warre, for by the help of God, all was ended and done, and nowe he would leade them into *Slauonia*, and other barbarous nations, where they shoulde get great bowties. They sayde they woulde not goe, vnlesse hē woulde rewarde them thoroughly. He sayd he would reward them, and also giue them garlandes & garmentes of honor and prayse. Then sayde *Ofilius*, one of the Tribunes, Garlandes and purple garmentes bē rewardes of Children, Souldyoures had nēde of money and landes. The multitude sayde it was true. Then *Cæsar* was greeued, and came from his seate, and they that stode nerte the Tribunes, praysed him, and rebuked the other that woulde not agrē wyth them. He sayde, he was sufficiente alone to defende so iust a cause. The nexte daye he was not seene, nor coulde bē knowen where he was become. Then the Souldyoures not one at once for feare, but altogither, requyred to be dismissed. *Cæsar* spake as fayre as he coulde to theyr Captaynes, and discharged them that had serued at *Philippi* and *Modena*, as the most olde Souldyoures, and commaunded them to depart the Ile, least they should corrupt the rest. Thus much he sayd to them that he discharged, that though he discharged them nowe, yet he woulde reward them. Speaking to the other, bē made them to wytnesse the periurie of them that departed, not discharged by the leaue of theyr Generall, and praysed them, and promised to dismisse them shortly, and that they should not repente their ductie done to him, and that nowe he woulde giue to euery of them fyue hundred drammes. Then he sette a taske vpon *Sicelie* of fiftene hundred Talentes, and appoynted Lieu-

Ofilius rudely speaketh to *Cæsar*.

Ofilius not seene agayne.

Souldyoures dismissed.

tenants

tenantes for *sicelie* and *Barbarie*, and diuided hys army. *Antonyes* shippes he sent to *Tarent*, the rest of hys army he sent partlie into *Italy*, and partly he toke wyth hym, when he wente out of the Ile. Commyng towarde *Rome*, the Senate receyued hym wyth all kynde of honors, permytting to himselfe to receyue, whyche he would, eyther all or some at his pleasure. He was mette a farre off wyth them that had garlandes, as well of the Senate, as of the people, of whome he was first brought to the Temples, and then to hys house.

Honoures offered to *Cæsar* at *Rome*.

The daye following, he made an Oration to the Senate and to the people, he declared hys doyngs in order, and the administration of the common wealth, from hys beginning to thys day. Whiche Orations written of hymselfe, he published wyth many examples, and pronounced peace and tranquilitie after so long ciuill warres. Tributes vnpayde hee forgaue, and lykewyse the gatherers of the tolles, and the fynes for offices.

Cæsar declareth his actes to the Senate and the people.

Cæsars Orations published.

Of the honors of the Senate, he accepted a Chariot in the Theatre, and yearely solemnities of the dayes of hys victories. And an image of golde in the common place, wyth thys inscription. *For peace gotten, after so many warres both by lande and sea.* But he refused the chiefe Byshopshippe, which the people offered hym, whyche by auntiente custome was not vsed to be taken from any man aliue, for *Lepidus* had it, and when they woulde haue hadde hym kylled *Lepidus* as an enimie, he denyed it. Then he wrote manye letters to the armyes, wyth commaundemente to bee opened all at a daye appoynted, and then to doe as they were commaunded, whyche was, to restore all bondmen in *Rome* and *Italy*, to their maisters or their heyres, that had frædome giuen them at the requeste of *Pompey*, all the whiche returned to their old state. The like he did in *Sicelie*. If any were vnchalenged, he put them to deathe in the Citie from whence they came. This seemed to be an end of ciuill warre, when *Cæsar* was eyght and twenty yeares of age, and consecrated as a God. The Citie and *Sicelie* was troubled very much wyth robbers and rouers, with such boldnesse, as they openly committed their lewdenesse.

Modestie of *Cæsar*.

Inscription of peace.

Bondmen restored to their maisters.

Cæsar honoured as a God, at xxviij. yeare of his age.

Robberies in the Citie.

Sabinus.

To correct these, *Sabinus* was sent, who put manye of them to the sword, and spent a yeare, before he coulde ridde them, and at that time (they say) the bands of watches were appoynted, which continue to this day. The speedy redresse of this, brought greate estimation to *Cæsar*, who exercised manye things after the olde manner by yearely officers, and burned all the letters that were written in the time of warre, and promised to restore the common wealth so sone as *Antony* returned, for he knew that he also woulde giue vp his offices, nowe that there was no ciuill warre. Therefore, being extolled with immortall prayses, the Tribuneship was giuen him for euer, with a meaning, by the taking of this, to leaue all other, of the which he wrote priuately to *Antony*: and he gaue his aduice by *Bibulus* going from hym, and placed *Lieutenants* in his prouinces, intending to be his companion in the warre of *Slauonia*.

VVatches appoynted in the night in the Citie.

The hope of restorement of the common state by Cæsars vvords.

Tribune perpetuall.

Pompey fleeing out of *Sicelie*, came to the shore of *Lacinio*, where he spoyled a rich Temple of *Iuno*. From thence he went to *Mitylene*, where his father lefte him and his mother, when he made warre with *Cæsar*. And because *Antony* was gone to the *Parthian* warre, he intended to yeld to him at his returne. But where it was reported that *Antony* was ouercome, and he beleeued it, he conceiued an hope to succeede him in all the prouinces, or that at the least in part, taking example of *Labienus*, who ranne ouer *Asia*. Being occupyed with these cogitations, he heard that *Antony* was come to *Alexandria*. He prepared himselfe to both courses, and wrote to *Antony*, to be his friend and fellow, only meaning to espie his doings. And secretely he sente other Embassadours to the Princes of *Thracia* and *Pontus*, minding to passe into *Armenia*, if he did not obteyne his purpose.

Lacinio, a hill in the furthest shore of Italy. Pompey spoyleth the Temple of Iuno. Mitylene a Citie in Lesbo, nowe Miteline. Vayne hope of Pompey. Labienus.

Pompey vseth double deuice.

He wrote also to the *Parthians*, hoping they would take hym for a Captayne in the warre, beeyng a *Romane*, againste *Antony* theyr *Romane* aduersary.

He prepared Shyppes and Souldyoures for the same, pretending to be afrayde of *Cæsar*, and to prepare them for *Antonyes* vse. But when *Antony* hearde of his purposes, hee sente *Titius* chiefe Captayne agaynste hym, that receyuing an armie

Titius sent against Pompey by Antony.

armie and naule *Syria*, hée shoulde resiste *Pompey* with all hys power, but if he had rather receyue *Antonies* truste, hée shoulde bryng him to him honorably. The Embassadours of *Pompey* made this requeste.

Wée are sent to thée from *Pompey*, not that hée coulde not be admitted into *Spaine*, a prouince that oweth him good will for his fathers sake, if he listed to make warre, whiche holpe hym when he was younger, and now offereth him theyr ayde: but bycause hée had rather enioy peace with thée, or vnder thy banner, make warre, if néede be. Which is no new intent, but when he ruled *Sicilie*, and inuaded *Italie*, and saued and sente thée home thy mother, he desired thy friendshyp, whiche if thou haddest accepted, neyther had he bene driuen out of *Sicilie*, whereto thou diddest lende thy shippes, nor thou bene ouercome in *Parthia*, *Cæsar* not sending thée, such army as he promised. Yea thou mightest haue brought *Italie* vnder thy power. But although he were refused when time was, he now desireth thée, not to be illuded and deceyued with so many fayre wordes and affinitie, remembryng that *Pompey* also after promise to the contrarie was iniustly inuaded of *Cæsar*, and spoyled of his portion, whereof no parte hath redoũded to thée. Now thou onely arte the lette, why he hath not the only Monarchie, which he hath long thirsted after. For you had bin at war before this, if *Põpey* had not bene. And thou oughtest to foresée these things of thy selfe, so for the good will, whiche hée beareth thée, he had rather haue the amitie of a playne and liberall man, than of a subtill and crafty fellow. *Pompey* is not angry that thou lentest shippes agaynst him, beyng constrayned, that thou mightest haue men of him, but putteth thée in remẽbrance, how much ỹ army not sent thée, did hinder thée. And to be shorte, *Pompey* committeth himselfe to thée, with all his shippes, with a trusty army, whiche haue not forsaken hym though he fledde, thou shalt purchase a great prayse, if beyng in peace, thou wilt preserue the Sonne of *Pompey* the great: that if the warre be broken, whiche is feared, thou mayst haue a confederate of such might and estimation. When *Antonie* hearde this, he sayde, If *Pompey* meaneth good faith, I haue giuen commission to *Titius*

Pompeis Embassadours to *Antonie*.

Antonie to *Pompeis* Embassadours.

to bryng him to me. In the meane time, *Pompeis* messengers that were sente to the *Parthians*, were taken of *Antonies* officers, and brought to *Alexandria*, of whome, when *Antonie* had learned all thyngs, he sente for *Pompeis* Embassadours, and shewed them to them. Then they excused hym, beyng a yong man and in extreme necessitie, fearyng to be reiected of him, and driuen to proue the moste mortall enimies of the people of *Rome*: but if he were sure of *Antonies* mynde, hée should nede no further suyte. He beléeued it as a playne man, and nothyng suspitious. *Furnius* beyng president of *Asia*, receyued *Pompey* very gently, not beyng able to reiect hym, nor sure of *Antonies* minde. But when hée sawe hym trayne his Soldiours, hée gathered an army of the countrey, and sente for *Oenobarbus*, capitayne of the armie, and for *Amyntas* a frende, who assemblyng quickly together, *Pompey* complayned that hée was vsed as an enimy. When he had sent Embassadours, to *Antonie*, and loked for answere from him. In the meane while he practised to take *Oenobarbus*, by the helpe of *Curione* hys frende, but the practise beyng discouered, *Curio* was put to death, and *Pompey* kylled hys late bondman *Theodorus*, who was onely priuie to that counsell. And bicause he doubted of *Furnius*, he toke the citie of *Lampsaco* by composition, where many *Italians* dyd inhabite, appoynted by *Iulius Caesar*, whome hée allured to his pay with great promyses. Now had hée two hundreth horse, and thrée legions, and besieged *Cyzicus* both by sea and lande, from the whiche he was repulsed. For there was a litle bande of *Antonies*, and certen sworde players that were brought vp there. And where *Furnius* abstreyning from battayle, did euermore encampe nigh him, and kept him frō forraging, which he went aboute in the territorie of the *Acheans*, *Pompey* set vpon the fore parte of hys campe, and sente other aboute to do the like behinde. Whereby *Furnius* resisting him, hys campe was taken of the other, and driuen to flée by the fieldes of *Scamandria*, where *Pompey* killed many of them, for the fielde was moyst with the shoures. They that escaped durst not turne againe to the fielde. The people of *Mysia*, *Propontide*, & other places, that were pore & consumed with payment, came to *Pompeis*

seruice

Pompeys messengers taken.

Excuse of Pōpey.

Antonie a playne man. *Furnius*.

Pompey trayneth his men. *Oenobarbus*. *Amyntas*.

Practise discouered.

Curio put to death.

Theodorus killed. *Lampsaco* taken by *Pompey*.

Capsico, a citie in the shore of *Hellesponte*.

He besiegeth *Cyzicus*, an Ilāde in *Propontide*, & a citie of that name of great strength.

Acheia a part of *Greece*.

Pompey dislodgeth *Furnius*.

Scamādria a litle towrne at the porte of *Ilio*.

People resorte to *Pompey*.

seruice, beyng renoumed for hys late victorie. But wantyng horsemen, and beyng shrewdly handled in foragyng, he heard of a bande of *Italian* horsemen goyng to *Antonie* (whiche *Octauia* had sente from *Athens*) and sente to corrupt them with golde. The president of the countrey toke them, that brought the money, and distributed it to the horse men. *Pompey* at *Nicea* and *Nicomedia* gathered muche money with greate successe. *Furnius* a gayne comming into the fielde and encamping nigh him, there came lxx. shippes out of *Sicelie* in the spryng, which were lefte of them that *Antonie* had lent *Cæsar*. And *Titius* came out of *Syria* with a hundred and twentie shippes and a greate army, all the which arriued at *Proconnesco*, of the which *Pompey* being afrayde, burned his shippes and armed his Mariners hauing more trust in the lande. But *Cassius* of *Parma*, *Nasidius*, *Saturninus*, *Therinus*, *Antistius*, & other honorable frendes of *Pompey*, & *Furnius* moste dere vnto him & *Libo* himself, his father in lawe, when they saw that *Pompey* was allwayes to weake, they yelded themselues to *Antonie*. He being thus forsaken, went into ỹ midland of *Bythinia*, entending to go into *Armenia*. *Furnius* & *Titius* folowed him: he being secrete, departed out of his tents, and with great iourney they ouertoke him at night, and seuerally encamped aboute an hill without ditche or trenche, beyng late and they weary. That night *Pompey* set vpon them with three thousande men as they were sleeping, & put them to flee naked shamefully: but if hee had assayled them with his whole power, or folowed them as broke, he had gotten perfect victory. But fortune would not suffer, and he got nothing thereby, but that he went on his iourney. They recouering horses, folowed him, and kepte him from victuall, so as beyng dryuen to speache, hee desired to speake with *Furnius* that was sometyme a frende of hys Fathers, and a man of greate dignitie. And standyng on the banke of the riuer, hee sayde, hee had sente Embassadours to *Antonie*, and in the meane season wantyng victualles, dyd that hee had done. If you make warre vpon mee by *Antonies* commaundemẽt, he seeth not wel for himself not perceyuing a greater warre to hang ouer hym. But if you do it vpon your owne authoritie,

Propontis, nowe the sea of saynt George.
Mysia, nowe *Bosseia* & *Seruia*.
Pompeys money taken.

He gathereth more.
Nicea, a citie in diuerse places.
Nicomedia, nowe *Nichar*, a citie in *Bythinia*.
Proconeso, nowe *Marmora*, an Ile in *Propontide*.

Pompeys frendes yeelde to *Antonie*.

Pompey assayleth his enemies by night.

Pompey loseth occasion.

Pompey desireth speach with *Furnius*.

‘ I pray you and beseeche you that you would cease till my Em-
‘ bassadours returne, or carie me safely to him. And to you, O
‘ *Furni*, I will committe my selfe, so you will promise me to deli-
uer me safe to *Antonie*. Thus much hee sayde, hoping in *An-
tonie*, as a gentle man, and seeking to passe his iourney quietly.

Furnius to *Pompey*. To whom *Furnius* thus answeared. If thou wouldest haue cō-
‘ mitted thy selfe to *Antonie*, thou shouldest haue done it at the
‘ first, or beyng quiet, haue looked for answeare at *Mitylene*: but
‘ makyng warre, thou haste brought thy selfe to this case, if thou
‘ repentest thee, blame not vs. *Antonie* hath appoynted *Titius* to
‘ receyue thee, to hym therefore, committe thy selfe, of whom thou
‘ mayst require that thou requirest of mee. For he commaunded,
‘ that if thou playest the parte of an enimie, to kill thee: if not, to
‘ bryng thee honorably vnto him.

Pompey hateth *Titio*. *Pompey* was offended with *Titio*, as vnthankfull: bycause hee had made this warre agaynst hym, whome he once tooke and saued hym. Therefore *Pompey* was the more grieued to come into his handes, that was but a meane man: whose fidelitie he suspected, eyther of his behauiour, or of the former iniurie hee had done him, before he did him pleasure. Wherefore once agayne he yelded to *Furnius*, & desired to be taken, but it was not graunted. Then he desired *Amyntas* might take him, which whē *Furnius* sayde, he should not do, bycause it were a wrong to him that had commission from *Antonie*, and so they brake.

Pompey yeldeth to *Furnius* vvho vvoulde not take him nor suffer *Amyntas* to do it. *Furnius* Soldiours thought hee woulde haue yelded the nexte day to *Titius*. But he in the night, makyng fires after the maner, and sounding the trompe at euery relefe of the watche, with a few went out of the campe, not tellyng them what he woulde doe, for hee meante to haue gone to the sea, and haue set *Titius* campe a fire, whiche peraduenture he had done, had not *Scaurus* gone from him and signified his departure, and whiche way he went. Then *Amyntas* folowed him with fiftene hundred horsemen, to whom when he drewe nigh, his people forsoke hym, some openly and some secretely. When he sawe himself forsaken of all sides, hee yelded to *Amyntas* without condition, refusing *Titius* conditions. Thus the yonger Sonne of great *Pompey* was taken,

Pompeis intent, discouered by *Scaurus*.

Pompey forsaken of all handes.

Pompey yeldeth to *Amyntas* vvithout condition.

losing

loſing his father when he was very yong, and his brother, when he was toward mans eſtate. Which two being taken away, he lay cloſe a great whyle, and vexed *Spayne* wyth priuie robberies, tyll he hadde good reſort to him, and then he profeſſed hymſelfe to be *Pompeys* ſonne, and made open rodes: and when *Iulius Cæſar* was ſlayne, he moued playne warres, beeyng ayded wyth greate multitudes and forces of the ſuddayne, gayning Shippes, and publike treaſure. He oppreſſed *Italy* wyth famine, and broughte hys enimies to what conditions he woulde, and that moſt is, when the wicked condemnation was executed in *Rome*, he ſaued manye of the noble men, that enioyed theyr Countrey by his benefyte: but Fortune not fauouring hym, he woulde neuer take the aduantage of hys enimie, neglecting manye occaſions, he would lye ſtill.

The comming vp of Pompey.

The good actes of Pompey.

Negligence vndid Pompey.

Thys was he that now is in bondage.

Titius commaunded hys army to ſweare to *Antony*, and put hym to death at *Mileto*, when he hadde lyued to the age of fortye yeares, eyther for that he remembred late diſpleaſure, and forgot olde good turnes, or for that he had ſuch commaundemente of *Antony*.

Titius putteth Pompey to death at Mileto, a Citie in the endes of Ionia and Caria.

There bee that ſaye, that *Plancus* and not *Antony*, dyd commaunde hym to dye, whyche beeyng preſident of *Syria*, had *Antonyes* ſignet, and in greate cauſes wrote letters in hys name. Some thynke it was done wyth *Antonyes* knowledge, he fearyng the name of *Pompey*, or for *Cleopatra*, who fauoured *Pompey* the great.

Plancus.

Some thynke that *Plancus* dyd it of hymſelfe for theſe cauſes, and alſo that *Pompey* ſhoulde gyue no cauſe of diſſention betweene *Cæſar* and *Antony*, or for that *Cleopatra* woulde turne hyr fauour to *Pompey*.

When hee was diſpatched, *Antony* toke hys iourney into *Armenia*, and *Cæſar* agaynſte the *Slauonians*, continuall enimyes of the *Romanes*, neuer obeying the *Romane* Empire, but reuoltyng in euery ciuill warre.

The Illyrians now Slauonians continuall enimies of the Romanes.

And bycause the warres of *Illyria* are not thoroughly knowen vnto me, nor sufficient to make a iust volume, and can not be declared commodiously otherwise, I haue thought it good to referre them to the time, that they were subiect to the *Romanes*, and making a compendious Treatise of them, to ioyne them with the affayres of *Macedonie*.

FINIS.



¶A CONTINVATION of Appian of Alexandrîa:

*Wherein is declared the laſt acte of the wo-*full Tragedie of the Romaines bloudie Diſſentions, in the whiche *Marcus Antonius* was querthrowen by ſea at *Actio*, and by land at *Alexandrîa:* Where both he and *Cleopatra* killed themſelues, after the which, *Octauius Cæſar* was the only Monarch of all the Romane Empire alone.

In this we be taught: That Gods vengeance is sharp, although it be slovv, *and* that peoples rule must giue place, and princely povver preuayle.



AT LONDON,
Imprinted by Henrie Bynniman.

Anno, 1578.



AT LONDON,

¶TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his ſingular good Mayſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton, Knight*, Ca-pitaine of the Queenes Maieſties *Garde, Vizchamberlaine to hir Highneſſe, and one of hir Maieſties moſt honou-rable priuie Counſayle.*

AS the loſſe of old poſſeſsiõs, is a griefe to the landed men: euẽ ſo the decay of aũtient bokes, is a ſmart to the learned ſort. *Titus Liuius* father of the *Romane* hiſtorie (whom to ſee, repaire was made of Gentlemen frõ farre places, vvhiles he liued) hath not eſcaped the iniurie of time, but bin left vnperfitte, to the great ſorovv of poſteritie, after he dyed, *Cornelius Tacitus* that folowed him both in matter and age, could not auoyde that iniquitie, althoughe the Emperor *Tacitus* commaunded his bokes to be written ten times euery yeare. This Authour *Appianus Alexandrinus*, hath had the like lucke, for al the eſtimation he vvas in, the halfe of his labour being loſt, and the laſt part of the vvhole ciuill tumult not now to be had frõ him, but briefly ſupplyed otherwiſe, that the end of the *Romanes* vvo, & the beginning of our ioy, might be declared, the one ſucceſsiuely folovving of the other. The vvhich it may pleaſe your honour to accept, according to your accuſtomed goodneſſe, beſeeching the liuing Lord long to preſerue the ſame.

Your Honours humble ſeruaunt. H. B.



A Continuation of Appian of Alexandria, till the ouerthrow of M. Antonius,

vvhiche vvas the laste ciuill dissention after the whiche, Octauius Cæsar had the rule of all the Romane Empire alone.

After that *Octauius Cæsar*, and *M. Antonius* had agréed with *Sextus*, the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the great, it was determined that *Antonius* shold make warre vpon the *Parthians*, to reuenge the death of *Crassus*. Wherefore presently he sent *Ventidius* to represse the *Parthians*, and he to gratifie *Octauius*, was content to marie his sister, and to be made the holy minister of *Iulius Cæsar* that was dead, he remayning in *Rome*, ruling by common consent, with *Octauius Cæsar*, as well the matters of the Cittie as of the whole Empire. And as it befalleth betwéene such Princes, to make pastimes in play and matches, *Antonie* alwayes had the worse, at the whiche he was somewhat moued. He had in his company an *Aegiptian*, after ỹ maner of a Sothsayer, who, eyther to please *Cleopatra*, or to shew the very truth, tolde *Antonie* then, that hys fortune was obscured by the fortune of *Octauius*. Therefore hée aduised him to go further off. For, sayth he, whē thou art abrode, thy nature is noble and corragious, but when thou art with him, it is deiect and afrayde of his. *Antonie*, whether by this motion, or his owne inclination, was content to leaue all there to *Octauius*, and to go towarde his olde loue of *Aegipt*, yet carying his new wife with him into *Grecia*, pretending an earnest desire to reuenge the iniurie that was done to *Crassus*, which was after this sorte:

Antonie marieth *Octauia*.

Antonies fortune is ouercome of *Cæsars*.

Crassus, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, were all suters for the Consulship in *Rome*, agaynst them stode *Cicero* and *Cato*. *Crassus* and *Pompey* were chosen, and they continued *Cæsars* authoritie in *France* for fiue yeares longer, whiche he only desired. In casting lottes for

Crassus, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*.

the prouinces, *Spayne* fell to *Pompey*, whereof he was glad, beyng giuen to please his wife: and the people was gladde, beyng desirous to haue *Pompey* nigh the Citie. *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, whereof he was onely gladde, and all other sory. For they perceyued hee was wholy giuen to spoyle the countrie of *Parthia*, whiche was not comprehended in the law of the prouinces. Wherfore *Atteius* the Tribune of the people, forbad *Crassus* to inuade *Parthia*, but he beeing animated by *Cæsars* letters out of *Fraunce*, and by *Pompeys* presence in *Rome*, wente forwarde, notwithstandyng that the Tribune, at the gate of the Citie did stande by, with fire and Sacrifice, coniuryng him in the name of moste straunge and fearefull Goddes, not to procæde, the which kinde of execration, the *Romanes* thinke to be moste horrible, bothe to him that doth pronounce them, & to him, against whom they be pronounced: when *Crassus* had passed the seas, and lost many of his shippes, saylyng before due time, and after he had gotten some cities by accorde, and wonne one by force, he woulde nedes be called *Imperator*, for the which he was mocked, bicause that name was not giuen to any by the *Romanes*, before he had in a plaine batayle, ouerthrowne .x. M. and spending one winter like a rent gatherer, without any exercise of his soldiours, & in spoyling a Temple at *Hierapoli*, in the entry of the which, he & his sonne, fell one vpon an other, & being offred help of the king of *Armenia*, if he would make his iourney thorough his countrie, which was the better way, he refused it, & went rashly through *Mesopotamia*. And at the passage ouer a bridge which he had made, it thundred & lightned in his face, & blew downe a parte of the bridge, and after he was come ouer, his campe was twice set a fyre by lightning. These & many other tokens might haue moued him, but he went forth, till both he & his sonne and .xx. M. *Romanes* were slaine, & .x. M. taken, and al the despite done to them that could be deuised. Vpon this occasiō did *Antonie* leade his army against ỹ *Parthians*, & by his Leiftenāt *Ventidius* gaue them a great ouerthrow, whiles he was at *Athens*. Wherfore he made great feastings among the *Græcians*, and being ready to go forth, he ware a garland of holy Oliue, & to fulfill an oracle, caried with him a vessel of water. In

Crassus goeth to the vvarre a gaynst order.

Execration.

Imperator.

Hierapolis an holy citie in *Asia*, ful of maruelous things.

Tokens.

Antonie goeth against the *Parthians* to reuēge *Crassus*.

Antonie did better by his Leiftenants than by himselfe.

Ventidius.

the

the meane time *Ventidius* gaue an other ouerthrow, in ỹ whiche *Pacorus* ỹ kings sonne was slaine, the which although it seemed a sufficiẽt reuenge for *Crassus* death, yet he gaue thẽ the thirde ouerthrow betweene *Media* & *Mesopotamia*. Then *Ventidius* thought it good to stay, least *Antonie* should enuie him. And when he had subdued them ỹ reuolted, he besieged *Cõmagenus Antiochus*, in *Samosata*, who promised to giue a thousand talents & obey *Antony*. Vnto whom *Ventidius* willed him to send his Embassadours, because he was at hand: which being done, he would not receyue ỹ offer, that it shoulde not seeme that *Ventidius* hath done all. But when the citie stoode at defence, and would not yeelde, he was sorie he had refused the condition, & was content, to take three hundreth talents, & go his way agayne to *Athens*, hauing done litle or nothing in *Syria*. He rewarded *Ventidius* very well, & sent him to *Rome* to triũph, & only he had triũph of the *Parthians*, a man of base bloud, & auãced by *Antonie*, who cõfirmed ỹ saying of *Casar* & *Antonie*, ỹ they did better preuayle by their Lieftenants, than by themselues. Now was *Orodes* the king of *Parthia*, killed by his sonne *Phraates*, frõ whom many fled away, & amõg other *Moneses* a noble mã came to *Antonie*, who cõparyng his miserie, to *Themistocles*, & his owne felicitie, to ỹ kyngs of *Persia*, gaue him three cities: euẽ as *Xerxes* gaue .iij. cities to *Themistocles*, for his bread, drynke and meate, and as some say, two more, for his lodgyng and apparell. And when the kyng sent for *Moneses* to be restored, *Antonie* was content with it, and offered hym peace, so he would render the Ensignes and the captiues that were taken at the losse of *Crassus*. Then he toke his iourney by *Arabia* and *Armenia*, where he increased his army by the confederate kyngs, whereof ỹ greatest was ỹ king of *Armenia*, who lent him .6000. horse, & .7000 fotemẽ; he mustred his army, & had of *Romane* fotemẽ .lx. M. of *Spanish*, *French*, & *Romane* horsmẽ .x. M. of other natiõs of horse & fotemẽ .xxx. M. And this great power, ỹ did cast a terror euen to the *Indians*, only the vaine loue of *Cleopatra*, brought to none effect. For the desire he had to come againe into hir companie made him do al things out of time and order. He had lefte his lasse wife *Octauia* with hyr childzen, and the chyldzen her had

Samosatis, a citie vvhere is a tage of a maruelous nature.

Antonie refuseth good offer.

Antonie returneth.

King *Orodes* killed by his sonne.

Moneses to *Themistocles* compared.

Antonies liberalitie, to cõtervayle kings of *Persia*.

Vaine loue.

Octauia.

had by his first wyfe *Fuluia*, with *Octauius Cæsar*. And beyng now in the Eaſte partes, was wholy gyuen to the wanton deſire of *Cleopatra*, to whome hée gaue the prouinces of *Cypres*, *Caloſyria*, *Phænitia*, and a parte of *Cilicia* and *Iurie*, wherewith the *Romanes* were muche grœued, and alſo with his crueltie to *Antigonus* kyng of *Iurie*, and with his vanitie in the chyldren hée had by *Cleopatra*, callyng the one, *Alexander*, the Sunne, and the other *Cleopatra* the Mone. Yet was *Cleopatra* not the fayreſt woman in the worlde, but very wittie and full of artificiall deuiſes, and had the caſte to beguyle *Antonie*, who was eaſie to be ledde. For haſte, hée woulde not ſuffer hys armie to reſte after ſo long a iourney: for haſte hée lefte his engines behinde him, whereof one was called a Ramme of foure ſcore fote long: for haſte hée lefte *Media*, paſſyng by the lefte hande of *Armenia* into *Atropatia*, whiche hée ſpoyled. Then hée beſieged the great Citie of *Phraata*, where hée founde hys errour, in leauyng hys artillerie behinde. Therefore to cauſe hys men to do ſomewhat, he made them caſte vp mountes. In the meane time the kyng came forth with a mighty armye, and hearing that the artillerie was left behind, he ſent a great parte of his horſe men, which ſlew *Tatianus*, and ten thouſand that were left for the ruſtody of the Engines, & toke and ſpilled the munitiõ. The which did much diſcourage his Soldiours, & cauſed that the kyng of *Armenia* forſoke him, for whoſe cauſe he made the warre. The *Parthians* were very bragge vpon the *Romanes*, wherefore *Antonie* toke ten legions, and all his horſemen to range the countrie, thereby to prouoke the enimie to fight. Whẽ he had gone one dayes iourney, he ſaw the enimies round aboute him, therefore, in his campe he determined to fight, yet would not ſo ſeme, but rayſed his campe as to goe away, commaundyng that when the fote men were at hande, the horſemenne ſhoulde ſette vppon the enimie, whiche ſtode in a triangle battayle to beholde the *Romanes* good order, ſhakyng their dartes. When the tyme ſerued, the horſemen gaue ſo fierce an onſette vppon them, as they toke away the vſe of their ſhotte, notwithſtandyng they ſtucke to it. But when the fotemen came, with ſhoute and fearefull ſhew, the

Parthian

Cleopatra.

Antonie killeth the king of *Iurie*. Vanitie of *Antonie*.

Haſte maketh vvaſte.

Atropatia one part of *Media*.

The artillerie of the *Romanes* taken.

Parthian horsemen were disordered, and turned their backes. Antony thinking to make an ende of the warre that daye, gaue them the chase, and yet toke but rrr. and kylled lrrr Whiche agayne did much discourage the Romanes, since they lost so many at their cariage, and wanne so little at this victory.

Antony obteyneth a small victory.

The next day Antony returned to his Camp, and by the way at the first mette with few of his enimies, afterwards more and more, and at the last all, so as being much molested with them, with much adoe he got to the Tentes, where the enimie assaulted the trench, the which, diuers for feare did forsake. Wherefore Antony punished euery tenth man, and fedde the rest wyth barley. The warre was grœuous to them both, for Antony could no more goe a forraging without great losse. And the Kyng feared, that if his men shoulde lye in the fielde all Winter, they would forsake him. Wherefore he deuised this policie. The noble men of the Parthians suffered the Romanes to carrie awaye their prayes, with great commendation of their worthinesse, and that the king woulde be glad of peace, and so riding nearer the army, would rebuke Antony for kéeping them there in so strange a countrey, out of the whiche, though the Parthians were theyr friends, it shoulde be harde for them to escape. When Antony hearde of this, he caused to be enquired, whether these men dyd speake by the Kings consent, which they aunswered to be. Then he sente to the King, that if he woulde restore the Captiues and ensignes, he would depart. The King sayd, he would sende them to him, if he would depart quickly. Therefore Antony made vp, and retired. At his going away, he did not speake to the Souldyoures as he was wont to doe, being very eloquente that way, whereat many were offended, committing the matter to be done to Domitius Aenobarbus. Being in his way, one Mardus, well acquainted with the Parthian maners, whose faith the Romanes had proued before, tolde Antony it was best for him to goe so, as hée might haue the hilles on his right hande, and not to hazarde hys army laden with armour to the Parthian archers and horsemen in the playne way. Antony consulted with his counsell, pretending yet not to be afrayde of the breache of peace, and accepting

Punishment. To be fedde vvith barly, vvas a punishment among Souldyoures.

Craft of the Parthians.

Antony omitteth a Generalles part.

Mardus.

the counsell as compendious. *Antony* required suretie of *Mardus*, he bad him bind him, till he came into *Armenia*. So beeyng bound, he brought him two dayes quietly.

Parthians vpon the *Romanes*.

The third day when *Antony* loked for nothing lesse than the *Parthians*, *Mardus* espyed the banke of a riuer to bee broken downe, and the water flowing abroade, which he coniectured to be done by the enimie to hynder the passage of *Antony*. Therefore he wished *Antony* to loke to it, for they were not farre off. *Antony* sette his men in order, and by and by the *Parthians* came vppon him, whome he receyued with his shotte. So there was muche hurte done on both sides, till the French horsemen brake vpon them, and put them by for that day. *Antony* being taughte hereby, went on with a square battel, fencing the same thoroughly with the shotte. The Horsemen were commaunded to gyue repulse to the enimie, and that done, not to chace them farre. So when the *Parthians* these foure dayes had receyued as much hurt as they had done, they minded to retire, bycause the winter was at hand.

Parthians trouble the *Romanes*.

Fuluius Gallus taketh an euill enterprise.

The fifth daye, *Fuluius Gallus* a valiant man, desired *Antony* to haue a greater bande of shotte, and more Horsemen, and he would do some notable feate, which when he had receyued, he put backe the enimie, not returning to the armie againe as they did before, but pursuing them along without feare, whiche when the leader of the rereward did see, he called him backe, but he would not obey. And whereas *Titius* tooke the banner to turne backe, he put it forward againe, and badde hym meddle with hys owne matters, and wente so farre, as he was compassed of hys enimies, and compelled to sende for helpe, wherein *Canidius* that was in greate credite wyth *Antony* dyd not well, for he sente but a fewe at once, which were some put backe, and vtterly haede bin lost, hadde not *Antony* come wyth hys legions in time, and abated the courage of the enimie. Notwithstandyng three thousande *Romanes* were slayne, and fyue thousande hurte, and *Gallus* wounded with foure dartes, of the which he dyed. *Antony* went about weeping, and comforting them: they desired him to be content, for all was well, if he were well. Great loue bare

Titius.

Canidius.

Romanes slayne.

Antony weepeth.

the

the souldyoures vnto him, for he was compted one of the best Captaynes of that time. The enimies were so encouraged by this victory, as they wayted at the Camp all night, thinking the *Romanes* would haue bin gone: And in the morning the number was much encreased, for the king had sent the horsemens gard of his person, but came at no fight himselfe, so as there was nowe fortie thousand horsemen. *Antony* woulde haue gone among the souldyoures with a blacke gowne, but his fri, ids woulde not suffer him: so he went generall like, and praysed them that hadde done well, and rebuked them that had done otherwise. They prayed him to pardon them, and to punish euery tenth man. Only they desired him to leaue his sorrow. Then he held his hands vp to heauen, saying: If anye disdeyne of God remained of hys former fortune, he desired it might fall vpon him, so the *Romanes* army might be saued, and haue the victory.

Antony lamenteth.

Antonyes prayer.

The next day, he went more warily, when contrary to they' loking, the *Parthians* came trolling downe the hill, thinking to haue gotten pray, and not to haue founde warre. The *Romanes* toke in their archers and such other, into the middest of the battell, causing thē to kneele, and they stouping, couered them with their shields, vppon the which the *Parthians* arrowes sliced off. And the *Parthians* thinking that the *Romanes* had stouped for weerinesse, made a shoute, and came vpon them with their staues, at the whiche time the *Romanes* rose, and so encountred with them, as they droue them away. Thus were they troubled dyuers dayes, and made but little way.

Policie of the *Romanes*.

Parthians repulsed.

Nowe was there wante in the Campe, for they coulde getke no corne, and their Cattell was spente, partly by losse, and partlye by carrying the wounded and sicke men. A barly loke was solde for the waighte of siluer. They ate strange hearbes and rootes, and some that brought present death, with a kinde of madnesse, for they coulde do nothing else but roll stones, so as all the Campe was almost occupyed in picking and turning of stones. The remedye of thys was wyne, whyche wanted in the host, therefore when they hadde vomited the melancolie, they dyed. Manye thus dying, and the *Parthians* still commyng vpon

VVant in the *Romanes* Camp.

Barly bread.

Hearbes venemous.

Frensye in the Camp.

VVine.

vpon them, *Antony* oftentimes cryed, Oh the tenne thousande, meaning the tenne thousand *Greekes*, which, vnder the leading of *Xenophon*, passed safe a farre longer way, in despight of their enimies. Nowe when the *Parthians* perceyued they could not preuayle againste the *Romanes*, nor breake their order, but were alwayes put backe, they began to deale gently againe wyth the forragiers, shewing the strings of their bowes vnbente, and to make an ende, onely a fewe *Medians* shoulde followe the tayle, to keepe the Townes from spoyling. These wordes made the *Romanes* glad, and *Antony* minded to goe the champion way, and leaue the hilles. And being entred this way, one *Mithridates*, a cousin of that *Monesis* that fledde to *Antony*, came vnto him, and required to speake with one that coulde the *Parthian* tong. To whome *Alexander* of *Antioch*, a friende of *Antonyes*, was appoynted. He tolde him that *Monesis*, for good will to *Antony*, had sent him to shew, that vnder the hilles which he saw before him, nerte vnto the which the playne way did ioyne, the *Parthians* lay in secrete, to beguile him againe by their faire wordes. Therfore if he woulde saue himselfe and his host, he shoulde not leaue the way by the hilles, where in deede he shoulde finde laboure and thirst, but the other way he should not escape *Crassus* misfortune. This saide, he went his way. *Antony* communicated this wyth his friendes, and with *Mardus*, who affirmed it to be most lyke the truth. Therefore he sayd it was best to go by the hils, though it were paynefull, and shoulde lacke water one daye. Nowe *Antony* toke this way, and commaunded euery man to carrie as muche water as he coulde: but there was lacke of vessels, and the most part carryed it in their sallets. When the *Parthians* spies had told whiche way *Antony* went, contrary to their manner, they came vpon him by night, and by breake of day, set vpon the rereward, wearyed with labour & watching. So they were compelled both to march, and to resist the enimie. Now was the forewarde come to a flood, whiche was very cleere, but salt, that whosoeuer dranke of it, was full of payne. *Mardus* gaue them warning of it, but the Souldyoures would not be ruled. Then *Antony* ranne aboute, praying them to refraine and passe on, for a

The army of Xenophon.

Antony warned

V. Water.

Salt water.

little further was a floud of healthsome water, and so chose a way, that the *Parthians* could not follow them. And to cause the Souldyoures to haue some shadow, he blew the retreat, and pitched his tents. Which being done, and the *Parthians* going backe, as they were wonte, *Mithridates* came agayne, and spake with *Alexander*, telling hym, that after the Souldyoures had rested a whyle, they should remoue and passe ouer the nert floud, for so farre the enimie would followe. When *Antony* heard this, he toke many cuppes of gold to *Alexander*, to giue *Mithridates* as many as he could carrie away. So *Antony* departed, and hadde much ado, for the enimies followed so hard, as they sacked hys carriage, and toke his tables and plate of golde, and as many as hadde anye thyng, they kylled and spoyled, whereby it was thought that all the armye was disordered, and scattered, in so much as *Antony* called one of his chamber to hym, and wylled him, if he commaunded hym, to kyll hym, he shoulde do it vppon hys oth, and take away his head, that he might not be knowen when he was dead. *Antony* being in this sorrowe, *Mardus* dyd comfort him, affirming that the floud was at hande, whiche hée knew by the coldnesse of the aire that there was felte. *Antony*, to bring all to quiet, commaunded to Campe euen there. By breake of daye, the *Parthians* againe charged vppon the tayle, in defence of whome, the shotte was sent, and the battell defended them with their shieldes. The *Parthians* durst not come to hand-strokes, so as by this time the fore-ward was come to the floud, ouer the which, *Antony* sent first the hurt & sicke souldioures, and appoynted all the Horsemen to encounter with the enimie, by the whiche meane, they that wente ouer, might haue leysure to drinke. When the *Parthians* sawe the floude, they vnbente theyr bowes, and sayde, the *Romanes* myghte nowe drinke at leysure, for they had so deserued by theyr vertue.

Mithridates.

Antonyes giftes.

Antonyes treasure spoyled.

Antony in dread.

Colde ayre token of vvater.

The *Romanes* beeyng past the floud, did marche in order, not yet trusting the *Parthians*.

The sixth daye after theyr last fyghte, they came to the floude *Araxes*, which diuideth *Media* and *Armenia*. And bycause thys floud was harde to passe, they were agayne afrayd of theyr enimies

Araxes diuideth *Armenia* from *Atropatia*.

mies had layne in awayte, but passing quietly, as sone as they came to lande, they reioyced at it, as they do that sée it from the Sea, and embraced one another, wéeping for ioy. Now followed there another inconuenience, for the Countrey being plentifull, and the Souldyoures taking to muche, fell into many diseases, and dyed. *Antony* then mustered his men, finding he wanted twenty thousand fotemen, and foure thousand Horsemen, halfe of the which dyed of diseases. From the Citie of *Phraata*, they had bin comming seauen and twenty dayes, in the whiche they hadde fought eyghtéene times with the *Parthians*, of whome they coulde not haue perfite victory, bycause the King of *Armenia* forsoke them, whose army hadde bin most expert to haue dealte with the *Parthians*: wherefore euery man counselled *Antony* to be reuenged of the King: *Antony* vsing policies, shewed all courtesies to the men of the Countrey, and sent so fayre messages to the King, as he came vnto him, whome he committed by and by, and carryed him to *Alexandria*, where he triumphed ouer hym, which thing greeued the *Romanes*, that *Antony* woulde defraude his Countrey to please his Concubine. The winter was so greate, that he lost eyghte thousande, before he coulde come to a Castell called *Leuce*, where he was in great agonyes, till *Cleopatra* was come. Then like a foolishe yong mã, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes and riot, running from his table to the sea side euery day to sée if she were come. When she came, she brought muche apparell, and money to gyue the Souldyoures. Some say, *Antony* toke them to hir, to gyue the *Romanes*.

Surfet.

Losse of the *Romanes*.

Antony taketh the King of *Armenia* by slight.

Antonyes triumph displeasant to the *Romanes*.

Leuce.

Antonyes fondnesse.

Now was there a variance fallen betwéene the Kings of *Parthia* and *Media*, for the spoyle of the *Romanes* goodes. The *Median* King sent to *Antony* to come agayne, and he woulde ioyne wyth him with all his power which was very great. *Antony* was not a little glad héereof, bycause the helpe of the *Medians* might bée the meane for hym to conquer *Parthia*, and so intended to make a new iourney.

Antony called by the *Median* agayne.

At *Rome Octauia* desired to goe to hir husbãd *Antony*. *Cæsar* was content with it, not so muche to pleasure his sister, as to take occasion by the euill handling which he suspected would followe of hir,

Cæsar seeketh occasion to vexe *Antony*.

hir, to moue iuſt warre againſt *Antony*. When ſhe was come to *Athens*, ſhe receyued letters from *Antony*, to ſtay there, by cauſe of his newe voyage. She ſmelling the matter, wrote vnto him to know whether ſhe ſhould ſend the things whiche ſhe had brought him, that is to ſaye, many coates for his Souldyoures, great plenty of Cattell, money, and rewards for his Captaines, and two thouſande freſhe Souldyoures, for the gard of his perſon, all the which, were well ſet out to hym by *Niger* his meſſenger. When *Cleopatra* heard this, fearing that if *Octauia* came, ſhe would put hir out of concept, ſhe beſtirred hir, ſhe pined hirſelfe, ſhe wepte, and wayled, and woulde néedes dye for *Antonyes* ſake, who ſayd, he would take his iourney in hand. Some there were that blamed *Antony* as rude and hard harted, that hée would put ſo louing a Lady and ſo great a Quéene in danger of hir life, eyther for his wiues ſake, or for anye other cauſe, in ſo muche as *Antony* was made a tame fole, and deferred vnto the next ſommer his expedition, and returned to *Alexandria* to winter with *Cleopatra*. Now was *Octauia* returned to *Rome*, & hir brother willed hir to goe to hir owne houſe, but ſhe went to *Antonyes* houſe, which ſhe kept with ſo good order, and cheriſhing as well the children he had by *Fuluia*, as by hir ſelfe, as it did aggrauate the fault of *Antony*, that he woulde forſake ſo vertuous a *Romane* Lady, for an *Egiptian* ſtrãger. *Octauia* deſired hir brother, that if there were none other cauſe of warre but by hir, that he would not moue it, for ſhe ſhould beare the blame. Therefore in all requeſts ſhe did help *Antonyes* friends, whereby vnwillingly ſhe hindered *Antony*, who was nowe ſo fonde waren, as hée woulde haue *Cleopatra* called by the name of the Goddeſſe *Iſis*, Quéene of *Aegypt*, *Cyprus*, *Affrike*, and *Celoſiria*: and *Cæſarion*, whome it was thought ſhe hadde by *Iulius Cæſar*, to be hir companion in theſe Kingdomes. The ſonnes that he hadde by hir, he called Kings of Kings. To *Alexander*, *Armenia*, *Media*, & *Parthia*: to *Ptolomeo*, *Phœnitia*, *Syria*, & *Cilicia*, he appoynted. In *Rome Cæſar* accuſed him of this geare before ỹ Senate. *Antony* by letters, accuſed *Cæſar* likewiſe. Firſt, that he had not made him partaker of *Sicilia*, out of ỹ which he had wrong *Pompey*. Then, ỹ

Antony forbidderh his wife *Octauia* to come to him.

Niger.

Craft of *Cleopatra*.

Antony doteth.

Octauia.

Modeſtie of *Octauia*.

Antonyes foolishneſſe.

Iſis.

Cæſarion.

Accuſations betweene *Cæſar* and *Antony*.

he had not restored the Shyppes which he had sent him. Thirdlye, that hauing deposed *Lepidus* his fellow in authoritie, he kepte those profites and prouinces to his owne vse, and that he had diuided *Italy* to his owne souldioures, and not remembred his. To these *Cæsar* answered, that bycause *Lepidus* ruled out of order, hee had broughte him to order, his prouinces he woulde participate with him, when he would diuide with him *Armenia*. As for hys Souldyoures, they hadde no portion in *Italy*, no more than he in *Media* & *Parthia*. Whē *Antony* heard of this, he sent by & by *Canidius* with xix. legions to the sea. He carrying *Cleopatra* wyth hym, wente to *Ephesus*, whither all his Naule assembled, to the number of eyght hundred shippes of burden, of the which, *Cleopatra* gaue him two hundreth, and two hundreth talentes for the expences of the warre. *Domitius* and other of *Antonyes* counsell, woulde haue had *Cleopatra* to haue gone to *Egypt*, till the warre were ended. But she corrupted *Canidius* to tell him, that it was not honorable to remoue hir that was at suche charge for the warre, nor sure to exasperate the *Egyptians* mindes, in whome was great part of his forces by sea. So *Antony* must liue wyth *Cleopatra*, til they were both brought to death. From *Ephesus* they wente to *Samos*, where they made lusty cheere. For as all Kings, Princes, and prouinces were commanded to bring all maner of munition for the warre thither, euen so all kind of players, and people of pastime, wer willed also to be there, that at what time all the world as it were was in sorrowe for ẏ ruine that was toward, that only Iād was in all ioy & pleasure. The Kings sente all prouisiō thither, striuing who should make greatest bāquets, in so much as it was saide, if there be suche chæring before the war, what triumphing will there be, when the victory is gotten. From hence they wēt to *Priene*, where were shewed all ẏ Comedies & Tragedies, and then to *Athens*, where as kinds of newe shewes were deuised. Heere *Cleopatra*, for emulation of *Octauia*, to whome the *Athenians* had done great honoures, gaue a greate largesse to the people, and they againe made a decree of honours to be done to hir, at the whiche, *Antony* was as a Citizen of *Athens*, and in the name of the Citie made an Oration vnto hir.

Obiections of *Antony*.

Answeres of *Caesar*.

Canidius.

Naule of *Antony*.

Domitius.

Cleopatra laboureth to tarry wyth *Antony*.

Progresse of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. Samos.

Pastime out of time.

Priene.

Cleopatra enuieth Octauia.

Antony a Citizē of *Athens*. *Antony* playeth the Recorder.

Antony

Antonie had sent to *Rome*, to remoue *Octauia* out of his house. She went from it, with all his children, weeping and lamenting that she should be any cause of the warre. The people lamented, bothe hir and *Antonie*, specially they that had seene *Cleopatra*, who did not excell *Octauia*, neyther in beautie, nor in floure of yeares. *Cæsar Octauius* was afrayde, when he heard of *Antonies* expedition and great preparation, for he had nothyng ready, nor money to prepare, in gathering of the whiche, if *Antonie* had come on, *Cæsar* had bene in great daunger. For whyles money is so eracted, men are tumultours, but when it is gathered, they be quiet. Therefore it was thought a greate folie in *Antonie*, to detract the time. But what shal a man say, *That that wilbe, shalbe.*

Octauia is put out of *Antonies* house.

Cæsar in vvant.

Slackneſſe of *Antonie.*

Exaction of money.

Titius and *Plancus* two chiefe aboute *Antonie*, and they that gaue him aduise he should send *Cleopatra* away, fled from him to *Cæsar*, bycause *Cleopatra* began to maligne at them: and they did bewray *Antonies* Testament, being priuie to it. It was kept of the Virgines Vestalles, to whome *Cæsar* sente to haue it: they would not deliuer it, if he woulde take it from them, hee might. So he went, and toke it away, and first by himselfe redde it, and noted what might be sayde agaynst it. Then he called the Senate, and redde it openly, whereat many were grieued, thinkyng it not reasonable that a mans minde for his death, shoulde bee scanned whyles he was aliue. The greatest faulte that was founde, was this, that he had willed whereſoeuer he died, that his body should be caried to *Alexandria*, and sente to *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, one *Caluisius* a frende of *Cæsars*, obiected agaynst *Antonie*, That he had giuen hir the Librarie of *Pergamo*, in the whiche was two hundred thousand bookes. That he would rise from the table, and trample vpon hir fete by compace. That he suffered the *Epheſians* in his presence, to call hir Soueraigne. That when he gaue audience to Kings and Princes, he woulde receyue letters of loue from hir written in tables of pearle and Cristall, and reade them. That when *Furnius*, a man of authoritie in *Rome* and very eloquent, did pleade a cause before him, *Cleopatra* came by in a litter, & he left the court, and ranne downe to hir, and leanyng vpon the litter, went away with hir. Many

Titius, Plancus.

Antonies friends forsake him.

Antonies testamẽt bewrayed.

Cæsar obiected agaynst *Antonies* testament.

Librarie of *Pergamo.*

men thought *Caluisius* forged these crimes. Therefore *Antonies* frends made meanes to the people of *Rome* for him. And sent *Geminius* vnto him, to warne him to take hede, that he losse not his power, and be pronounced rebell to *Rome*. When *Geminius* was come into *Grecia*, *Cleopatra* suspected he came to entreate for *Octauia*. And beyng at supper, she taunted him, and vsed him spitefully: but he bare all, till he might haue *Antonie* alone. But what? ỹ would not be, but he was cõmaunded to tell why he came eũ at supper: he sayd that other things required a sober conference, but one thing he knew both sober and dronke, that all should be well if *Cleopatra* went into *Aegypt*. *Antonie* was angry at that. And *Cleopatra* sayde, Thou hast done well, *Geminius*, to tell the truth without any torture. *Geminius* went hys way out of hand. The Parasites of *Cleopatra* dyd cause many other to flée from them, bycause they coulde not beare their despites and contumelies, among whome was *Syllanius* and *Dellius*, who sayde hée feared to be destroyed of *Cleopatra*, for so *Glaucus* the Phisitian had tolde hym. When *Cæsar* was ready, the warre was denounced against *Cleopatra*, the authoritie taken from *Antonie*, bicause he had cõmitted it to a womans lust, and not in his right wits, beyng bewitched by hir. And leste all the warre to be directed by hir Eunuches and Ruffians, who also had the commaundement in ciuill affayres. Diuerse vnlucky tokens were séene at the beginnyng of this warre, both in *Italie* and *Grecia*.

Geminius.

Cleopatra taũteth *Geminius*.

Answere of *Geminius*.

Geminius telleth truth and is blamed.

Romanes fleeth from *Antonie*.

VVarre proclaymed.

Antonie had a nauie of warlike ships to the number of fiue hundred, wherof 110. were made for triumph. He had an hũdred thousand fotemen, xix.M. horsemen. *Bochus* king of *Africa*, *Tarcondemus* king of vpper *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* king of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* king of *Commagena*, and *Adallas* king of *Thracia*, were present at this war. *Polemon* king of *Pontus* sent ayde, likewise *Manchus* of *Arabia*, and *Herode* the *Iewe*, and *Amintas* the kyng of *Licaonia* and *Galatia*. Also the king of *Media* sent him succour. *Cæsar* had. 250. shippes for the warre, lxxx.M. fotemen, & as many horsemẽ as the enemie. *Antonie* had rule from the floud *Euphrates* & *Armenia*, to the sea of *Ionia* and *Illiria*. *Cæsar* had al from that sea to the west *Ocean*, & from thence to

Nauie of *Antonie*.

Confederate kings.

Nauie of *Cæsar*.

Countries of eyther side.

to the *Tuscan* & *Sicilian* sea. So much of *Africa* as bent towarde *Italie*, *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, and the pillers of *Hercules*, *Cæsar* had. The rest from *Cirene* to *Aethiopia*, *Antonie* helde. So much was he thrall to this woman, that where he farre passed in good fortemē, for hir pleasure he put all his strength in a nauie. And when he vnderstoode that the Captaines of the nauie found fault for lacke of good seamen, he supplied the want with roges, cariers, harnest men, and labozers of wasted *Græcia*, and yet was not the nauie furnished, but many shippes voyde and vnable to fight.

Cæsar made not his shippes huge & for ostentation & shew, but light & swift, & them well furnished, whiche he helde at *Tarent* and *Brūduse*. Frō thence he sent to *Antonie* to require him to lose no time, but to come forth, & he would giue him safe rodes & portes for his nauie, and giue him conuenient ground in *Italie*, to lande his men surely & quietly. *Antonie* on the contrary side bragging chalenged to fight with him hand to hand, which if he would not doe, then to fighte with him in *Pharsall* fielde, where *Cæsar* fought with *Pompey*. But *Cæsar*, whiles *Antonie* lay at anchor at *Actio*, whiche is now *Nicopoli*, passed the sea to get the towne of *Epirus*, whiche is now called *Toryne*. *Antonie* beyng afeard, the enimie should set vpon his shippes vnfurnished, made a shewe of great readinesse by shippyng oares on euery side, and so kept the porte. Wherby *Cæsar* being deceiued, went backe, and *Antonie* deuised to take away the water frō him, which was scant & naught. Hée dealt gently concerning *Domitio*, contrary to *Cleopatras* opiniō, for he being sicke, toke a litle boate & fled to *Cæsar*, ẏ which although it grieued *Antonie*, notwithstanding he sent him all his goodes & seruants. The which, bicause it was openly knowē that he was fled, so grieued him, that he died. The kings *Amintas* & *Deiotarus*, went to *Cæsar* also. And bycause *Antonies* nauie was not sufficient, he was cōpelled to loke & trust to his army by land. And *Canidius* ẏ was general of the fortemē, persuaded him in any wise to send *Cleopatra* home, & go to *Thracia* or *Macedonia*, & try ẏ mater by-lād. For *Dicomes* king of the *Getes* was redy to help him with great nūbers. And ẏ it shold be no shame to him to refuse ẏ fight by sea, bicause *Cæsar* had ẏ practise of it by reasō of ẏ *Sicilian* wars:

The maner of *Cæsars* Shippes

Cæsar prouoketh *Antonie*.

Antonie chalengeth combat vvith *Cæsar*.

Actio.

Toryne.

Canidius.

but

but it should be a great blame vnto him, not to vse his forces by lande, wherein he was moste experte, and suffer the same to be abused by sea. But *Cleopatra* vrged him to fight by sea, although she despayred of the victorie, and secretely prouided all meanes to flée away. In this time *Antonie* was in some daunger, there was a certaine narow space of grounde, betwéene him and his naule, ouer the whiche it was his maner to passe without feare, of the whiche, when *Cæsar* was aduertised, he layde wayte for him, the whiche, being a little to quicke, toke him that came before *Antonie*, and he hardely escaped and ranne away.

Antonie heareth not good counsell.

Antonie in danger.

When it was determined to fight by sea, they burned all the vnprofitable vessels, and kepte the Gallies of the best sorte, into the whiche he put twentie thousand fotemen, and two thousand Archers. Then a certayne Captayne, that had bene a good seruitour, and was an expert Soldiour, shewed his wounded body to *Antonie*, crying, O generall, why doest thou distrust these woundes and weapons, and puttest thy trust in brittell vessels? Let *Aegyptians* and other like make their fight by sea, giue vs the land, in the which we haue bene wonte to stande and die, or else to conquere. *Antonie* answered nothing to him, but with his hande and head, signifying he should be of good chéere, passed by, all hope layde aside, for where as the maisters of the shippes, would haue taken away the sayles, he commaunded them to be carried into the shippes, that none of the enimies shoulde escape him, as he prętended. That day, x.xiij. daies more, the rough weather deferred the fight. The fifth day, the weather beyng fayre, they made the fight. *Antonie* and *Publicola* had the righte wing, *Celius* the left, and *Marcus* and *Iusteius* the midde battayle. *Cæsar* appoynted *Agrippa* to the right, he helde the lefte. *Canidius*, had *Antonies* land Soldiours. *Taurus*, had *Cæsars*, beyng in order and quiet on the shore. *Antonie* went about hys naule in a foyste, exhorting his Soldiours, to fight without remouyng, bycause of the waight of the shippes, and commaunded the maysters, that standyng (as it were) at Anchor, they shoulde not sturre at the onset of the enimie, but auoyde the disaduantage of the place, in the mouth of the porte.

A good request of an old Capitayne, not graunted.

Antonie refuseth al good counsell.

The fight.

They

They say, that when *Cæsar* wente out before day to view hys naule, hée mette a man leadyng an Asse, and asking his name, he sayde, my name is *Fortunate*, and mine Asses name, is *Victorie*. The forme of this place, with the figure of the man and the Asse, he did sette vp afterwarde in a table of Brasse, in the common place of *Rome*. When hée had ouerlooked the residue of his naule, he betoke himselfe to the righte battayle, and behelde his enimies quiet in the straights: For it seemed they had lien at anchor: and so helde his shippes backe a good while, beyng two miles off. At sixe of the clocke, a good gale beganne to blowe, when as *Antonies* Soldiours would tarry no longer, but trustyng in the greatnesse of their ships, moued the lefte battayle. When *Cæsar* sawe that, hée was gladde, and held still his right battaile, that he might the more get his enimies out of the straightes, and with his swifte shippes, fighte with the huge heauy vessels of his enimies, which were nothing well manned. When the onset was giuen, they did not couragiously encounter, for *Antonies* ships could not well stirre to giue a good assault, whiche is best done by mouyng. *Cæsars* shippes were not fitte to gyue the charge vpon the front, bycause of the others sharpe and strong beakes: nor durst do it on the sides, for breakyng of their owne beakes, for the greate tymber and yron worke of those mighty vessels. Therefore it was like a fight on lande, or rather, as I may say it, an assault of a wall. For three or foure of *Cæsars*, did set vpon one of *Antonies*, and fought with theyr dartes, pykes, and fyred weapons. And *Antonies* menne flong downe theyr weapons from their towers out of their casting Engines. *Agrippa* began to stretch forth to compasse the rest, whiche when *Publicola* dyd see, he was forced to do the same, and so diuided from the midde battayle. And the fighte beyng very sore on bothe sides, and vncertayne to whome the victorie woulde fall, *Cleopatra*, with hyr threescore shippes, whiche were placed behinde the greate shippes, brake thorough to their greate disorder, and toke themselues to flight.

A token.

The diuersitie of the fight.

Cleopatra fleeth.

Here did *Antonie* shewe himselfe to haue forgotten his office

Antonie followeth.

Ere,

fice and charge, and verified the olde saying, *That the minde of a louer, liueth in an other body.* For as though he had bene annexed to hyr, and coulde neyther lyue nor die without hir, by and by, so sone as he saw hir shippe vnder sayle, he forsoke all, and left his soldiours to the slaughter of his enimie, for whom they shed their bloudes, and with two companions of *Aegypt*, got into a Bzygandine, folowyng *Cleopatra*, to bring both hir and himself to reprochfull death. When she did see him commyng, she sette out a flagge to call hym, so hée beyng hoysted vp to hyr, did not loke vppon hyr, nor shée vppon him, but wente and satte solitarie in the forepart of the shippe, holdyng his hedde with bothe his handes.

Loue.

Antony is hoysted into *Cleopatras* Shippe.

Shortly *Cæsars* swifte shippes that did followe hym were in sight, whome *Antonie* put backe, sauing one, in the whiche *Euricles* was, who fiersly pursued, shakyng his speare with threatnyng wordes. *Antonie* standyng still and askyng, who is hée that followeth *Antonie*? it is I (quoth hée) *Lacharis* sonne, that by the good fortune of *Cæsar* do pursue thée for my Fathers death. Yet did he not take *Antonies* shippe but the other that was of the same goodlinesse, in the whiche was all the riche furniture of *Cleopatra*.

Antony is pursued.

Euricles.

When hée was gone, *Antonie* satte still after one sorte and in one place, and spake not to *Cleopatra*, eyther for anger or for shame. But when hée was come to *Tænaro*, the womenne that were familiar to them bothe, brought them to talke, and then to borde and bedde. Entendyng to sende from thence into *Africa*, he chose one of the Quéenes riche shippes, full of Golde and Siluer, and gaue it to hys frendes, wishyng them to prouide for themselues. And when as they wepte and prayed hym to be of chéere, hée desired them to folowe hys requeste, and wrote to *Theophilus* hys officer at *Corinth*, to gyue them quicke dispatch, and to helpe to hyde them, till *Cæsar* might bée pacified.

Silence of *Antonie*.

Tænaro, a foreIande.

Antonie giueth his frends leaue to shift for themselues.

Many of the shippes of burden, and some of his frendes, were come from the fight, declaryng that the nauy was losse, but they

they thought the army by lande was safe. Wherefore he wrote to *Canidius* to make haste by *Macedonia*, and bring his armie into *Asia*.

In this case was *Antonie*.

Cæsar had a long fighte with *Antonies* naule, the whiche at length, by the vehemencie, bothe of the rage of the Sea and courage of the enimie, gaue ouer, onely fiue thousande beyng slayne, and three hundreth shippes taken. *Cæsars* victorie.

There were but fewe, that knewe of *Antonies* fleeyng, and when they hearde it, they wondred, as at a thyng incredible, That he, hauyng ninetene legions of fotemen, and twelue thousande horsemen, woulde forsake all and runne away, as though hée had not knowne the vnstableneſſe of Fortune, and had not proued the chaunce of warre, full many a tyme. The Souldiours thought still hée woulde come among them, in so muche as when *Cæsar* sente messengers to them, they reiected them, and so continued seuen dayes, but when their Capitayne *Canidius* was stolne away by night, and they left comfortleſſe, they yelded to the Conquerour, who sayled vnto *Athens*, and makyng vnitie with the *Gretians*, distributed corne among them, being afflicted before, with all kynde of craction and seruitude. When *Antonie* had sent *Cleopatra* into *Aegypt*, from *Paretonio*, hée wente into *Affrica*, with two frendes only, the one a *Gretian*, and the other a *Romane*, and there lyued solitarily, till hée heard that hys Lieftenauntes there, hadde forsaken him: Then he would haue kylled himselfe, but hys frendes did stoppe him. And so hée wente againe to *Cleopatra*, who was diuising by great expenses to carrie hyr naule into the noke of the strayghteſt place of the Sea, that is thought to diuide *Affrike* and *Asia*, that she might bée safe from inuasion. But, bycause the firſt shippes that came, had euill lucke, and for that *Antonie* hoped hys fotemenne were safe at *Actio*, hée caused hyr to leaue off, and fenced the mouthes of the floudde *Nilus*. This beyng done, *Antonie* buylded him an house in the Sea at the Lanterne, and rampyd it aboute, separating himselfe from the company of men: Men amazed at *Antonies* madneſſe.

Soldiours good opinion of *Antonie*.

Antonies footemen yeldeth.

Paretonio a porttovvne.

Antonie in despayre.

A deuise of *Cleopatra* for hyr safetie.

Antonie folovveth the trade of *Timon*.

Affirmyng hée woulde folowe the trade of *Timon*, that was surnamed, *Hater of men*. For when as he was forsaken of his frendes, and decepued of suche menne, as he had brought to aduauncement, hée toke this ingratitude so to the harte, that hée woulde refuse all mens societie: euen as *Timon* dyd, who was a Citizen of *Athens*, and called that house *Timons* Tabernacle. The firste that brought hym newes of the losse of hys fortemen at *Actio*, was *Canidius* hymselfe. And shortly after it was tolde hym that *Herode* the *Iewe* was gone to *Cæsar* with certayne legions, and that other Prynces dyd the lyke: none of these thyngs dyd moue him, but as beyng well wyllyng to leaue bothe hope and care, contented hymselfe with *Timons* Tabernacle. But beyng otherwise perswaded by *Cleopatra*, he came to the courte to *Alexandria*, and there gaue hymselfe to feasting and banquettyng, so as the *Alexandrians* dyd nothyng else a great whyle, but make good chéere. This maner of felowship, vsed among them that woulde lyue, they forsoke, and beganne an other, whiche was called, of them that woulde die togither, the whiche was not inferiour to the other, in delicatie nor superfluitie, and as many as had sworne to dye togither, made suche feastes in order by course, one to an other.

Timons tabernacle.

Euill newes one after an other.

Antony renueth his riot.

Feastes of the dying sorte.

Cleopatra beside all this gaue hyr selfe to the searche of moste spédy poyson and venom, and caused not onely suche growyng thyngs, as were accompted moste effectuous, to be sought, but also the lyuing beastes and Serpentes, and made a proofe of them all in some of hyr folkes. Then bothe shée and *Antonie* sente to *Cæsar*. Shée requyred that the kyngdome of *Aegypt* myght be entayled to hyr chyldren. *Antonie* desired hée myght lyue a pryuate lyfe in *Athens*, if hée might not doe it in *Aegypt*. For lacke of other frendes they were fayne to sende *Euphronius* their Schoolemaysster to him. For *Alexas* of *Laodicia* had decepued *Antonie*, and by the meane of *Herode* the *Iewe*, gaue hymselfe to *Cæsar*, who dyd not accepte hym, put him in chaynes, and sent him to die in his countrey. This rewarde had hée for hys vnfaithfulnesse to *Antonie*.

Cleopatra seketh for poyson.

Request of *Cleopatra*.
Requestes of *Antonie*.

Euphronius.
Alexas of *Laodicia*.

Infidelitie punished.

Cæsar

Cæsar would not heare *Antonyes* requests, but promised *Cleopatra* all kinde of courtesie, if she would reiect *Antony*. He sente his Liberte *Thyrenus* a learned man, that might moue that magnificall Lady wyth the hope of so lusty a yong Emperoure. He vsed so long and pleasing oration, that *Antony* had him in suspition: therefore he toke him, and caused him to be whipped, wighting to *Cæsar*, that he was stirred by his pride and insolencie, which would moue a man though he were in miserie. And if this (quoth he) doth greeue you, take my Liberte *Hipparchus* & is with you, and whippe him, and then we shall be euen. Nowe *Cleopatra*, that she might wipe away all suspition, honoured hym maruellously, and celebrating hir owne birth daye, meanely, as hir case required, she honoured his, so nobly and princely, that many that came poore to the feast, went rich away.

Cæsar promiseth much to *Cleopatra*.

Antony vvhippeth the messenger of *Cæsar*.

Scornefull message of *Antony*.

Birth day.

At this time *Agrippa* wrote to *Cæsar* from *Rome*, that in anye wise he should repaire thither, for the case required his presence. By this occasion the warre againste *Antony* was deferred tyll the next sommer, when *Cæsar* sent forces againste his Captaynes in *Affrike*, and went himselfe against him in *Asia*. And when he had taken *Peluſio*, it was suspected that *Cleopatra* was contented that *Seleucus* shoulde deliuer it: but she to purge this crime, toke the wife and children of him to be punished. She had a goodly sepulchre made, ioyning to the Temple of *Isis*, in the whiche she had placed all hir treasure, and princely things. And *Cæsar* being afrayd, that if she were driuen to desperation, she woulde set all on fire, put hir in great hope alwayes. Now was he come wyth his army to the Citie, and his horsemen lay at the horserace, vpon the which *Antony* came out so fiercely, as he droue them to the Camp. Then he returned into the Court, and toke *Cleopatra* in his armes, and kissed hir, and recommended him vnto hir, that had fought best, and she gaue him an head peece, and a coate armour of golde. Yet he that night fledde to *Cæsar*. Then *Antony* challenged *Cæsar* once againe to fight hande to hand. *Cæsar* answered, there were many wayes for *Antony* to dye. Then seing there was no way so honourable to dye, as in fight, *Antony* determined to set vpon *Cæsar* both by Sea & land, and at supper bad

Cæsar goeth to *Rome*.

Peluſio a part of *Egipt*.

Cleopatra in suspition.

Sepulchre of *Cleopatra*.

Antony issueth out of *Alexandria*, and repulseth *Cæsars* horsemen.

Cleopatra rewardeth the valiant Souldyoure.

The seconde chalenge of *Antony* vpon *Cleopatra*.

his mẽ drinke & make merry, for he coulde not tell if they ſhould do ſo any more, or ſerue other Lords, for as for himſelf, he ſhuld not liue. And whẽ they wept at the words, he ſayd, he would not leade thẽ to a fight, by ẏ which he might rather hope for a glorious death, thã a ſure & triumphãt victorie. About midnight, was heard ouer al ẏ citie ſuch a pleaſant noyſe & muſicke, as is wont to be vſed in ẏ ſacrifice of *Bacchus*, the which wẽt forth of ẏ Citie into the enimies Camp. It was expounded, that the God, whom he had moſt ſerued, did now alſo forſake him. In ẏ morning, he brought forth his footemen, & placed thẽ vpõ the hilles about the citie, where he ſtood to ſée ẏ ſucceſſe of his naule, the which comming nigh to ẏ enimie, ſaluted thẽ as friends, & they did the like, & ſo yéelded to thẽ. When this was perceyued, *Antonyes* horſemẽ fled to *Cæſar* alſo: his footemen did fight it out, & were ouercome, which being done, he retires into ẏ citie, crying, he was betrayd of *Cleopatra* to thẽ, againſt whome he had made war for hir ſake. She being afrayd of his furie, got hir into hir Sepulchre, cauſing the bridge to be drawne, & to be kept cloſe and ſhut. This done, ſhe ſent one out to tell him that ſhe was dead. Whẽ he heard it, he ſayd, Why tẽpteſt thou *Antony*? Thẽ he wẽt into his Chãber & vnharneſſed him, ſaying, O *Cleopatra*, I am not tormented that I am without thée, for I wil ſone be with thée, but that I being ſo great a Captayne, ſhould be preuẽted of thée, ẏ art but a womã, in ſuch a caſe of fortitude. *Heros* his faithful ſeruãt was with him, whom before he had ſworne to kill him whẽ he ſhould commaund it: Now (ſaith he) is the time for thée to do it, and take him his ſword. He turned his face and killed himſelf, and fell dead at *Antonyes* féete. Ah good *Eros* (quoth *Antony*) where thou couldeſt not abide to doe it to me, thou haſt taught me to do it my ſelfe, and ſo he thruſt the ſword into his belly, and layd downe vppon his bed. The ſtroke was not ſo great, as it could diſpatch hym, therefore he commaunded them that were by, to make an end of him, but they went out of the chamber, leauing him crying and lamenting, til *Diomedes* came from *Cleopatra*, to bring *Antony* to hir, who hearing ſhe was aliue, commanded to be caried to hir in their armes to ẏ doore of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not open, but let downe ſhéetes & lines to heaue him vp, whyche

Antony cheereth his men.

A noyſe in the Citie in the night of ſweete muſicke.

Antonyes ſhips forſake him.

His horſemen forſake him.

Antony complayneth of *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* ſleeth from *Antony*. Meſſage of *Cleopatra*.

Antonyes greefe

Heros. *Antonyes* man, killeth himſelfe.

Antony thruſteth his ſword into himſelfe.

Diomedes.

Antony is caried halfe dead into the Sepulchre.

she and hir two women did, that onely were with hir there. It was a pitifull sight to see him all bloudy, and yelding the ghost, to be halled vp so hardly, holding forth his hands, and stretchyng himselfe toward hir, as well as he could, the poore womē not hauing stregth ynough to do it, till *Cleopatra* with both hir hāds, bēding downeward as much as might be, got him vp, they ẏ were below, cryng vpon hir to haue pitie vpō him. Whē she had him in, she layde him vpō a bed, lamenting and tearing hir mourning weede, & wiping the bloud frō his face, called him Lord, husband & Emperour, forgetting hir owne sorow, for cōpassion of him. He being somewhat cōforted, desired a cuppe of wine, eyther for that he was a thirst, or ẏ he might the sooner be dispatched. Whē he had dronke, he wished hir to prouide for hir selfe, so wel as she could, hir honor being saued, & among *Cæsars* frieds, to trust *Proculeius* most: and that she shuld not afflict hirselfe for him, in this great alteratiō, but rather comfort hirselfe, ẏ she had dealt with him ẏ was most mighty & ful of power, who being a *Romane*, was not thorough cowardise ouercome of a *Romane*. This said, he yelded ẏ ghost, whē as *Proculeius* was come frō *Cæsar*, for whē *Antony* had strickē himselfe, & was drawē vp to *Cleopatra*, *Dercetem* one of his gard toke his bloudy sword, & caried it to *Cæsar*, telling him how it stood: which whē he heard, he went into his closet, & wept for *Antonyes* chance, that had bin a valiāt mā, & his cōpanion in many battels. Then he red his letters to his friendes, declaring how proudely & arrogātly he answered to his gentle letters, & he cōmanded *Proculeius* to do all ẏ he could, to get *Cleopatra* aliue, for he feared the destructiō of hir treasure, & thought it would be no final honor to him, if he might bring hir in triūph. She wold not talke wᵗʰ *Proculeius* wīn, but far of, so as hardly hir voyce could be heard. Hir request was, that hir kingdome might be established to hir children. *Proculeius* bad hir be of good chēre, and remit al to *Cæsar*, and marking ẏ place, sent word to *Cæsar*, who sent *Gallus* to talke with hir, and he of purpose prolōged the cōmunication, till *Proculeius* hauing got scalling ladders, with two more, got into ẏ window where *Antony* was taken in, & went streight to ẏ place wher she was talking wᵗʰ *Gallus*. Whē one of ẏ womē cryed, O vnhappy *Cleopatra*, thou art takē aliue. Whē she would haue strickē

A pitifull sight.

VVords of *Antony* at his death

Proculeius.

Antony dyeth.

Dercetem.

Cæsar vveepeth for *Antony*.

Request of *Cleopatra*.

Gallus.

Proculeius getteth into the secret Sepulcre of *Cleopatra*.

hir

Proculeus stayeth *Cleopatra* from killing hirselfe.

hirselfe, for she ware a dagger: but *Proculeus* ranne quickly, and embraced hir with both his hands, saying: O *Cleopatra*, you doe iniurie both to your selfe, and to *Cæsar*, in taking from him the acte of clemencie, and casting an infamie of vnfaithfulnesse. Then he toke the dagger from hir, and cut hir garments, that she shoulde haue no poyson about hir. Then *Cæsar* sent his freemade man *Epaphroditus*, with commaundement, that he shoulde in anye wise see hir kepte aliue, in all other thinges doing most gently and curteously. Then he entred the Citie with *Arrius* the Philosopher, holding him by the hande, that the Citizens might see in what honor he had him. Being come into the common hall, and the Citizens lying prostrate for feare, he willed them to rise, saying, he forgat them, firste for *Alexanders* fame that builded the Citie, then for the beautie of it, thirdly, for *Arrius* sake. The body of *Antony*, *Cæsar* was contente that she shoulde burie, which she did with hir owne hands, by the labour whereof, getting an agew, she was glad she hadde suche a cloke, to refrayne from meate, and kill hirselfe with hunger, whiche, when it was perceyued, *Cæsar* threatned hir the losse of hir Children. Then she was contente to be releeued againe. And after a fewe dayes, *Cæsar* came to see hir, and comforte hir. She lying very homely in hir night gowne, lept out of the bedde, and fell downe at *Cæsars* feete with trembling voyce, and heauie cheere. Hir body was deformed with hir owne stripes, whereof the printes were seene: hir eyes were sonke, and hir couloure swart: yet dyd hir behauiour declare, that hir grace was not extinct, whiche dyd appeare out of that forepined and wasted corpse. *Cæsar* willed hir to sit, and he sate by hir, she making excuses, that she had done al for feare of *Antony*, all the whiche when *Cæsar* had reproued, she gaue hir wholly to his mercy, and toke him a note of suche treasure as she had. The which, when one of hir Treasurers *Seleucus* had corrected, that she had hidde somewhat from him, she lepte vnto him, and knocked him aboute the pate, whereat *Cæsar* smyling and blaming hir, O *Cæsar* sayd she, is it not a greeke, that seeing thou doest not disdeyne to visit me in this wofull estate, to be accused of my seruants for keeping a fewe womens thynges,

Epaphroditus. Care of *Cæsar* to keepe *Cleopatra* aliue.

Cæsar honoureth a Philosopher.

Cæsars mercy to the *Alexãdrines*.

Cleopatra buryeth *Antonyes* body very princely.

Cleopatra kept from killing hir selfe by hunger.

Cæsar commeth to *Cleopatra*.

Cleopatra submit. to *Cæsar*.

She beateth one of hir seruants.

wherein

wherewith I would winne thy wife *Liuia*, and thy sister *Octauia*, to make thée the more fauourable to me. *Cæsar* was glad of these words, thinking she had desire to liue, and granted hir al that and more to, beyond all hope, thinking he hadde deceyued hir, but she deceyued him. *Cornelius Dolabella* a noble yõg mã in *Cæsars* camp, had a great desire to *Cleopatra*, to whom *Cæsar* gaue leaue to come and tell hir, that he would go home by lãd through *Syria*, and that she and hir children should be sent to *Italy* by shippe. When she vnderstoode it, she desired *Cæsar* she might firste celebrate *Antonyes* funerall, wherwith he was content. She came to the graue with hir women, and sayde, Of late (noble *Antony*) I did burie thée, being frée: now I honor thy burial, being captiue, and garded, that I should not consume this wretched body with too much lamenting for thée, whiche is reserued to be shewed in triumph of thée. Other honours at my hand thou shalt not looke for, being ready to be caried away from thée. Nothing did separate vs lyuing, but now in death we must be parted: thou a *Romane*, must lye héere, and I vnhappy *Egiptian*, in *Italy*, so farforth to be partaker of thy Countrey: but if the Gods there can do any thyng, (for oure Gods haue deceyued vs héere) forsake not thy wife, which is aliue, neyther suffer in me a triumph to be made of thée, but burie & close me héere with thée. For of infinite greefes, there is none so great to me, as this shorte time that I haue lyued without thée.

Cæsar granteth all things to *Cleopatra*.

Dolabella is sent to *Cleopatra*.

Cleopatra celebrateth *Antonyes* funerall.

VVords of *Cleopatra*.

When she had ended these laments, and put on garlands, and kissed the graue, she commaunded a bath to be made readye for hir. When she was washed, she wente to meate, and had greate chére: then a chest was brought out of the Countrie to hir by a man, and the gard asking what it was, he toke away the leaues, and shewed them the figges. They maruelling at the forme and greatnesse of them, the man smiled, and desired them to take thé. They suspecting nothing, bad him carrie them in. After this, she sent *Cæsar* hir writings sealed. Then all other being remoued, but hir two women, she shut the doores. When hir letters were come to *Cæsar*, he redde them, and founde hir onely request to bée with greate petition, to be buryed by *Antony*, whiche when hée

Cleopatra deceyueth *Cæsar*.

The Gard is deceyued.

Cleopatras last request to *Cæsar*.

saw, he suspected by and by what was a doing, and was mynded to haue gone streight thither hymselfe, yet first sent to see what was done, but she was dispatched suddaynely. For they that ranne thither, founde no alteration in the Gard, and opened the doores, and found hir dead, lying in a bedde of gold most royally. One of hir women called *Iris* lay dead at hir feete. The other, whose name was *Charmium*, being ready to fall downe dead, trimming the Crowne vpon hir head, to them that cryed, is this well done *Charmium*? yea very well (quoth he) for one that is descended of so many progenitours Kings. When she had said thus much, she fell downe dead by the beds side. They say a Serpente called *Aspis*, was brought among the figges, and couered wyth the leaues, the whiche did sting hir to death, whose nature is, to giue an heauinesse and slæpe, without any shrinking or marke in the skinne, onely putting forth a gentle sweat out of the face, as one were in a trance, and hard to be wakened. Some saye, there were two little spots in hir arme, whiche *Cæsar* eyther beléeued, or else would so haue it beléeued, for in hir Image ỹ he brought into triumph at *Rome*, he set forth the Serpent, and two markes in hir arme. Howsoeuer it was, *Cæsar* was sory it was so chanced, yet did he highly commend hir noble mind, and caused hir to be royally layd by *Antony*, and hir women to be nobly buryed also. *Cleopatra* was.xxxix.yeares of age, and hadde raigned. xxij. whereof. xxij. was with *Antony*, who liued. lxij. yeares, or at the most. lvj. *Antonyes* Images were throwen downe, *Cleopatras* were not remoued, for *Archibius* hir friend had obteyned that of *Cæsar* for a thousand talents. *Antony* had seauen childrē by thrée wiues, whereof *Attilus* the eldest was only killed of *Cæsar*, the rest *Octauia* brought vp with hirs. *Attilus* was betrayed of hys Scholemaister *Theodorus*, who toke a goodly iewell from hys necke when he was killed, the which being required, and denyed of him when he had it, caused that he was hanged.

Cleopatra is foūd dead vpon a bed of gold, and hir two women by hir.

Aspis brought amōg the figges, did sting hir to death.

Age of Antony and Cleopatra.

Antonyes children.

Cesarione, whom *Cleopatra* had by the first *Cæsar*, beyng also betrayed of his scholemaster, whō she had sent with him, & a great treasure into *India*, was slayne, after she was dead. Hir doughter called *Cleopatra* of hir name, he maried to the flourishing king

Cæsar betoweth *Cleopatras* children.

Iuba.

Iuba. He promoted *Antonie*, that was sonne to *Fuluia*, to so high fauour, that next *Agrippa* and *Liuias* children, he was chief. She had by *Marcellus* two daughters, and one sonne named *Marcellus*, whom *Cæsar* did adopt & made him his sonne in law. The other daughter was giuen to *Agrippa*. *Marcellus* dying shortly after this mariage, *Octauia* desired that *Agrippa* might marrie hys daughter, & *Antonie*, hys. Hir other daughters were bestowed vpon *Domitius Aenobarba*, & *Drusus Liuias* sonne, and stepchilde to *Cæsar*, of whom came *Germanicus* and *Claudius*. *Germanicus* died, & *Claudius* was Emperoure. Of *Germanicus* came *Caius* who was Emperour also. *Agryppina* that had *L. Domitio* by *Aenobarba*, did marrie with *Claudius* the Emperour, who adopted *Domitius*, calling him *Nero Germanicus*, and was Emperour. Thus of *Antonies* race diuerse Emperours issued. Albeit himselfe had the lamentable end that you haue hearde, and was the only cause why the *Romane* state was not restored to a common wealth agayne as the noble *Brutus* protested when he died, al whose erectrations came vpon *Antonie* before he died. Eyther for that God woulde plague *Antonies* euill life: or that he would chaunge the state of that mighty cõmon wealth, whiche had all the worlde at suche a becke, as they might doe what they woulde, whose outragious dealings as wel in foreine as ciuill murders, it pleased God to punish with so great alteration, or else for some secrete determinatiõ for the natiuitie of his only sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. For now is *Cæsar* the only Monarche without any competitor at all, and yet had no childe to whom to leane it, but adopted *Tiberius* his wiues sonne, whome, that she might sée Emperour, it is thought shée holpe to dispatche *Cæsar* before his time, who had the title of *Augustus* giuen him, a thing neuer done before to any *Romane*, not onely for augmentyng and encreasing the Empire of *Rome*, but also for the deuination and destinie, by which it was assigned vnto him. And after hée had shutte the gates of *Ianus* temple, for that a generall peace folowed through out the world, he disposed himself to set good orders in the citie, and made many good lawes for the preseruation of the same, in the whiche time diuerse tokẽs appeared of the cõming of a greater Prince

He vseth one of *Antonies* sonnes in great fauour.

Chaunge of mariage.

Emperours of *Antonies* issue.

Anthony, the cause of the alteration of the *Romane* estate.

Augustus.

Ianus temple shutte onely tvvice before in token of generall peace.

than he, the Prince of Princes & king of kings, who was borne into this worlde in his time, to the glory of God in the highest, and the peace of the earth to men of good will.

Byrth of Iesus Christ.

Enuie.

The great enuie that *Iulius Cæsar* his great vncle had procured, neuer fell vpon him, either bicause men were weary of tumultes, or for that they saw such modestie in him, as he would attempt no such matter that was so odious, that is to say, to be called a kyng: Eyther for that both he and the people had in memorie the malediction & cursing of the old Decrée, against al thē that should bring in the name of a king againe, which his father *Iulius* did not vtterly refuse, or for that he passed not of the name, hauing the rule, or for that the name of Emperour was then so great, as *Dictator* was wont to be, whiche before was no otherwise than a gratification of the Soldiours to their Capitayne, when he had stroken a battell manfully, and slaine ten thousand enimies, at which time it was lawfull for him to be called *Imperator*, as among all other, *Cicero* was in *Asia*, when he ouercame the *Amanianes*, at *Isso*, where *Darius* was ouercome, of *Alexander*. The which name hath continued euer since to that soueraine Magistrate, as well, when the whole Empyre was in the hands of one Monarche, as when it was diuided into two, the one of the East, and the other of the Weast. The which begaune with *Charles* the Great, and hath continued vnto *Rodulphus* that now is Emperour among the *Germane* nation in the weast Empire, and ended in the East, about. 118. yeares since, when the Citie of *Constantinople* was taken by *Mahumetes* the sonne of *Amuretes* that made himselfe a Turkishe Monke, and the Emperour *Constantine* slayne, and all the villanie in the worlde, shewed to the poore Christians. So as to him that will haue a Register of the whole number of Emperours, reckening *Iulius Cæsar* for the first, shall finde them to be. 118. Whereof. 42. haue bene *Germanes*.

The name of Emperour.

Imperator.

Cicero was called Emperour in *Asia*.

Greeke Emperours.

Mahumetes.

Amuretes.

Germane Emperours.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

Faultes escaped in the printing of the Bookes of Ciuill vvarres,

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
1	18	for should (reade	shall
3	35	Lisbia	Libya
4	1	Duke of Loma	Gulfe of Ionia
4	vlt.	Colligant	Colligauit
5	20	of that	of them that
12	33	Paperius	Papirius
16	33	paslime	pasture
25	25	Hirsians	Hirpians
29	17	Ealerno	Falerno
32	16	Cune	Canne
38	21	Cithegus	Cethegus
50	17	meanes	malice
54	14	warres	wayes
69	vlt.	Girinus	Garganus
70	8	birdes	burdens
73	20	Cateline	Catiline
83	35	that Milo	Milo that
85	26.28.29	Ptotolomie	Ptolomie
95	3	Dirrachium	Dyrrachium
97	2	Sypris	Sycoris
100	22	that any	that only
102	14	mnaly	manly
103	1	Baron	Barne
107	34	of. viii. C.	sauing 800.
110	1	Vetona	Velona
114	7	fingers	slingers
115	18	foztie	400.
115	27	so	see
126	9	Methridates	Mithridates
128	33	which	with
129	5	Corta	Cirta
140	17	came	comming
161	2	40	400.
ibid.	5	horse	holie
ibid.	18	Titurus	Titureius
167	14	Phaberius	Taberius
172	33	These words, but as a succes-sor of his tyran-nie, must be red in the text, after thys word (thinke)	
174		the	thy

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
175	1	striker	strikers
178	1	hart	hast
210	3	left	hurt
ibid.	22	louing	folowing
212	30	Crassus	Crispus
223	19	Cornut[e] himself	Cornutus killeth himselfe
232	33	leaue out all the line	
248	27	for or	for
271	7	Ciceronians	Cizicenians
285	7	Caldeans	Calcidonians
ibid.	15	of Saporea	for Saporea
289	3	of	with
ibid.	21	Case	Thæse
290	9	flocke	flanke
292	17	legates	legion
294	21	yet	after
296	11	Achia	Achaia
ibid.	vlt.	Generalles	Generall
305	15	naue	none
307	30	Pergama	Pergamo
309	8	adde this, other Tributes were commanded to Kings & Princes & free Cities, according to euerye ones habilitie	
ibid.	25	Galace	Galaceans
ibid.	22	Paleshia	Palestina
ibid.	31	Sinna	Sicinna
315	17	adde this, that the Consulles shoulde rule after the auntient manner, without any lette of the three men.	
324	2	enuies	enemies
326	4	and state	estate
339	21	Bithinus	Bithinicus
341	15	wife	neese
343	11	Menedorus his	Menedorus as one ruling his
358	2	angle	circle
359	10	adde	but Pompeis part was sad
380	19	slight	sleyght
378	14	Antioch	Antioche
379	vlt.	of	that
382	1	sent	lent
ibid.	38	as	all

The ſecond part of Appian of Alexandria.

Wherin be contained ſo manie of the Romanes expeditions againſt forraine Nations, as haue bene defended from the ſpoyle of warr, or the decay of time, and bin brought into light and come to our handes.

That is to ſay:

1 *Againſt* Mithridates *King of* Pontus, *with his miſerable end.*

2 *Againſte the* Hiberians, *nowe called* Spaniardes, *and among many notable things, the pitiful ouerthrow of the Citie of* Numantia.

3 *Againſte the* Carthagies, *with the lamentable deſtruction of that Citie.*

4 *Againſte* Antiochus *the Great, who after manye loſſes, made a diſhonorable peace.*

5 *Againſte the* Parthians, *where* Craſſus *was ſlaine, and* Antonie *foyled.*

6 *Againſte the* Illyrians, *of whoſe Conqueſt* Octauius Cæſar *glorieth.*

7 *A fragment of the war with the Frenche, with whom* Iulius Cæſar *fought tenne yeares togither, and triumphed of them.*

Tranſlated into Engliſh by W.B.

Imprinted at London by Ralph Newberie and Henrie Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.

¶ TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his ſingular good Mayſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton, Knight*, Capitaine of the Queenes Maieſties

Garde, Vizchamberlaine to hir Highneſſe, and one of hir Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſayle.

THe firſt tranſlatour of this Author into Latin, did make his dedicatiõ to two ſũdry Princes: but we haue thoughte good to make your Honor the vvhole patron of our engliſh *Appian*, as vvholy as vve could ſet him forth.

In the former parte hee ſhewed to youre Honoure, the conqueſtes that the Romaynes made one of another. In this parte hee ſheweth the conqueſtes that they made of other nations: vvherein they vvente ſo farre, that at laſte they fell dovvne, beeyng ouerpreſte vvith their ovvne vvaygh t. To theſe tvvo kindes of conqueſts, a thirde is to be added, vvhen a man conquereth himſelfe, as *Alexander* did in conteyning from *Darius* moſt faire vvife and daughters, and *Cæſar*, in ſparing to puniſh his greateſt enimies. To vvhom *Cicero* ſayde, that in other victories, fortune, policie, and ſouldiours, might claime a parte, but in this, he alone ſhould haue al the glorie. And vvhen *Darius* died, and vvas holpen therto, by *Polycrates*, he ſayd, for thy paines *Alexander* ſhal giue thee thanks, but the Gods immortal, ſhal giue *Alexander*

Iexander thankes, for his magnanimitie ſhevved to my mo-ther, vvife and childrē. By ſuch maner of conqueſt, your honour ſhall attaine to moſte ſure triumphe, the guide of vvhoſe Chariot, ſhal be Grace giuen from aboue, that ſhal neuer fayle you. Hovv vvorthy this author is to be read in theſe matters, his teſtimonie may be ynough to proue, that vviſheth him to be read in the ſame, afore all other.

Stephanus in his Greeke addition to the Greeke Preface.

Then may it pleaſe your Honour to accept him at the hands of your moſt humble ſeruaunt, that cōtinually prayeth for your increaſe of fame and honour, to the ſeruice of your Prince, and the glorie of God.

Your Honors moſt
bounden ſeruaunte:
H. BYNNIMAN.



¶ The Aüthours Preface to the bookes of the Romane wars, with forraine Nations.



Eginning to write the Hiſtorie of the Romaines, I haue thought it neceſſary to declare fyrſt, the borders of the nations that the Romanes ruled. In the mayne Sea, the moſte parte of the Brittaines is theirs. And goyng to the ſea, by the pillers of *Hercules*, and ſayling aboute theſe pillers, they bee Lordes of al the Ilands, and the firme land, that is inhabited alongeſt the ſea.

The firſte on the right hande of that ſea, be the *Maroüſians*, the other be the nations of the *Lybians* as farre as *Carthage*, beyonde whome be the *Nomadians*, whome the Romaines call *Numidians*, and the Countrey *Numidia*. The other *Lybians* do inhabite about the ſhallowe ſeas, to *Cyrene*. Then *Cyrene*, the *Marmaridans* and *Ammonians*, and they that dwell at the lake of *Marea*, and the great citie which *Alexander* did build in *Egipt*, with *Egipt* it ſelf, as farre as a man may ſayle in *Nilus* to the Caſte *Ethiopians*, and by ſea, to *Peluſio*.

Then tourning the courſe to *Syria* and *Paleſtina*, and beyond them you go to parte of the *Arabian*. The *Phœnitians* bordure vppon the *Paliſtines* at the ſea, and beyond the *Phœnitians*, the hollow part of *Syria*, vnto the floude *Euphrates*. From the ſea aboue the porte *Minaris*, and the ſandes of *Palmiria* to *Euphrates*. They had the *Cilicians* of *Syria*, and the *Cappadocians* their neighbours, & parte of *Armenia*, called *Armenia* the leſſe. And all the nations about *Euxinus Pontus*, obeyed the Romaynes. And the *Syrians* and *Cilicians* that be toward the ſea. The *Armenians* and *Cappadocians* inhabiting the nations of *Pontus*, & they of the middle land, which they

These pillers or hylls of *Hercules* be in the ſtraightes of *Gades*, beyõd the vvhiche it vvas thought no mã could go.

Moores inhabite *Mauritania* vveſt vvarde.

Libie, othervviſe called *Affrica*, is the third part of the vvorld, diuided frõ *Aſia* by the floude *Nilus*, and from *Europa*, by the ſea, that is called *Mediterraneum*.

Nomades vvere they that alvvai followed theyr flocks, and chaũged their places of paſture.

There be tvvo ſhallovve ſeas called *Syrtes*.

Marmaridans bee thoſe people of *Affrica*, among vvhych be they that be called *Pſilli*, vvhoſe ſpettle killeth ſerpents, as *Cato* proued vvhen he vvent againſt *Iuba*. The holloyve parte of *Syria* is called *Caloſyria*. *Peluſium* is the furtheſt Cittie of the coaſte of *Egipt*. *Palmyra* is a free Cittye in the confines of the *Romane* and *Parthian* kingdomes.

they call *Armenia* the great, of the whyche the Romaines take no tribute, but they receiue kings by their appointment. From *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, is the great lande like an Ilande whiche hathe *Pontus Euxinus* and *Propontis*, and *Helleſpont* on the right hande, and the *Aegean*, *Pamphilian*, and *Egiptian* ſea on the lefte ſide, for they ſay it maketh almoſt an Ilande on both ſides, and as men go to the *Egiptian* Sea, there be the *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, and after them *Caria* to *Ionia*, and the *Galatias*, *Bythinians*, *Myſians* and *Phrygians* be aboue *Euxinus*. In the midde land, the *Piſidians* and *Lydians*. So manye nations inhabite *Cherroneſus*, of all the whiche the Romaines haue rule. On the other ſide of that ſea, they geuerne the nations about *Pontus* and *Myſia* in *Europa*, and the *Thracians* that be aboute *Euxinus*. From *Ionia* beginneth the Gulfe of *Aegeo*, and the other from the ſea of *Ionia*, and the narrowe ſea of *Sicelie*, and the *Tuſcane* ſea to the pillers of *Hercules*. So great is the length from *Ionio* to the *Ocean* ſea, and in that coaſte, theſe be the Romaine prouinces. All *Grecia*, *Theſſalia*, *Macedonia*, and al ẏ toyne vpon *Thracia* and *Illyria*, and the nations of *Panno nia*. Then *Italie* it ſelfe, the longeſte of them all, reaching from the *Ionian*, to the moſte parte of the *Tuſcane* ſea, to the *Celtians*, which they call *Galatias*, and of the people of the Galls, ſome belong to this ſea, and ſome to the north *Ocean*, and ſome at the riuer of *Rene*. And all *Iberia* and *Celtiberia*, that ende in the weaſt and north *Ocean*, and *Hercules* pillers. I wil declare euidently of all theſe Nations, when I ſhall wryte of euerye Nation by it ſelfe.

Propontis is nowe called *Mare di San Georgio*.

Pamphilia is in *Aſia* the leſſe, named as ſome thinke, of the plentye of trees.

Euxinus is the ſea that beginneth at *Boſphorus Thracius*, and goeth eaſte and northe: it vvas firſt called *Axenus*, that vvas *Inhoſpitalis*, becauſe the inhabitaunts dyd kyll and eate the paſſengers: but after beeing made ciuill by the *Grecians*, it vvas called *Euxinus*

Rhenus is the floude that diuideth *Germany* from *Fraunce*.

Iberia &c. nowe *Spaine*.

Nowe we haue tolde with howe great borders their Empire is compaſſed by ſea. To him that will trauaile on the land, ther is a parte of *Mauritania* that goeth towarde the Weaſte to the *Aethiopians*, then the other more deſert, and wylde parte of *Lybia*, to the Eaſte *Aethiopians*: Thys is the bordure of the Romaines in *Lybia*.

Of *Aſia*, the floude *Euphrates*, and the hill *Caucaſus*, and the kingdome of *Armenia* the great, and the *Colchians* that be about the Sea of *Euxinus*, and the reſt of that ſea. In *Europa* two floudes *Renus* and *Hiſter* doth chiefly diuide the Romane kingdome. Of

Euphrates is a floude of *Meſopotamia*.

Caucaſus an hyll diuiding *India* from *Scythia*.

Hister, is the same floud in *Illyria*, that *Danubius* is in Germanie the greatest floud in *Europe*.

Daci nowe *Valachia*, the people vvere called *Daci* or *Dani* ioyning to the *Getes*, of vvhom the *Athenians* toke their names of seruaunts in *Comedie* as *Dauus*, *Geta*.

Cyclades. be the Iles in the *Aegean* Sea.

Sporades be Iles about *Creta* in the *Carpathian* Sea.

Echinades, be big Iles next to *Acarnia*.

Tyrrenides be the lands in the *Tuscane* Sea.

Myrtoan sea, is part of the *Aegean sea*.

Britaine nowe England so gret as it seemeth a mayne lande.

Aristocratia is a rule of the best sort of men.

C. Cæsar.

Kings.

Emperours.

Emperor is he that is generall of an army.

these, *Renus* runneth to the north *Ocean*, and *Hister* into *Euxinus Pontus*. And in some place they goe beyond, and rule the nations that bee beyonde *Rene*, and the *Getes* that bee beyonde *Hister*, whom they call *Dacies*. These be their boundes by land, as neare as I coulde gather. All the Ilandes that be in the Sea, *Cyclades*, *Sporades*, *Hiades*, *Echinades*, and *Tyrrenides*, & *Mysia*, or whatsoeuer other name they haue, about *Libya*, *Ionia*, *Aegypt*, *Myrto*, or *Sicilie*, or what otherwise they be called in the Sea: Al these be subiect to the *Romanes*, and they that for their excellencie, be named of ỹ Romanes great Ilands, as *Cyprus*, *Creta*, *Rhodes*, *Lesbus*, *Euboia*, *Sicelie*, *Sardus*, and *Cyrnus*, and whatsoeuer other else. Then passing the north *Ocean*, into ỹ Ile of *Brittaine*, which for ỹ greatnesse may serue an other continent, they haue ỹ best parte of it, more than halfe, the reste they passe not of. For that parte which they haue, is not fruitfull to thẽ. As great as al these natiõs be, was ỹ greatest labour to thẽ to conquere *Italy*, which they could hardly do after. 500. yeares, halfe of ỹ tyme being vnder kings.

But when they had expulsed their kings and swore that they woulde no more receiue them, they vsed the rule of the best meane, and hadde them yearely chosen two hundred yeares after the. v. C. Their Empire ware moste greate, and they were Lordes of infinite forraine power, and subdued the most natiõs. Thẽ *Caius Cæsar* getting the vpper hand, made it a sure state, he kept still the forme and name of a Commõ wealth, but made himselfe a Monarchie ouer all, and so the rule hath continued in one to thys daye, whome they call not Kings, as I thinke to auoide their olde othe, but name them Emperoures, whiche is the title of them that rule armies for a tyme: but in all purposes they bee Kings. And Emperoures haue continued to thys tyme aboute two hundred yeares more, in the whiche the Citty hath bin chiefly beautified, and the reuenue moste encreased, & all things being in long and sure peace, brought to perfect felicitie. For the Emperoures haue made some of these to be of theyr dominion by force, and haue holden in, them that reuolte. Therefore by good skill they hadde rather kepe that be most profitable aboute the Sea, and encreace them, than to extende theyr dominion to barbarous nations, poore, & vnprofitable

table, of whome I haue seene Embassadoures come to *Rome*, to yelde themselues subiect, and not receyued of the Emperoure, as vnprofitable to him. To other many nations they appoint kings, bycause the Empires hadde no nede of them, some subiectes must be kepte, for a shame to forsake them, though they be poore. Greate armyes be in euery place, as in a circle, by the which they kéepe so greate lande and sea, as one place. There was neuer Monarchie that was so great, or continued so long.

The state of *Grecia*, if a man will begin frō the time of *Darius* army, in the which they most flourished, vnto the time of *Philip*, *Amyntas* sonne, though he put togither the power of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Thebanes*, shall not appeare so mighty a thing, for they contended rather for dignitie among themselues, thā to get dominiō, and thought no matter so noble, as to maineteine their libertie againste strange kings that molested them. If some of them sayled as farre as *Sicelie* in hope of rule, they were ouerthrowen. If any went into *Asia*, they did little there, and returned. And to cōclude, the power of the *Grecians*, though it were cōtētious for ẏ rule, it proceded not surely out of *Grecia*, but shewed they would kéepe it from seruitude, & vnconquerable as muche as they could, but after *Philip* & *Alexander*, I thynke they haue done very euil, & vnworthy thēselues. The Empire of *Asia*, is not to be cōpared to the leaste of ẏ feates and vertue of *Europe*, for the weakenes & faintnesse of their nations, the which this present wrighting shal declare, for the *Romanes* with a few battels got so many nations of *Asia*, as now they cōmaund, although they were defended by ẏ *Macedonians*, but they had great labour about *Europe* & *Libya*, the dominiō of the *Assyrians*, *Medians*, & *Persians*, thrée of the greatest powers, til *Alexander*, *Philips* sonne, though he reaken ẏ ix. C. yeares ẏ they cōtinued, can not cōpare with the *Romane* Empire as it is now, and ẏ greatnes of their Empire, is lesse by halfe I thinke, if it be well considered, for the *Romanes* reach frō the West *Ocean*, to the hill *Caucasus*, & the floud *Euphrates*, and to the *Aethiopians* that be about *Aegipt* and *Arabia*, to the East *Ocean*. And their boundes is, the *Ocean* of the sunne rising and setting. They rule all the inwarde sea, all the Ilands, and the *Brettanes* that be in the *Ocean*.

Grecia.

Darius the first king of *Persia*, that had *Cyrus* daughter to vvife.

The *Athenians* vvere ouerthrovven in *Italy*.

The povver of *Grecia*.

The rule of *Asia*.

Europe.

Asia.

¶ iij. The

Perſicus Sinꝰ from the eaſt hath the red ſea and from the weaſt *Arabia*.

The *Medians* and the *Perſians*, when they had moſt of the ſea, it was no further than the Gulfe of *Pamphilia*, and one Ile of *Cypres*, or verie little of the *Ionian* ſea, for the ſea of *Perſis* which they had, was no greate matter.

Macedenia. Philip.

The *Macedonians* before *Philippe*, had very little power, and to ſome they were ſubiects. The labour and trauaile of *Philippe*, is not to be accompted light, but it was onely aboute *Grecia*, and one region.

Alexander.

Under *Alexander*, for the greatneſſe, multitude, felicitie, and ſpædyneſſe, this dominion in a ſhorte ſpace, became infinite, and incomparable, but bycauſe of the ſhort time, it was like a bright lightning. The whiche beyng diuided into manye Prouinces, part of them continued noble a good whyle. But our kings only dyd maintaine two hundred thouſande ſotemen, fortie thouſand horſemen, three hundred Elephants vſed to the warre, two thouſande armed Chariots, and ſo muche armoure as woulde ſerue three hundred thouſande. Beſides this prouiſion for the lande, they had two thouſande of the ſmall veſſels, and of galleys little and greate a thouſande fyue hundreth, with double furniture: eyghte hundred ſhippes of ſhewe, whiche they vſed for pompe, with ſteins, and ſternes of golde, ſeauen hundred and fortie talents of *Egipt*, in their treaſure, al the whiche appeareth by the Princes recordes, which be yet extant.

The vovver of the kings of *Aegipt.*

The ſeconde king of *Egipt*, after *Alexander*, who of al other, was moſte able to ſpende, moſt bountifull to beſtow, & moſt deſirous to get, lefte this behinde him: Other Princes were not muche inferiour, but by mutuall diſcorde of their poſteritie, which is the onely deſtruction of great kingdomes, they came to nothing.

Ptolomæus Lagus, vvas the mightieſt after *Alexander.*

But the *Romane* Empire paſſed for greatneſſe and felicitie, for continuaunce, and wiſedom in the Senate, neither wanted they manhode, nor patience, nor painefulneſſe, til they had eſtabliſhed their power, nor gaue place to miſfortune: they loſte ſometime twenty thouſande, ſometyme fortie and fiftye thouſand at a battaile: diuerſe tymes the Citie was in daunger by famine, peſtilence and ſedition. Yet all this woulde not abate their ambition,

At Trebbia. At the lake of Perugia. At Canne novve Berleta.

by

by the space of seauen hundred yeares, stryuing with paine and perill, till they brought their dominion, (kæping stil one trade,) to this heigth, as they receyue moste ample fruits of their wisedome and happinesse.

These things many *Gretians* and *Romanes* haue put in writing, and the Historie is farre excæding the *Macedonians*: and where as I haue considered their valiauntnesse, and would see it in euery nation, my penne hath carried me, from *Lybia* to *Iberia*, & from *Iberia* into *Sicilie* or *Macedonie*, or to embassages & confederacies of sundrye nations, and then brought me againe as a forced man to *Sicilie* and to *Carthage*, and eftsoones carried mæ away from these vnperfect, til I had gathered by partes, howe of they sent ambassadours or armyes into *Sicily*, and what they did in that Iland, til they had conquered it. Thē how many ambassages, how many leagues were made betwēn them, what ouerthrowes on bothe sides were giuen, till *Carthage* was ouercome, and *Africa* made a prouince, and then *Carthage* restored againe, to the state that it is nowe. I haue done the like in euerye prouince, bycause I would know, what the Romaines did euery where, that I might see the manhode or faintnesse of al natiōs, and the vertue and fortune of them that conquered, and whatsoeuer other matter chaunced. Thinking this woulde be acceptable to other also, to vnderstand the Romaines actes, after thys sorte, I haue written of euery nation by it selfe, leauing to write what was done in the meane time of other, placyng them seuerally.

To set the times to euery thing I thought it too much, the moste notable, I will expresse by their distance of time.

At the firste the Romaines had one name, as al other: after came another, and at length, the thirde also was added to some of them, to be knowen by some marke of body or vertue of mind, as the *Grecians* had surnames ioyned to their names. Some time I wyll put all, chiefly of the noble men, that they may be the better knowen, the moste I will name by the one or the other, as shal be moste fitte. And where there be three bokes that declare the Romaines doings in *Italie*, I call them three, the Romaines

The Romaines haue diuerse names.

The diuision of the vvorkes.

Actes

actes with the *Italians*, and for the multitude of matter, are thus diuided. The firſte, contepneth the reignes of the ſeauen kings, therefore I call them, *The Hiſtorie of the Romane Kings.*

Then followeth the Booke of matters done in *Italy*, beſide them that dwell in the coaſt of *Ionia*, the which Booke for a difference is called, *The Romanes warre after the Kings.* The laſt of all in that land were the *Samnites*, next the *Ionian* ſea, a nation moſt fierce and warlike fighting with the *Romanes* foureſcore yeares, till they and the *Grecians* their fellowes that inhabite *Italy*, were ſubdued, and this booke, for the difference from the other two, is called, *The Romanes warres with the Samnites.* All the other haue their ſeuerall titles, as, The *Romanes* warre with the *Galles*, the *Sicilians*, the *Iberians*, with *Hannibal*, with *Carthage*, with *Macedonia*, and ſo forthe. The order of the whiche, is after the order of the time in the which they were done, though that many other things happened by the way.

Samnites, nowe *Abruzo*, part of the Kingdome of *Naples.*

The ciuill ſeditions and warre among themſelues moſt horrible of all the reſt, ſhall be declared by their names that were chiefe doers of the ſame, as *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, *Antony* and *Cæſar Auguſtus*, and the killers of *Cæſar* the elder.

Then ſhall be ſhewed of *Antony* and *Cæſar*, whiche made an end of ciuill warre, when *Aegipt* came vnder the *Romanes* dominion. So all the warres are diuided into bookes of their nation, or to the names of the Captaines, if they be ciuill.

The laſt booke ſhall declare what armies they haue, what reuenue they take of euery Nation, what charges they be at with their ordinarie garriſons by ſea, and ſuche other. And ſéeing I ſhall wright of their vertue, it ſhall be fitte to beginne of their originall. Who I am that haue written theſe things, many knowe, & I haue ſhewed it before, and to tell it more playnely, I am of *Alexandria*, accepted in my Countrey, and exerciſed at *Rome* in cauſes of Iuſtice, touching the Emperoures, til it pleaſed them to thinke me worthy their ſeruice. He that will know the reſt, may learne it of the Bookes that I haue written.

Appian a counſellour to the Emperoures in ciuill cauſes.

The

¶ The *Romanes* warre with Mithridates King of Pontus: by Appian of Alexandria.

When the *Romanes* had ouercome *Mithridates* the King, after. xlij. yeares warre, they made *Bithinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other nations, bordering vppon thē, inhabiting the sea called *Euxinus*, subiecte vnto them. And in the same warre they wonne of *Cilicia*, those that were not yet of their obedience, and of *Syria*, *Phœnitia*, & *Cœlosiria*, and *Palestina*, and the midde land, to the floud *Euphrates*, not beeing vnder *Mithridates*, but by the violence of that victory. And to some they put tributes by and by, & to some afterward. *Paphlagonia*, & *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, and *Mysia*, ioyning to *Phrygia*, and after them *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and *Ionia*, and all the rest of *Asia*, that is aboute *Pergamo* and old *Grecia*, and *Macedonia*, whiche *Mithridates* hadde gotten, they recouered some agayne: and to manye of them appointed tributes, that neuer had payd any. For ỹ which I thinke they call this chiefly the greate warre, and the victory of it also greate, and the Captayne of it that was *Pompey* in their proper language they name greate to this day: for the number of the nations that they toke or recouered, and the long time of fortie yeares, and the boldnesse and payneſulnesse of *Mithridates*, mightie (as appeared) at all assayes. He had aboue foure hundreth shippes of his owne. He had fiftie thousand Horsemen, and two hundred and fiftie thousande fotemen, engines, and munition accordingly. Kings and Princes were his confederates. The *Armenian*, the *Scythian*, and *Pontus*, and the fenne of *Meotis*, and from thence to the streightes of *Thracia*. He sente to the *Romane* Captaynes that were at warre togither, and to stirre *Spayne* against them, he made amitie with the French to moue agaynste *Italy*. He filled the Sea with Pirates from *Cilicia*, to the pillers of *Hercules*, whiche made, that no trafficke nor sayling could bee

Cœle is one of the partes of *Syria*, the vvhich is hollovv, for so signifyeth the vvord.

Thracus Bosphorus novv the streightes of *Constantinople*.

from one Citie to another, and wrought a great famine in euery place. And generally, he lefte nothing vndone or vndeuised that coulde be done, to stirre vp the greatest motion among all men, from the East to the Weast. For either they made warre, or sent ayde, or robbed or vexed their neyghbours. This warre was variable, and in the end brought the *Romanes* to greatest dominions, for by this, their rule stretched from the West, to the floud *Euphrates*. It was not easie for me to deuide it by seuerall nations, being done togither, and one wrapped with another. Those that could be separated, be told particularly. The *Greekes* thinke, that the *Thracians* did serue at *Troy* vnder *Rhesus*, and that *Rhesus* was killed by *Diomedes* in the night, the whiche matter, *Homere* telleth in his Verses, and that they fledde to the mouth of *Pontus*, which is most streight to sayle into *Thracia*, and that they that wanted Shippes, did remaine there, and toke the lande named *Bebrycia*. They that had shippes, wente beyonde *Byzance*, to that part of *Thracia* called *Bithinia*, and did inhabite at the floude *Bithia*, and being driuen by famine, returned to *Bebricia*, and named it *Bithinia* in stead of *Bebricia*, of the floud at the whiche they dwelled, and so the name not vnlike in time to be changed, because there is not much difference betweene *Bebricia* and *Bithinia*. So do some thinke. Other suppose that *Bythis* the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Thrace*, did first raigne here, and so the name was gyuen to both the lands. This I thought good to shew first of *Bithinia*. Of the Kings that were before the *Romanes*, in number nine and fortie in order, it is mete for me to make some mention in these matters of the *Romanes*. *Prusias* that was called the hunter, maried the daughter of *Perseus* Kyng of *Macedonie*, and the *Romanes* and *Perseus* making warre not long after, *Prusias* stode as neuter.

Rhesus King of *Thracia*. 10. Iliad.

Bebrycia in *Asia* the lesse.

Byzantium is now *Constantinople*.

Some call hir *Sesa*, that was sister to *Rhesus*.

Prusias Cynigus.

Perseus being ouercome, he mette with the *Romane* Captaines, wearing a *Romane* garmente called *Toga*, and hauyng shoes after the *Italian* maner, and hys head shauen, wyth a cappe, after the whyche manner they goe which be made free by testamente, beeyng an euill fauoured man to beholde, and a little shorte one. Meeting wyth them, he spake in the *Romane* tong, *I am a freemade*

The *Romanes* were called *Togati*, and the *Greekes Palliati*.

man

man of the Romanes, which they call Libertus. He appearing a sighte to be laughed at, was sent to Rome, where being laughed at also, he had pardon. Not long after, vering Attalus the King of Asia that is about Pergamo, he wasted hys lande in Asia. Whyche when the Senate of Rome heard, they sente to Prusias, that hée shoulde not molest Attalus, a friend and confederate to the Romanes. And when he thought muche to obey, the Embassadours sharply commaunded him to obey the Senate, and to come with a thousande horsemen to the confynes to decide the matter, and willed Attalus to bée there with as many.

The behauioure of Prusias disguised. Libertus that of a seruant is made free.

He despising the small number that was wyth Attalus, and thynkyng he myghte entrappe hym, sente hys Embassadoures afore, as though he woulde followe with his thousande horse, but bringing all his army, went as to a battell. When Attalus and the Embassadours hearde of it, they fledde, euerye man where he coulde. He toke the carriage of the Romanes, and destroyed the towne of Nicephoro, and burned the Shippes that were there, and besieged Attalus in Pergamo.

The craftie acte of Prusias.

When the Romanes heard of thys, they sente other Embassadoures, who commaunded Prusias to restore Attalus his losses. Then Prusias was afrayde, and obeyed, and wente hys waye. The payne that they put vpon him, was this, that hée shoulde presently gyue hym twentye armed Shyppes, and in time, fiftie talentes. The Shyppes he gaue out of hande, the talentes he payde in time. He was hated of his subiects for his crueltie, and his sonne Nicomedes well beloued of the Bithinians. Wherefore Prusias suspecting him, sent him to lyue at Rome. And vnderstandyng that he was well beloued there, he wylled hym to obteyne of the Senate, a release of the money he ought to Attalus, and sent Mena to deale with him, and commaunded Mena that if he coulde gette hym discharged of the money, he shoulde spare Nicomedes, but if he coulde not, he should kill him. Hée sente to thys purpose certayne greate Shyppes, and two thousande Souldyoures. Mena, bycause the penaltie was not forgiuen (for Attalus hadde sente Andronicus to tell, that the payne was lesse than the spoyle,) neyther durst kyll the

Prusias is forced to recompence Attalus.

Prusias practiseth to kill his sonne Nicomedes

yong man, whome he sawe to be worthy to be loued and honoured, nor goe agayne into *Bythinia*. The yong man, knowing of his tarrying, came to talke with him with his good will, and conspired againste *Prusias*, and toke to their practise the Embassadour of *Attalus*, that he should persuade him to get *Nicomedes* to the kingdome of *Bythinia*. They met togither in *Bernice*, a little Citie of *Epirus*. In the nighte they wente into a Shippe, there they consulted what was to be done, and were secrete all nighte.

Nicomedes sheweth himselfe as King.

When day was come, *Nicomedes* came forth of the Ship, cladde with a Kings robe of purple, with a crowne on his head. *Andronicus* meeting with him, saluted him as King, and sent him forth with fiue hundreth Souldioures, which he had ready. *Mena* dissembling, as though he had not seene *Nicomedes* till then, ranne to the two thousand, as though he had bin discontented. Beeyng come to the talke, he sayde:

Mena to the Souldyoures.

'You haue two Kinges, the one at home, the other going on.
'You must needes foresee safetie, and coniecture your well doing,
'as in this, to establish you securitie, by well appoynting, whych
'of the two you will haue raigne. The one is olde, the other is
'yong. The *Bithinians* hate the olde, but they loue the yong: and
'the chiefe of the *Romanes* loue this yong man: and *Andronicus*
'being his defendoure, hath promised *Attalus* friendship, hauyng
'a greate kyngdome ioyning to *Bithinia*, and an olde enimie of
'*Prusias*.

When he had sayde thus, and withall declared the crueltie of *Prusius*, and what mischiefe he had done to all men, and the common hatred of the *Bithinians* againste him, and perceyued that they abhorred the wickednesse of *Prusias*, he ledde them straycht to *Nicomedes*, and was the seconde after *Andronicus* that called him King, and garded him with two thousand. *Attalus* receyued the yong man gladly, and required *Prusias* to giue the yong man some Cities to dwell in, and landes to finde him. He aunswered, he would shortly giue him all *Attalus* kingdome, for whose sake he had inuaded *Asia* before. When he had said thus, he sente to *Rome* to accuse *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*, and to call them into iudgement: but *Attalus* wente with his armie into *Bithinia*, to whome

whome the *Bithinians* by little and little reuolted. *Prusias* distrusting all men, and hoping that the *Romanes* woulde deliuer hym from this danger, obteyned fiue hundred *Thracians* of *Diegelles* hys father in lawe, and to these onely he committed his body, flæyng into the Castell at *Nicæa*, the Prætor of *Rome* not bringing *Prusias* messengers to the Senate spædily, bycause he fauoured *Attalus*, but at last being brought, and the Senate commaunding him to chose Embassadors that might ende the warre, he chose three men, of the whiche one had his head stricken with a stone, and had an euill fauoured scarre left: another had his fæte festered with a sore: the thyrde was compted an yoiot. In so muche as *Cato* iesting at this Embassage, saide, it had neyther minde, fæte, nor head. The Embassadors went into *Bithinia*, and commanded them to ceasse warre. *Nicomedes* and *Attalus* dissembling to obey the Senate, the *Bithinians* being set on, sayde, they coulde not any longer beare the crueltie of *Prusias*, now especially that they were knowen to be against him. The Embassadors bycause the *Romanes* hadde not yet heard of this matter, departed, doing nothing. *Prusias* despayring of the *Romanes*, in whome he had most trust, no help comming by them, he went to *Nicomedia* to get the Citie, and to defend himselfe against his enimies, but they forsoke him, and shutte the gates against him: and *Nicomedes* came with his army, and certayne of *Nicomedes* host being sent of him, killed *Prusias*, flæing to the Temple of *Iupiter*. Thus *Nicomedes* raigned in *Bithinia* for *Prusias*, and he in time ending his life, hys sonne *Nicomedes* that was called *Philopater*, succéeded the *Romanes*, giuing him his fathers kingdome, by decrée of Senate. Thus wente the state of *Bithinia*, and if we will learne all, the nephewe of this another: *Nicomedes*, lefte the *Romanes* hys heire by testament.

Nicæa vvas first called *Antigonia*, aftervvard *Nicæa*, of *Lisimachus* vvife.

Embassadors to be laughed at.

Cato.

Novv *Nichya*, and of saylers *Comidia*.

Prusias killed.

The *Romanes* made heyres of *Bithinia* by testamente.

Who ruled *Cappadocia* before the *Macedonians*, I can not well tell, whether they were vnder a King of their owne, or vnder *Darius*. It should seéme that *Alexander* left these nations tributarie to the rulers, when he went against *Darius*: and so it semeth that *Amisus*, a Citie of the *Athenian* kind, did bring in the peoples rule, according to the Countreys manner. And it is sayde

Amisus a sayre tovvne in the confines of *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*.

Hieronimus was an Historiewriter of Rhodes.

of *Hieronimus*, that he did not subdue all these Cities, but by the coast of *Pamphilia* and *Cilitia*, turne another way against *Darius*. *Perdiccas* that succéded *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, did put to death *Ariarathe*, ruler of *Cappadocia*, eyther for that he revolted, or woulde haue made it for the *Macedonians*, and appoynted for these nations *Eumenes* of *Cardia*. When *Eumenes* was destroyed, being iudged an enimie to the *Macedonians*, *Antipater* that after *Perdiccas* ruled the Countries that *Alexander* had gotten, sente *Nicanor* to rule *Cappadocia*. And the *Macedonians* not long after béeyng at ciuill debate, *Antigonus* gote *Syria*, and expulsed *Laomedonta*. *Mithridates* béeyng hys familiar, and of the bloud royall of *Persia*. *Antigonus* dreamed that he did sowe the grounde wyth golde, and that *Mithridates* dyd carrie the golde to *Pontus*, when it was reaped, wherefore hée toke hym, and woulde haue kylled hym, but he fledde wyth fyre Horse, and fenced a place in *Cappadocia*, many revolting to hym.

Dreame of *Antigonus*.

In thys tumulte of *Macedonie* by little and little, he gotte *Cappadocia*, and the Nations confynes to *Pontus*, and greately enlargeing hys Realme, hée lefte it to hys Chyldren. They raigned one after another, tyll the fifth after the fyrste *Mithridates*, whyche made warre with the *Romanes*. Of this flocke the Kynges of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus* comming, I thynke it to bée knowen who diuided the Kingdome, some reigning in *Cappadocia*, and some in *Pontus*.

Euergetes is beneficiall.

Thys *Mithridates* was first a friend to the *Romanes*, and sente Shyppes and some little helpe agaynste the *Carthaginiens*, that was called *Euergetes*, whyche ouerranne *Cappadocia* as a straunger. And *Mithridates* hys sonne succéded, who was named *Dionisius* and *Eupater*. The *Romanes* commaunded hym to gyue place in the Kingdome of *Cappadocia* and to *Ariobarzanes*, that fought to them, and thought himselfe to be nyghter to that Kingdome, than *Mithridates*, or else bycause they suspected the Kyngdome of *Mithridates* growyng so greate, and vnder the hande, woulde diuide it into more partes, and hée suffered it, but agaynste *Nicomedes*, that was of *Nicomedes Prusia* hys sonne, and by the *Romanes* appoynted to reigne, as in

his

his fathers kingdome, he sent *Socrates*, brother to *Nicomedes*, that was called *Chrestus*, with an armie, & *Socrates* toke the kingdome of *Bythinia* to himself. At this time, *Mithrias* and *Bagoas*, expulsing *Ariobarzanes* whom the *Romanes* had set in the kingdome of *Cappadocia*, put *Ariarathes* into it. The *Romanes* did restore bothe *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into their proper kyngdomes, sendyng certaine Embassadours for that purpose, whereof *Manius Acilius* was chiefe: and commaunded *Lucius Cassius* that had a litle armie in *Pergamo* in *Asia*, to helpe to it, and also *Mithridates Eupator*. But hée beyng offended with the *Romanes* for *Cappadocia*, and by them beyng put from *Phrygia*, as wée haue shewed in the Greeke matters, did not helpe. *Cassius* and *Manius* with that armie they had, and gatheryng a greater of the *Galatians* and *Phrygians*, sent *Nicomedes* into *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and persuaded them bothe, beyng neyghboures to *Mithridates*, to molest hys countrey, and prouoke hym to warre, and the *Romanes* woulde be their mayntayners in it. But bothe they alyke affected, durst not prouoke *Mithridates* fearyng hys mighty power. But the Ambassadours vrgyng them, *Nicomedes*, that had promised to gyue the Embassadours muche money for hys restitution, and to the Souldiours, which yet hée ought, and beyng in debte further to the *Romanes* for money lente hym for hys other matters, vnwillyngly hée inuaded *Mithridates* lande, spoyled as farre as the Citie *Amastris*, none resistyng hym or mœtyng with hym. For albeit *Mithridates* had hys armie ready, yet hée refrayned, to haue the more and iuster cause of warre.

Chrestus, good or profitable.

Amastris, the chiefe citie so called of a vvoman of *Persia*, before beyng named *Cromna*.

When *Nicomedes* was returned home with a great pray, *Mithridates* sente *Pelopida* to the *Romane* Capitaynes and Embassadours, not ignorant that they were his enimies and causes of this inuasion, yet he dissembled, & sought more manifest causes of the warre to come. *Pelopida* told them that *Phrygia* was taken frō them, and *Cappadocia*, that had alwaies bene his auncestours and left him of his father: *Phrygia* was giuen him of your generall, as a rewarde for the victorie gotten of *Aristonico*, & neuertheless redeemed of the same generall with a great summe of money.

The Embassador of *Mithridates* to the *Romanes*.

Now

'Nowe you sée (sayde he) that *Nicomedes* shutteth the mouth of
'*Pontus*, and spoyleth his land as farre as *Amastris*, and carried a-
'way so great a bootie as your selue well know. My Kyng, hauing
'power & will, sufficient to reuenge, doth suffer that you may be
'witnesses of sight of his iniuries. The which bycause you know
'and sée, *Mithridates* desireth you, friends and confederates, as a
'friende and confederate, for so do the couenants tearme vs, that
'you woulde helpe vs against *Nicomedes* that dothe vs wrong, or
'forbid him to do vs any more. Thus sayd *Pelopida*.

Embassadors of *Nicomedes*.

'*Nicomedes* Embassadors making aunswere to the contrarye,
'sayde, that *Mithridates* had long layd traynes for *Nicomedes*, and
'sent *Socrates* with an army for that kingdome, which would haue
'bin quiet, and iustly suffered his elder brother to raigne. Thus
'did *Mithridates* against *Nicomedes*, whome you (O *Romanes*) ap-
'pointed Kyng of *Bithinia*. Whereby it is manifest, that these
'things be done not more against vs, than against you. By the
'like authoritie, it being commaunded to the Kings of *Asia*, that
'they should not meddle with *Europe*, he hath taken much of *Cher-*
'*roneso*, and these be his actes against you, of despighte, disdeyne,
'and disobedience. His great preparatiõ and so great furniture,
'as to a great and notable warre, as well of his owne armye, as
'of confederates of *Thracia* and *Scythia*, and other nigh nations.
'He hath married with the King of *Armenia*. He hath sente into
'*Egypt* and *Syria*, to allure those Kings. He hathe three hundreth
'armed Shippes, and is making more. He hath sent for maysters
'and gouernoures of Shippes into *Phenicia* and *Egypt*. All this is
'not against *Nicomedes*, but against you (O *Romanes*) done by *Mi-*
'*thridates*, disdeyning euer since you haue commaunded hym to
'leaue *Phrygia*, as no right possession, which by deceyte he bought
'for money of one of youre Generals. Being greéued also that
'*Cappadocia* is giuẽ by you to *Ariabarzanes*, fearing your increase,
'and taking occasion against you by vs, and if he can, to deceyue
'you. It is wisedome not to tarrie, till he confesse to make warre
'against you, but rather to looke to his actes than to his wordes,
'nor to be deceyued with his counterfet name of frendship, and
'to forsake youre true and firme friendes in déede, neyther to sée

Cherronesus a land almost an Iland, as this was at *Pontus*.

your

your iudgemente of our kingdome to be despised of him that is an enimie both to vs and you. Thys sayde *Nicomedes* Embassadoures.

Pelopidas came agayne to the *Romanes* audience, once more accusing *Nicomedes* of the things that were done of old, and prayd the *Romanes* to be Iuoge. These things that now be done (sayde he) he hath done in your sight. *Mithridates* kingdome he hathe diminished, the Sea he hath shutte, spoyles he hathe carryed away. This nedeth no debating or consultation, but we once agayne pray you, eyther to correct that is done, or to help *Mithridates* that hath suffered the wrong, or lastly (O *Romanes*) not to forbidde hym to reuenge himselfe, but let them two trye it out. This aunswered *Pelopidas*.

It was certayne that the *Romanes* fauoured *Nicomedes*, and for a fashion heard their controuersies: but somewhat they were moued at the wordes of *Pelopidas*. And bycause *Mithridates* was yet in league with the *Romanes*, and stode in doubt what to aunswere presently, and hauing with wisedome considered the matter, they aunswered thus. Neyther will we haue *Mithridates* suffer any thing wrongfully of *Nicomedes*, neyther sutter warre to be made vpon *Nicomedes*, for we thinke it not good for the *Romanes*, that *Nicomedes* should be hurt. When they had thus sayde, and *Pelopidas* woulde haue made aunswere to their sentence so doubtfull, they wente from the seate. When *Mithridates* sawe that he was manifestly iniured of the *Romanes*, he sent his sonne *Ariarathes* with a great army, to reigne in *Cappadocia*, and he expelled *Ariobarzanes*, and had the kingdome. *Pelopidas* comming agayne to the *Romane* officers, said thus:

The Romanes aunswere.

What *Mithridates* hath borne at your hāds (O *Romanes*) being spoiled of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, you haue heard. What hurt *Nicomedes* hath done him, you see, & let it passe, we appealing to your amitie and leage. And as though we were the accusers, and not accused, you aunswere, that you thinke it not profitable for the *Romane* state, that *Nicomedes* shoulde be hurte, as though he were iniured. You (O *Romanes*) are the cause that things be done in *Cappadocia*, againste the state of *Rome*. For thorough youre con-

'tempt of vs, and your subtill aunsweres, *Mithridates* hathe done
'thys, and now he sendeth Embassadoures againste you to youre
'Senate, to whome he sendeth you worde to aunswere: and that
'you attempt nor begin any thing to kindle this warre, withoute
'the common consent of the *Romanes*. And that *Mithridates* hathe
'in his fathers kingdome conteyning in length twenty thousande
'furlongs, gotten many nations about hym, *Colchos* a warlike na-
'tion, and the Grækes that dwel at *Pontus*, and the *Barbarians* that
'be nere them. He hath friends ready to do his commaundement,
'*Scythians*, *Taurians*, *Basternians*, and *Sarmatians*, and all that be a-
'bout *Tanais*, and *Hister*, and the fenne of *Mæotis*. *Torbanes* of *Arme-*
'*nia* is his sonne in lawe, and *Arsaces* the *Parthian* hys friende.
'He hath a nauie of Shippes, whereof some bée readye, and some
'to be made, and a furniture conuenient in all poyntes. The *Bi-*
'*thinians* dyd not nowe saye vntruely to you, of the Kynges of
'*Egypt* and *Syria*, who be lyke, not onely to take oure parte, if
'warre bée made, but also *Asia*, that you haue lately gotte. *Grecia*
'and *Libya*, and many nations of *Italy*, that can not beare youre
'ambition, do make an endelesse warre wyth you, whych bycause
'you can not ceasse, you sette *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* vppon
'*Mithridates* by turne. You say you are friends and confederates,
'and you aunswere so, but you vse hym as an enimie. Nowethen
'go to, if of things past you repente yée, eyther forbidde *Nicomedes*
'to molest your friends, and if you doe this, I promise you that
'*Mithridates* shall ayd you againste the *Italians*, or breake that fay-
'ned friendshyp, or let vs goe to be iudged at *Rome*. This sayde
Pelopida. And bycause it seemed too presumptuous, they com-
maunded that *Mithridates* shoulde not deale with *Nicomedes*, nor
Cappadocia, and that they woulde sette *Ariobarzanes* in his king-
dome agayne, and that *Pelopidas* shoulde depart frō their Camp,
and no more returne as Embassadoure, except the King woulde
stand to this order. Thus they aunswered, and sente hym awaye
wyth kepers, that he shoulde corrupte none as he wente.

Eight of these furlongs maketh a mile.

Mæotis the great fenne in *Scythia*.

The Embassadors make warre with out the consent of the Senate.

When this was sayde, not tarrying the Senates wyll for the
warre, or the peoples consente, they gathered an army of *Bithi-*
nia, and *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia* in *Asia*. Their
owne

owne armye which *Lucius Cassius* had in *Asia* was ready, and all their confederates gathered togither, whyche they diuided into diuers Campes. *Cassius* in the middest of *Bithinia* and *Galatia*, *Manius* that way that by *Bithinia* was against *Mithridates*. *Appius* with another army at the hylles of *Cappadocia*, hauing horse and footemen, to the number of fortie thousand. They had a nauie of Shippes, whyche *Minutius Rufus*, and *Caius Popilius* gouerned, kæping the mouth of *Pontus*. *Nicomedes* came to them with fiftie thousand footemen, and fiue thousand horsemen. So greate an army had they ready. *Mithridates* had of his owne two hundreth and fiftie thousande footemen, fortie thousande horsemen, thræ hundred armed Shyppes, and a hundreth Gallyes, with munition accordingly. His chiefe Captaynes were *Neoptolemus*, and *Archelaus* brethren, the greatest parte he ledde himselfe. His sonne *Arcadias* brought the ayd of tenne thousand horse out of *Armenia* the lesse. *Dorilaus* ledde thē that were in order of the mayne footemen, and *Craterus* broughte a hundred and thirtie Chariots. So greate prouision was on both sides, when the *Romanes* and *Mithridates* began the warre, the CLXX. Olimpiade. In the large field at the floud *Ammeum*, did *Mithridates* and *Nicomedes* Captaines sée one another, and prepared for the fight. *Nicomedes* set al in order, *Neoptolemus* & *Archelaus* the light harnesed only, and ỳ horsemen ỳ *Arcathias* brought, & some Chariots. The fotemē wer yet cōming They sent a fo to take a stony hil ỳ was in ỳ playne, ỳ they shoulde not be cōpassed of the *Bithinians* which were the greater nūber. Whē they saw them beaten frō the hill, *Neoptolemus* fearing to be enclosed, came to the rescue with spæde, calling with him *Arcathia*. *Nicomedes* sæing that, set vpon them, and there was a great fight and slaughter. But *Nicomedes* fiercely following, *Mithridates* men fledde, till *Archelaus* comming on the righte side, did repulse the chacers. Then they cōming all vpon him, he gaue place a little, that *Neoptolemus* & his might returne frō the flight. And whē he saw that to be done in dæde, he set the armed Chariots vpon the *Bithinians*, which with their violence, did teare some of thē into two partes, & some into more. This acte did muche discourage *Nicomedes* host, when they saw men cut asunder yet breathing, or torne in many peeces, or

The Romanes force.

Mithridates forces.

Amnius a floud.

The fight.

violently carried of the Chariots. The vnpleasantnesse of the sighte, rather than losse by the fight, disordered their battell for feare. Vpon them being thus broken, came *Archelaus* on the front, and *Neoptolemus* and *Arcathias* returning from the flyght vpon the backe. They resisting on both sides, defended themselues a good whyle, but after many of them were slayne, *Nicomedes* fleeth *Nicomedes* fledde with the rest into *Paphlagonia*, the fotemen of *Mithridates*, not being at the fight. The Camp, and the money, and many prisoners were taken, all the which, *Mithridates* vsing gently, *Mithridates* vseth courtesie. gaue them conduct money, and sent them home, making a shew to his enimies of humanitie. This first feate of the great warre with *Mithridates*, affrayd the *Romane* Captaynes, as begunne rashly, without the common consente. For a fewe did ouercome many, without any help of the place, or fortune of the fighte, but by the vertue of the Captaynes, and valiantnesse of the Souldyours. *Nicomedes* Camped by *Manius*. *Mithridates* wente to the *Scoroba*, hill *Scoroba*, that is, the boundes of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*. Hys scoutes being a hundreth horsemen of the *Sauromatanes*, mætyng with eyghte hundreth Horse of *Nicomedes*, toke diuers of them, whome *Mithridates* agayne suffered to goe to their Countrey An other courtesie of *Mithridates*. with money for the way. *Manius* going backe, *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian* mætyng with him, about the towne *Pachius* a towne at *Propontid*. *Pachius*, constreyned hym to fighte, *Nicomedes* being gone to *Cassius*, hauing four thousand horsemen, and tenne times so many fotemen, of whome they killed tenne thousande, and toke three hundred prisoners, whome *Mithridates* being brought to him, did let A third curtesie of *Mithridates*. goe, to winne the heartes of his enimies. *Manius* campe was taken, he fledde to the floud *Sangarus*, and passed ouer by night, and saued himselfe at *Pergamo*. *Cassius* and *Nicomedes*, and the *Romane* The *Romanes* discontented. legates, sette their Camp at *Leontocephale*, which is a very strong towne in the further part of *Phrigia*, and trayned the people that they had of newe husbandmen or artificers, and ioyned more to them of the *Phrygians*. And when both these people were vnwilling, they durst not meddle with men expert in battell, therefore they licenced the, and departed, *Cassius* into *Apamea* with his army, *Nicomedes* into *Pergamo*, and *Manius* to the *Rhodes*. They that *Sangaris* is otherwyse called *Coralus*. *Leontocephale*.

kept

kept the mouth of *Pontus*, hearing of this, forsoke it, and the keys & ships that *Nicomedes* had in *Pontus*, were deliuered to *Mithridates*. Thus he at one brunt, getting all *Nicomedes* land, went to it, and set order in the Cities. Going into *Phrigia*, and comming to an Inne where *Alexander* rested, he toke it for a lucky token, that *Mithridates* might lye where *Alexander* had lodged. And he gote the rest of *Phrigia*, and *Misia*, and *Asia*, that the *Romanes* had lately wonne. And sending to the places there aboute, he got *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, & so as farre as *Ionia*. And to the *Laodiceans* that inhabit about the floud *Lycus*, and resisted, for *Q. Oppius* a *Romane* Captaine hauing Horsemen and some fotemen hyred, got into the Citie & kept it, He sent his Trumpet to the walles, commanding hym to say, that King *Mithridates* did giue surtie to the *Laodiceans*, if they would bring *Oppius* to him. When they hearde this Proclamation, they lette the hired Souldiours goe freely, and brought *Oppius* to *Mithridates*, with his mace-berers in stronge: and *Mithridates* did no hurt to him but ledde him lose aboute with him, shewing he had a *Romane* Generall in Captiuitie. Not long after, he toke *Manius Acilius*, that was best of ỳ Embassadors, & chiefe cause of this warre, and ledde him about, being set vpon an Asse, and telling them that loked vpon him, that he was *Manius*, till he came to *Pergamo*, wher he put molte gold in his mouth, reprouing the *Romanes* for taking of giftes. Appoynting rulers in the countrey, he came to *Magnesia*, *Ephesus*, and *Mitelene*, euery one receyuing him without resistance, and the *Ephesians*, throwing away the Images of the *Romanes* that were there, for the whiche they were punished afterward. Going from *Ionia*, he toke *Stratonicea*, and punished it in money, and set a garrison in the Citie, and seeyng a fayre mayde, he made hir one of his wiues, and if any man be desirous to know hir name, it was *Monime*, ỳ daughter of *Philopamenes*. The *Magnesians*, *Paphlagonias*, & *Lycians*, yet resisting, hee ouercame by his Captaynes. And thus did *Mithridates*.

Mithridates lieth in an harborough, vvhere great *Alexander* once did lye.

Lycus.
Q. Oppius.

Laodiceans betray *Oppius.*

Oppius ledde prisoner.

Manius is despighted of *Mithridates*, and cruelly handled.

Mithridates taketh a vvife at *Stratonicea.*
Monime is made a Queene.

The *Romanes* hearing of thys first force, and inuasion of *Asia*, determined warre against hym, although they were troubled with ciuill strife incessantly in the Citie, and *Italy* was occupyed with great warre at home almost in euery place. The Consuls

C Sylla appoynted to the roome.

takyng their charge, *Asia* fell to *Cornelius Sylla*, and the warre agaynst *Mithridates*. And where they had no store of money, they enacted to sell the thyngs, that *Numa Pompilius* the kyng had appoynted for the Sacrifices of ỳ Goddes. So great want was ther then, & so great ambition. Some of these thyngs were sold, whereof was rayled .ix. thousande poonde waight of golde, and gaue no more to so great a warre. But *Sylla* was long kept with sedition, as we haue shewed in the ciuill dissentions. In this meane time, *Mithridates* made many shippes agaynst the *Rhodians*, and wrote secretely to all Princes and rulers of Cities, that they shoulde at the thirtie day, beyng obserued, kyll all *Romanes* and *Italians*, men, women and chyldren that were free, and when they had killed them, to caste them out vnburied, and to diuide halfe theyr goodes to the kyng *Mithridates*, and halfe to themselues. He appoynted a payne to them that buried any or hidde them, and a rewarde to them that bewrayed or killed them that were hidde. To seruauntes, libertie, to kill their Maisters: to debtours, halfe their debte, to kill their creditours. These *Mithridates* sente secretely to all at once. The daye beyng come, diuerse calamities were seene in *Asia*, whereof these were some.

VVant of treasure in *Rome*.

Mithridates decree of murder.

The *Ephesians* dragged them that were fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, and embraced the images, and killed them. The *Pergamenians*, shotte them to death that were fledde into the temple of *Aesculapius*, and woulde not be pulled from the images. The *Adramiteans* killed them that swamme into the Sea, and drowned their chyldren. The *Cauneans* beyng made tributarie to the *Rhodians* in the warre of *Antiochus*, and restored by the *Romanes* a litle before, pulled the *Italians* out of their holy common place, whether they were fledde, and first killed the children before the mothers faces, then the mothers, & laste the fathers. The *Trallians*, to keepe themself from the infamie of murderers, hyred *Theophilus* of *Paphlagonia* a cruell man, to do this acte. And *Theophilus* killed them beyng shutte in the temple of peace, & cut of the hãds of some, that imbraced the images there. The *Italians* and the *Romanes* suffred these calamities in *Asia*, men, women,

Adramitte, a citie of the coaste of *Mysia*.

Cruelty in *Asia*, agaynst the *Romanes*.

Caunus, nowe *Roxe*, a towne of *Caria*.

children,

thilozen, frée & bonde that were of the *Italian* generation. Wher- in it was cuidēt that *Asia* did not this so much for feare of *Mi- thridates*, as for hate of the *Romanes*. But they suffred double pu- nishment, *Mithridates* shortly after vsing them cruelly contrary to his fayth, and after him, *Cornelius Sylla*.

The *Romanes* hated.

Mithridates sayled to *Coo*, the *Coanes* receyuing him willingly: and he toke the sonne of *Alexander* that reigned in *Aegipt*, lefte in *Co* with much money of his grandmother *Cleopatra*, & brought him vp princely. And of *Cleopatras* treasure, he sent much riches, worlkes, stones, womens aray, and plenty of money into *Pontus*. In this time the *Rhodians* fortified their walles & their portes, & prepared al defence, some *Telmisians* and *Lycians* being confedered with thē. All the *Italians* ỹ fledde out of *Asia*, came to the *Rhodes*, among whom was *L. Cassius*, the gouernour of *Asia*. *Mithridates* cōming thither, they pulled downe their suburbes, that ỹ enimie should take no profite by thē, & prepared for the fight by sea, some at the front & some at the sides. *Mithridates* cōming with his ga- lies, cōmaunded his men to extend thēselues into winges a flote, that by their swifte rowyng they mighte inclose their enimies which were fewer. The *Rhodians* being afraid of cōpassing, gaue place a litle, then turned & fledde to their porte, & shutting it with barres, they resisted *Mithridates* from the walles. He encamping at the Citie, & drawing nighe the porte, & attemptyng the same, tarried for fotemen to be brought out of *Asia*. And there was shorte and continuall skirmishing with them at the walles, in the which the *Rhodiās* hauing the better, were a litle encouraged, and had their ships at hande to encounter the enimy when occa- sion should serue. A great shippe of the kings passed vnder sayle, the *Rhodians* sent a litle galie against it, and either side helping o- ther diligently, a great fight began on the sea, *Mithridates* beyng superiour in anger of minde, & multitude of shippes, the *Rhodians* with arte setting vpō his nauy, & disordering thē so, as they toke one galie with the men, & much munition & spoyle, & brought hir into the hauen: and being ignorāt ỹ a great Galie of theirs was taken of the enimie, they sent vj. of their swiftest to recouer hir, & *Damagoras* their admiral wēt with thē. *Mithridates* sent xvb. after him,

Co. Iland nowe Lango.

Of *Curia* and of *Lyria*.

The warre of *Mithridates* a- gaynst the *Rhodes*.

hym, who gaue place till it was night. Waring darke, the kings shippes retourned, and he set vpon them and toke two, and chased other two into *Lycia*, and returned by nighte. This was the ende of the fight betweene *Mithridates* and the *Rhodians*, done against all hope to the *Rhodians*, for their fewnesse, and to *Mithridates* for his multitude. In the fight the king saylyng aboute to encourage his men, a shippe of *Chio*, in hys naute, crushed the kings shippe in the confusion, the whiche the kyng not dissembling, punished both the Captaine and the Maister, which offended all the *Xians*.

The Kings Shippe crushed by chaunce.

At thys time, the kings fortemē being brought in great ships, & a Pery rising vpon them, they were driuen to *Rhodes*, & the *Rhodians* quickly comming vppon them, being yet troubled with the storme, they toke some, they crushed some, and some they burned, and toke four hundred prisoners. *Mithridates* preparyng for to fight by sea againe, and to force the towne, he made a certaine engin called *Sambuca* carried in two shyps. The fugitiues tolde him, there was a side of an hill that might be scaled, where the Temple of *Iupiter Tabyrius* was, with a weake wall. He put his army in the shyps by night, to other he gaue scaling ladders: he commaunded both to goe with silence, till a fire was made from the Temple, and then with a crye as loude as coulde bee made, some to assaulte the towne, and some to force the Porte, and they with silence drewe nighe. The watche of the *Rhodians* knowing this, made a fire, and the army of *Mithridates*, thinking this had bin the fire at the Temple, from deepe silence they cried all togither, as well the Scalers, as the Marriners. The *Rhodians* cried as fast chearefully, and came togither to ẏ wal, so as the Kings men did nothing that night, and in the daye, were putte backe, although the Sambuke, affraid the *Rodians* much, casting out at once, many dartes, arrowes and shotte, beeing broughte againste the Temple of *Isis*, and the Souldiours with many scalyng ladders, from their shippes, came forth as they woulde haue giuen an assaulte. The *Rhodians* defended themselues manfully, till the engine brake for waight, and a vision of *Isis* was thought to caste a greate fire vpon it. *Mithridates* des-

Sambuca, what an engine vsed at the siege of Cities, because the ropes were so stretched in it as the strings in the instrument of Musicke that is so called.

The *Rhodians* put the kyngs men awaye.

Isis is a Goddesse in *Aegipt*.

pairing

paying of this enterprise, sayled from the *Rhodes*.

Being at *Patara* at siege, he cut down the holy woode of *Latone* to make engins, till he was feared with a vision: then he left the woode. Leauing *Pelopida* to continue the warre in *Lycia*, hee sente *Archelaus* into *Grecia*, to winne it by force or friendship so much as was possible, and committing many things to his Captains, he trayned and furnished his army, and passed the time with his woman of *Stratonicea*. He sate in iudgement of them that were thought to watch him, or make any mutinie, or helpe the Romaines. And whiles hee was thus occupied, these thinges were done in *Grecia*. *Archelaus* saylyng with a great nauie well victualled, he toke *Delos* that was reuolted from *Athens* and other places, by violence and power, killing twenty thousande men, of the whiche the moste were Italians, the places he appointed to the *Athenians*, by the whyche, and by other meane they extolling *Mithridates*, and greatly prayssing hym, he brought them and other to his friendship. He sent the holy money of *Delos* to them by *Aristion* a man of *Athens*, and two thousand with him for ỹ gard of the mony, the which *Aristion* vsing to his purpose, played the Tiranne in his country, and some of the *Athenians* he killed oute of hand, as fauourers of the Romaines, and some he sent to *Mithridates*: yet was he a scholer of *Epicurus* learning. And not he alone in *Athens*, nor *Critias* that was before him, and they beyng professours of Philosophie with *Critias*, were tyrannes, but in *Italy* they of *Pythagoras* schole, and in the other *Grecia*, they that were called the seauen Wise men, when they had rule, they toke vpon them and vsed tyranny more cruelly, than ỹ vnlearned tyrannes. Therefore there is a doubt and suspition of other Philosophers, whether for vertue, or for pouertie, or for lacke of experience, they comforted themselues with Philosophie: Of the whiche now, many being priuate & poore, & couering nede by sapiẽce, they speake bitterly againste rich men and Princes, not for cõtempt of riches, and rule in their opinion, but rather for enuy being caried thereunto. But they that bee slaundered of them, do more wisely contempne them. This one maỹ thinke to bee spoken of *Aristion* the Philosopher, as by occasion of matter

Patara, a Cittye of *Lycia*.

Delos an Ile in the *Aegian* sea. *Aristion* by occasion of money plaieth the tyrã,

Philosophers Tirannes.

moued by him. The *Acheans*, and *Lacedemonians* did relent to *Archelous*, and all *Bœotia*, except *Thespia*, whome he beſæged.

Thespia a free Towne in *Bœotia*.

At this time *Metrophanes* being ſente of *Mithridates* with another armye, did make warre vppon *Eubea* and *Dimetriades*, and *Magnetia*, that reſiſted *Mithridates*. And *Brittius* comming from *Macedonia* with a ſmall nauie did fight with him by Sea, and ſinking one greate Shippe and a foyſte, he killed all that were in them. *Metrophanus* beholding it, he being afrayde, fledde, and hauing a good wind, *Brittius* could not ouertake him, but toke *Scyathus* that was a receypt for the *Barbarian* rouers, he hanged vp the ſlaues, and cutte off the hands of the free men. Then turning to *Bœotia*, a thouſand other Horſemen and footemen comming out of *Macedonia*, at *Charona* he foughte three dayes with *Ariſtion* and *Archelous*, with equall and indifferent fortune on both ſides: but when the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans* were come in ayde to *Ariſtion*, and *Archelous*, *Brittius* thinking himſelfe too weake to match with them all, went to *Pireo*, till *Archelous* came and kept it.

Scyathus an Ile.

Charona.

Pireo, nowe *Porto lione*, The port of *Athens*, able to hold four hundred Shippes.

Sylla beeyng choſen generall for the warre againſte *Mithridates*, then toke his iourney out of *Italy* with fyue legions, and ſome other bandes and companyes, and arriued in *Grecia*, gatheryng money and men and victuals from *Aetolia* and *Theſſalia*. When he thoughte he was ſufficiente, he wente into *Attica* againſte *Archelous*, and as he came, all *Bœotia* ſauing a few reuolted to him, and ſo did the greate Citie of *Thebes*, very lightly taking *Mithridates* parte againſte the *Romanes*, and nowe more ſwiftely turning from *Archelous*, to *Sylla*, before they came to tryall. He went to *Attica*, and ſending one parte of his armye againſte the Citie to beſeege *Ariſtion*, he wente to *Pireo*, where *Archelous* was within the walles, the heygth whereof, was fortie cubites, beeyng the worke of *Pericles*, made of greate ſtone and ſquare, when the *Athenians* made warre with the *Peloponeſians*: and bycauſe he putte all the victory in *Pireo*, he made it the more ſtrong. *Sylla* being come to the wall, gaue the aſſaulte forthwith, where muche hurte beeyng done on both ſydes, the *Cappadocians* manfully defendyng, beeyng weery, he wente to *Eleuſina*, and *Megara*, and made engines againſt *Pireo*, by mountes

Thebes in *Bœotia*.

Pireus was made of pinacles, walled two myles of length.

Megara is in *Achaia*. *Eleuſina* in *Attica*,

and

and rampires. Artificers, and stuffe, yron, and slings, and suche other, were brought hym from *Thebes*. He cut downe the wodde of *Academia*, and made greate engines, and toke away the long sides, to cast stones, timber, and earth vppon the rampire.

Academia was a shadowie place, a mile from *Athens*.

There were two slaues of *Athens* in *Pireo*, fauouring the *Romanes*, or foreseeyng theyr saftie if anye thing shoulde happen: they wrote in pellets of leade euer what shoulde be done, and threw them to the *Romanes* with their slings.

Fidelitie of slaues to the *Romanes*.

Thys beeyng often done, and come to knowledge, *Sylla* hauyng regarde to the matter, founde it thus written, To morrowe, the footemen shall come vppon the face of youre labourers, and the Horsemen shall sette vppon the sydes of the *Romanes*. Therefore he layde an ambush ready, and when the enimie had thought to haue come on ẏ suddayne, he more suddaynelye dyd sette vppon them, kylled many of them, and droue the other into the Sea. And thys was the ende of thys attempte.

Nowe many greate towers beeyng sette vpon the mounte, *Archelaus* dyd make the lyke on the other side, furnished wyth weapons. He sente for more power out of *Chalcidonia*, and other Ilandes, and armed hys mariners, as he that woulde hazarde all. *Archelaus* hadde a greater armye than *Sylla*, and nowe it was muche bigger. At midnighte he issued wyth lyghtes, and burned one of the greate engines, with all that belonged to it. *Sylla* in tenne dayes made another, and sette it where the other was, and *Archelaus* erected a Tower agaynst them on the wall. Another army beyng come vnto hym from *Mithridates*, whiche *Dimoxetes* ledde, he brought them all forth to the fighte, wyth whome he mixed hys shotte, and stode vnder the wall, that the warders myghte throwe vppon the enimies. Other stode at the gates wyth fyre, lokyng for the token to sallie forthe. The fyghte was a long tyme equall, and nowe one and then another gaue place. The *Barbarians* beganne to flée, tyll *Archelaus* commyng vppon them, made them turne agayne, whyche greately afrayed the

Romaines flee and returne a gayne.

The reproued sorte, vvere noted of some covvardinesse, and called vituperati.

Romaines, so that they fledde from them, but *Murenas* met them and returned them, and an other bande was come from foragine with them, they that were reproued, which seeing the fighte so hotte, gaue a couragious onset vpon *Mithridates* menne, and killed two thousand of them, and droue the other into the walles. *Archelaus* woulde haue tourned them backe againe, and in the fyghte tarrying long bycause of his earnestnesse, he was shutte oute, and taken in by a rope. *Sylla* released them of rebuke that were noted, bycause they had fought valiauntlye, and rewarded the Souldiours wyth gyftes accordingly.

Eleusine.

Winter being come, hee placed hys army in *Eleusine*, and made a ditche from the highe places to the Sea, that the ennimies horsemen shoulde not easilye breake vppon them. The whyche hee working euerye daye, there were diuerse skirmishes sometime aboute the ditche, sometyme at the walles, the ennimyes commyng & vsyng stones, dartes and pellets. *Sylla* wanting Shippes, sente to the *Rhodes*, and where the *Rhodes* coulde not passe, bycause *Mithridates* helde the Sea, hée commaunded *Lucullus* a Noble manne of *Rome*, and Generall of thys warre after *Sylla*, to goe priuilye into *Alexandria* and *Syria*, and to gather an armye of the Kynges and Citties, and to sende it to the *Rhodians*. Hée not fearing the Sea besette wyth Shyppes, toke a light vessell, and chaunging Shippe after Shippe, to be vnknowne, he came to *Alexandria*.

Lucullus diligẽce

The bewrayers at *Pireo*, wrote againe in the pellets, that the nighte following *Archelaus* woulde sende to *Athens* being in want, corne vpon soldiors backes. *Sylla* laying in wayte, toke the corne and carriers.

Chalcide novve *Negroponte*, chiefe cittie of *Eubœa*.

The same daye *Minutius* bidde hurte *Neoptolemus* an other Captaine at *Calcide*, and killed a thousand fiue hundred, and toke moe prisoners.

Not long after in *Pireo* in ẏ night, ẏ watch being aslæp, the *Romaines* brought their scales frõ ẏ nert mounts, & got the wal, and killed the watch ẏ was nert: wherfore some of ẏ *Barbariãs* leapt down, forsaking the wall, as though al had bene takẽ: other turning to force, killed ẏ leader of thẽ that scaled, and flung downe

the

the other headlong : other getting out of the gates, hadde nére hande burned one of the *Romaines* Towers, had not *Scylla* come with the army, and fought wyth them all that nyght, and the day after, and with greate labour saued it. *Archelous* made an other tower at the wall against the *Romaines*, that they might fight together vpon the towers, whiche they did so oft and so furiously, as it was harde, tyll *Sylla* did casse twentye greate pellets out of his sling, and killed many, and so beate *Archelous* tower, as it was vnprofitable, & *Archelous* was fayne to lie behind the wall for feare. And they in the Cittie being more & more pressed with hunger, the slaues signifyed againe in the pellets, that victuall shoulde be sent that nighte into the Cittie. *Archelous* suspecting some treason in bewraying the carying of the victuals, sente the victuall, and set some at the gates with fire, to runne vppon the *Romaines* if *Sylla* woulde force the victuall : and both happened, for *Sylla* toke them that carried the corne, and *Archelous* burned certaine of the engines.

At this time *Arcathias*, *Mithridates* sonne inuaded *Macedonia* with an other army, and easily ouercame the fewe *Romaines* that were lefte there, and subdued all *Macedonia*, and appointed rulers, then he marched against *Sylla*, and falling yet sicke at *Tidæo*, died. At *Athens* the cittie being in great daunger of famine, *Sylla* made many forts about it, that none shoulde flée, but remaining there, be the more vexed for the multitude, and erecting the moût at *Pirao* very hygh, he planted his pieces vpon it. *Archelous* digging vnder the mount, and taking away the earth long before it was knowne, they made the mount to sincke, whiche being some perceiued, the *Romanes* toke away the engines, and filled vp the earth againe : and they vsing the like waye in vndermining the wall, they met together, and fought with their short wepons as much as might be in such a darkenes. Whiles this was a doing, *Sylla* went against the wall with many engines, till parte of it fel, and made way to burne the nerte tower, and carried many lightes to casse vppon it, and commaunded the boldest men to go to the assault. Much beyng done on bothe sides the tower was burned, and *Sylla* had casst downe a parte of the wall, to the which he set a garde by and by. The foundations of the wall being casst

Arcathias dieth at *Tidæo*.

A fight in the night.

downe which was bound with wodde, and being ful of sulphure, pitche & flare, al was sone burned, one perce fel after an other, and ouerthrew them ẏ stode vpon it. This tumult beyng soden and great, troubled all the warders, as though that had fallen also wherupō they were. Wherfore turning euerywhere hastily, being doubtful in minde for feare, they resisted their enimies faintly. And *Sylla* came vpon thē stil being thus affected, & cheered his owne mē, euer putting fresh to them that were weary, & he went to the assault, giuing thē courage by voyce & person, & threatning thē that were vnwilling, ẏ in this short labour they might make an end of all. *Archelaus* likewise came forth with freshe men for them ẏ were afrayd, exhorting & stirring all, as by ẏ onely paine to worke their weale. The great courage & boldnesse being againe on either side, great slaughter on both sides was equall & alike, till *Sylla* comming forth & very wery, blewe the retreate, & praysed the soldiours vertue. *Archelaus* by & by in the night repayred the breaches, making vp ẏ was brokē, against the which *Sylla* brought his whole army, thinking he might easily beate downe ẏ which was new made & soft. But being tyred againe in that straight place, & beaten both at the face & the side, as in slipperye places, left of the getting of *Pireus* by assault, & entended to winne it by famine, & to continue the siege. And when he vnderstode that they in the citie, were in greater want, & had spent all their beasts, & sodde their skinnes & hides, and vsed the broth for meate, & that some did eate dead flesh, he commaunded his army to cōpasse the citie, that not one should escape: & when this was done, he went straight to the assault, & wonne the wall. And the weake men being fledde, he entred the Citie. And againe great slaughter & murder was in *Athens*, for they coulde not flee for weakenesse, there was no pitie, neither of children nor women, *Sylla* cōmaunding to kill euery man that they mette, for anger, that so sone, without cause, they had reuolted to the *Barbarians*, & resisted him so obstinatly. In so much as many hearing the proclamation, did cast themselues willingly to be killed. A few wēt no great pace into the castle, & among them *Aristio*, the place of pastime being first burned that *Sylla* should make no matter of it, for to force the fort. He would not suffer ẏ citie to be burned, but

The assaulte of *Pireo*.

Athens gotten by assaulte.

Sylla vseth the *Athenians* cruelly.

Odeum vvas the name of the place, in the vvhiche they sang and daunced, & rehersed their verses, and vvente vp to it, as to a vsed Theatre.

but gaue the spoile to the soldiours. They found mans flesh ready dressed for sustenance in many houses. The nert day *Sylla* sold the seruãts to the frẽemen, that escaped frõ the murder by night, which were very few. He sayd he gaue libertie, and that libertie their posteritie should haue, & also in frẽ elections which he forbad to thẽ that were aliue. Thus was the citie of *Athens* filled ful of miserie. *Sylla* besieged the castle, the which he easly toke, *Aristion* & they ẏ were fled in with him, being ouercom with hũger & thirst. Of the whiche, *Sylla* put to death *Aristion*, & thẽ that serued him, & such as had borne any office, or done any thing cõtrary to the *Romanes* order, since the taking of *Grecia*. The other he pardoned, & appointed lawes to al, the same almost that were giuen them before of the *Romanes*. He toke out of the castle .xl. pound waight of golde, & of siluer, 600. This was done at the castle a litle after. *Sylla* immediatly after the citie was takẽ, not delaying to take *Pireo* by siege, he brought engines & munition, and many men ẏ should vndermine the wall with their instruments and beate downe many of them that kept the wall by shooting & darting vpon them, and ouerthrew the bowing part of the wall, which was moyst & weake, being new made. Which *Archelaus* thinking before, made many ẏ like within, that *Sylla* might euer haue somewhat to do, finding a new one like ẏ other. But he vsing cõtinual assault wt incessable violence, going among them, & exhorting thẽ to ẏ mater, as a thing of great importãce & praise, in ẏ which al the hope that they had done, did lie. They of themselues being redy inough, for ẏ glory of so great a feat as to win ẏ wal, wẽt to it so fearcely, ẏ *Archelaus* being astonished at their vehement motion beyond reason, left the wall vnto thẽ, & ranne to the strongest parte of *Pireo*, that was compassed with the sea, the whiche *Sylla* for lacke of shippes coulde not attempt. From thence *Archelaus* sayled into *Thessalia* by *Bœotia*, and gathered at *Thermopyle* the rest of all his owne army, and that was brought of *Syndromichate*. He called also those that came into *Macedonia* with *Archatias* the Kings sonne, a freshe bande and full, beside them that *Mithridates* continually sent, for hee neuer lefte sendyng: and this was done with great vehemencie.

Mans flesh dressed for sustenance.

Libertie giuen to the posteritie of the *Athenians* not to thẽselues.

Aristion put to death.

Thermopyle is the greate hill that diuideth *Grecia*, & be the streyght of it vvith hote vvaters.

Sylla burned *Pireo*, whiche was greater labour to him than

Pireo burned.

the

the Cittie not sparing, nauy, munition, nor other preparation and then he went against *Archelous* into *Bœotia*. Being nigh together, they went from *Thermopyle* to *Phocida*, they being *Thracians*, and *Scythians* of *Ponte*, and *Cappadotians*, *Bithynians*, *Galatians*, and *Phrygians* and al other that fauored *Mithridates*, al the which were Cxx. M. euery one had their chiefe captaines, & *Archelous* was the generall ouer all. *Sylla* hadde *Italians*, *Greekes*, and those *Macedonians* that were reuolted from *Archelous*, and some other of the borderers, not the thirde parte of the enimies number. Being encamped togither, *Archelous* setting his men in order, alwayes prouoking to the battaple, *Sylla* delayed, considering the places and multitude of the ennimies, and followed *Archelous* that went into *Calcide*, expecting time and place, when he sawe him encamped at *Cheronæa* in hilly places, from the whiche they that wer ouercome could not flee. He being in a plain very nigh, set his men redy, to prouoke *Archelous* to fight against his wil, the playne being for him commodious to marche forth, or to retire at his pleasure, wheras *Archelous* was beset with the hils, so as he coulde not vse his men as he would, nor altogither place them for the inequalitie of the ground. And if they should turne, the harde place woulde hinder their flight. He waying the matter with these difficulties, gaue the onset, knowing that that great multitude would litle profit *Archelous*, who did not think the *Romanes* would haue fought, therfore kept his campe negligently. Whē the battel was begon, then he felte the hardenesse of the place, and perceyued it to late, and sente his horsemen to kepe him of, but they returning, and being driuen to the hils, he sent out Ir. armed Chariots, to se if he could, by their violence, breake and cut the maine battel of the *Romanes*, the which they suffred to passe the front to the ende, diuiding themselues where they were ouerthrowen of the shot, they being vnwildy to turne again. And though *Archelous* might thus haue kepte his campe, being seene at the hils for their defence, yet he set the whole multitude in order, & came vpon *Sylla* on the sodeyne in these streight places, bycause now he was at hand. First he brought forth the horsemen with grat violence, and cut asunder the *Romanes* battayle, and easilye compassed both, for their small number.

Phocis a litle region of *Greecia*.

Cheronea.

Sylla taketh the aduantage of the place.

The armed chariots defeated.

They

They fighting very valiãtly, kept themselues in a ring. They were in greatest daunger that fought vnder *Galba* and *Hortensius*, against whome *Archelaus* fought himself, and the Barbarians in his sight, shewed great manhode, till *Sylla* came thyther with his horsemen. *Archelaus* thinkyng *Sylla* was hée that came, by the shewe of the Ensignes, and the raysing of so much duste, leauyng hys compassing, went to hys battayle. But *Sylla* brought his horsemen that were beste, and twoo newe bandes that lay in ambushe, and charged vpon them as they were settyng themselues in order, (for they were not yet al come from compassing, nor in due forme at the fronte,) and brake them, so as they were confounded, and turned to flée, the whiche he followed. Beginnyng the victory thus, *Murena* in the lefte wing, furthered the same, very lustily, and with encouraging of his men, manly followed the chace. When the wings of *Archelaus* were turned, the midde battayle did not holde, but fledde also. And then all that *Sylla* had foreséene, fel vpon the enimie, for not hauing a frée place to turne them, nor a playne to flée, at the hilles they were slayne of them that folowed them: some fell into his hãdes, some that were wiser, got to their campe, whom *Archelaus*, ignorant of the feates of warre, commaunded to turne vpon the enimies, when there was no way. They obeyed readily, but wãting captaines, to set them in order, not knowing their proper Ensignes, and beeing fouly disordered, wanting place bothe to fighte and to flée, beeing driuen into a straighte by them that chaced, they were killed with ease: some of their ennimies, whom they could not kill againe: some of themselues, as in a cõfusion in so straight a place. They went againe to the gates, and there gathered together, rebukyng them that shutte them out, rehearsing theyr countrey Goddes, and other naturall familiaritie, that not so much of their enimies, as of their disdayne they were destroyed, tyll *Archelaus* seeyng the néede, opened the gates too late, and receyued them running in with disorder. The *Romanes* perceyuing this, callyng one an other, with vehemencie & swiftenesse gotte into the cãpe with thẽ that fled, & brought the victorie to an end. *Archelaus* & the other fledde as they could, & saued themselues at

The ouerthrovv of *Archelaus*.

Calcide, of a hundred & .xx.M., not many more than .x.M. remayning of the *Romanes*, they say there died but .xv. & two of them returned, this was the end of the field betwene *Sylla* and *Archelous* capitain generall of *Mithridates* at *Cheronea*, chiefly by ỹ wisedom of *Sylla*, & the folishnesse of *Archelous*, this happe had they both. *Sylla* hauing got much armure & spoyle, & taken many prisoners, ỹ vnprofitable things gathered on an heape, being girded after the *Romane* maner, he burned to the Gods of warre. Resting his army a while, he went to *Euripus*, with ỹ light horse against *Archelous*, who wãdred the Ilandes without dread, the *Romanes* hauing no ships to folow him, & toke the coast townes. And going to *Zacynthus* he cãped, as to besiege the citie: & where certen of ỹ *Romanes* cãpe, came vpõ him by night, departing in hast, he went to *Calcida*, more like a Rouer thã a warriour. When *Mithridates* heard of this losse, he was troubled againe, & afrayde, as in such a case he might, & gathered an other army of all natiõs about him in hast. And thinkyng ỹ many would now forsake him for the ouerthrow, or for some other occasion, he gathered togither all thẽ ỹ he had in suspitiõ before the warre did ware sharper. First he killed the gouernours of the *Galatians*, which were with him as frendes, & not yet subiect to him, with their wifes & chyldren except thẽ that fled. To some he layd traynes, some he killed in a night at a banquet, thinking none would kẽpe their fayth, if *Sylla* came, & confiscating their gõdes he made *Eumachus* presidẽt of that nation. The rulers that escaped gatheryng an army of their tenaunts of the countrey, droue him & his garrisons out of *Galatia*, so as *Mithridates* had nothing of that nation but money only. And being angry with ỹ *Chians*, euersince their ship crushed the kings shippe in the battaile at the *Rhodes*, he came secretely vpon them, & first seased vpõ their gõdes that were fled to *Sylla*. Then he sent to inquire of them that toke the *Romanes* parte in *Chio*. And *Zenobus* that ledde the third army, as though he would haue hasted into *Gretia*, came to the walles of *Chio* & other naked places by night & toke them, and setting a garde at the gate, proclaymed that strangers should not stirre, & assembled the *Chians*, as to say somwhat to them from the king. Whẽ he was come he

Cheronea is a towne in *Beotia* where *Plutarch* was borne.

Euripus is the streight sea that flowyth seuen times a day.

Zacynthus an Ile of the *Ionian* sea.

Crueltie of *Mithridates* against the *Galatians*.

Chio, now *Scio*.

Mithridates spite agaynst the *Xiãs* for a smal cause.

layd

sayde the king had the citie in suspition bycause they fauoured the *Romanes*. Your ease must be, to deliuer your armure & your best childzen foz pledges. They seing theyz citie already taken, deliuered both. The which *Zenobius* sente by & by to *Erithea*, commaunding the *Chians* to tarrie foz the kings letters. *Mithridates* letter came to this effect. You be yet frends to the *Romanes* with whom many of your Citizens be, & you enioy the Fermes that they haue let you, foz the which you pay nothing to vs. Further a Galley of yours at the fight at *Rhodes* did shake and crushe my shippes, which fault I would put onely vpon the guyders of the ship, if you could be recouered by loue. But secretly you haue now sent your chiefmen to *Sylla*, & you haue accused none of thē, as doyng it without cōmon consent, noz you haue punished any of them, as not priuie to their doyngs: and whereas I might punish you by death, beyng so counsayled by my friends, as sekers of my life, and traytours to my kingdome, I punish you in two thousand talents. This was the tenoz of the letter. They would haue sent Embassadours to him, but *Zenobius* woulde not suffer them. And when their armure was gone, & their chiefe childzen taken away, & so great an army of *Barbarians* at hād, with heauy hearts they toke the treasure out of the temples, & their wiues Jewels, that they might make the .ij. M. talents. Whē they had done this, & *Zenobius* finding fault with the wayght, he called thē al into ỹ Theatre, & setting his soldiours about ỹ Theatre with their weapons drawne, & the waies downe to ỹ sea side, he called thē out seuerally & put them in the ships, the men by thēselues, ỹ womē likewise, & the childzen by thēselues, barbarously scoffing at thē. Thus being spoyled of their countrey, they were sent into *Pontus Euxinus* to *Mithridates*. After this sozt were ỹ *Chians* vsed. The *Ephesians* required *Zenobius* ỹ was come to thē, to leaue his army at ỹ gate, & to come in with a few. He did so: and went to *Philopæmena* father to *Monime*, whō *Mithridates* loued, & had made ouerseer of the *Ephesians*, & willed the *Ephesians* by proclamatiō to come togither in their assembly. They lokyng foz no good at his hāds, deferred it till the next day. And in ỹ night gathering togither & erhozting one an other, they toke *Zenobius* & killed him

Erythea is a citie of *Asia*, not far from *Scio*, of the vvhich vvas one *Sylilla*.

Mithridates letter to the *Chians*

The lamentable destruction of the *Chians*.

The *Ephesians* kill *Zenobius*.

in pryson. They fenced their walles, they put their people in order, they gathered in their corne, & kept all the Citie by strength.

Trallis, at the flood *Menãdrus*. *Papene* of *Tryphylia*.

The *Trallians*, *Papenians*, and *Mesopolitans*, and some other afrayed by the calamitie of *Chio*, did as the *Ephesiãs* had done. *Mithridates* sent his army against them that reuolted, and vsed them cruelly whom he toke, and fearyng the rest, he made the cities of *Greece*, free. He proclaymed forgiuenesse of debtes, and the fermours he made Citizens, & the bondmen, free, hoping, as it was in deede, that the released of debt, the new made citizens & freemen, would be sure vnto hym, thinkyng these things could not be sure vnto them, but by *Mithridates* rule. In the meane season *Mynio* and *Philotimus* of *Smyrna*, and *Clisthenes*, and *Asclepiodotus*, *Lesbians*, al frendes to the king, and *Asclepiodotus*, sometime captayne of the straungers, did make a conspiracie against *Mithridates*. Of the which *Asclepiodotus* was the bewraier: & for the more credite, he brought to passe, that the kyng, vnder a bedde, hearde what *Mynio* sayde. The cõspiracie being bewrayed, they were cruelly killed. The like suspition was vpon many moe. The *Pergameneans* doyng the like, foure score of them were takẽ, and other, in other cities, *Mithridates* sending searchers to euery place, who finding out his enimies, killed a thousãd fiue hundred men, the accusers of the which, not lõg after, were some punished of *Sylla*, some killed themself, & some fled to *Mithridates* into *Pontus*. Now had *Mithridates* gathered an army of .lxxx.M. the which *Dorilus* did leade into *Grecia* to *Archelous* that had .x.M. left. *Syllas* had his army nigh to *Archelous* at *Orchomeno*, & when he saw so great a nũber of horsemen, he digged many pittes in the plaine, x. foote broade. And had his army in order to receyue *Archelaus*. And when the *Romanes* did faintly come to ỹ fight for the multitude of horsemẽ, he rode about, & exhorted them, & beside threatned thẽ. But whẽ he could not so bring them to the matter, he lept of his horse and toke the Ensigne & ranne to the enimies with his garde, crying: If any man aske you (O *Romanes*) where you betrayed your generall, *Sylla*, say, when he fought at *Orchomeno*. The Capitaines ranne frõ their bandes to hym beyng in this daunger. Then the multitude beyng ashamed, chaunged their feare into courage.

Orchomenus at the flood of that name.

The boldnesse of *Sylla*.

And

And when the victory began to appeare, he mounted on horse a- The victory of the *Romanes*.
gayne, and rode about the host, prayſing them, and in euery place
exhorting them, till he had brought it to end. There dyed of the
enimes aboute fifténe thouſande, whereof the moſt part were
horſemen, & among them *Diogenes*, that was *Archelous* ſon. The
ſoldiers fledde to the Campe, and *Sylla* fearing leaſt *Archelous*
woulde flée againe to *Thalcida*, he hauing no Shippes, all that
night he ſet watches in ỹ playne, and in the day, not fully a fur-
long frõ *Archelous*, he caſt a trench (he not comming forth,) & ex-
horted earneſtly his army to finiſh the reſt of al this battel, ſeing
their enimies durſt not come out, and brought them to the trẽch
of *Archelous*. The like mutation was among the enimies, for
neceſſitie the Captaynes running aboute, ſhewing the preſente
daunger, and rebuking them, if they woulde not defende their
Camp againſt their enimies that were fewer than they. Force
and crye being made on eyther ſide, there was great might ſhe-
wed on both parts. The *Romanes* couering themſelues with their
ſhields, did now digge downe a corner of the Campe, but the de-
fendours put them backe with their ſhorte weapons, and none
durſt enter, till *Baſillus* the Captayne of that legion firſte lept in, The valiantnes
and killed him that reſiſted him, al the army followed, then ſlight of *Baſillus*.
and ſlaughter was made of the *Barbarians*, of ſome as they went,
of other being driuen into a lake that was nigh, and where they
coulde not ſwimme, made prayers in their *Barbarian* long to the
killers of them that vnderſtode them not. And *Archelous* was
hidde in a Fenne, where getting boates, he ſayled to *Chalcida*, and
gathered togither all the reſt of the Kings army with diligence.
Sylla the nexte daye gaue *Baſillus* a garland, and rewarded others This garland or
with giftes accordingly, and then ſpoyled *Bœotia* that was euer crovvne vvas
wauering. And being come to *Theſſalia*, wintered, and tarried for vvhich vvas gi-
the Shyppes that *Lucullus* hadde. And bycauſe he could not tell uen to him that
where *Lucullus* was, he made other Shippes. In this time, *Corne-* firſt ſcaled the
lius Cinna and *Gaius Marius* his enimies in *Rome*, proclayned him trench.
Rebell, ſpoyling his houſe and his Villages, and deſtroying his *Sylla* is proclay-
friends. He notwithſtanding did all thinges as with authoritie, med Rebell at
hauing an army valiant and obedient. *Cinna* choſe *Flaccus* for his *Rome*.
Flaccus.

fellow in the Consuls office, and sente him into *Asia* with two legions in the place of *Sylla* that was declared an enimie to be ruler of *Asia*, and make warre with *Mithridates*. *Flaccus* being vnexpert in the warres, a man of the Senate, of good will, and beloued of the army, named *Fimbria*, wente with him. They sayling from *Brunduse*, many of their shippes were lost by winters weather, and a nauie sent of *Mithridates*, burned their shippes, that went in espiall. All the army forsoke *Flaccus*, being a malitious, couetous, and cruell man, and part of them that were sente into *Thessaly*, turned to *Sylla*. The rest, *Fimbria* being thought of them a better Captayne, and of a more gentle nature than *Flaccus*, stayed from reuolting, and chancing that there was a cõtention for a lodging betweene him & a treasurer, and *Flaccus* leauing the matter vniudged, and somewhat touching the honor of *Fimbria*, he being disdeynefull, threatned to returne to *Rome*, and *Flaccus* appointed a successour to him for ẏ things that were to be done. Then *Fimbria* wayting him as he went to *Calcida*, first toke the maces from *Thermo*, whom *Flaccus* had made officer against him as so receyuing the charge by the cõsent of the army, & following *Flaccus* with anger, til he droue him into an house, out of ẏ which escaping by night, he fledde first into *Calcide*, & then into *Nicomedia*, and shut the gates. But *Fimbria* came vpon him, and killed him, being crept into a pitte, being Consull of the *Romanes*, and generall of the warre, where he was but a priuate mã, and was come with him as his friend at his request. He cut of his head, and threwe it into the Sea, his carcasse he cast out vnburied: so making himselfe Generall, he foughte diuers fightes valiantly with *Mithridates* his sonne, and droue the K. himselfe frõ *Pergame*, whither he followed him to *Pitane*, where he besæged him, till by shippe he fledde to *Mitylene*. *Fimbria* inuading *Asia*, punished ẏ faction of *Cappadocia*, and spoyled the lands of them that woulde not receyue him. The *Ilians* being besæged of him, fledde to *Sylla*, who promised thẽ to come, and willed thẽ to say to *Fimbria*, that they were yælded to him. When *Fimbria* heard this, he prayed them as friendes to the *Romanes*, and desired them to receyue him as a *Romane* also, testingly shewing that the *Ilians* and

Fimbria.

Fimbria killeth *Flaccus*.

A rare crueltie of a *Romane*.

Pitæne a Citie of *Asolide*.

Ilium, where *Troy* was.

the

the *Romanes* were of aſſantie. Being entred, he killed all that he mette, and burned euery thing, and the Embaſſadors that were ſente to *Sylla*, he tormented dyuers wayes, neyther ſparing holy things, nor them that were fledde into the Temple of *Minerua*, whome he burned in the Temple.

Crueltie of a *Romane*.

The next day he bet downe the walles, and went about to ſée, if any thing ſtoode in the Citie, which was worſe vſed by hym a man allied, than it was in *Agamemnons* time, no houſe, no temple, no image being left. The Image of *Minerua* which they called *Palladium*, ſent from heauen as they thinke, ſome ſuppoſe was vnbroken, being couered with the walles that fell, excepte *Diomedes* and *Vliſſes* carried it away at the warre of *Troy*. Thys did *Fimbria* againſt *Ilion*, the. CIII. Olimpiad the ending, which ſome thinke was a thouſand and fifty yeares after *Agamemnon*.

Troy worſe vſed of a *Romane*.

Palladium the Image of *Minerua* ſente from Heauen.

When *Mithridates* heard of the loſſe at *Orchomeno*, conſidering the multitude he hadde ſente into *Grecia*, and the continuall and greate ouerthrowes, he ſent to *Archelous*, to make truce in as good manner as he could, and being come to the parley, ſayde to *Sylla*. *Mithridates* being an auntient friend to you (O *Sylla*) hath made warre for the couetouſneſſe of other Generalles. He is content to leaue warre for thy vertues ſake, by the which thou wilt commaund him that ſhall be iuſt. *Sylla* for wante of Ships and money, none being ſent him becauſe of his enimies that had iudged him a Rebell, hauing gathered money of the *Pythians*, *Olimpians*, and *Epidaureans*, and giuen them, by reaſon for their holy things, halfe the *Thebans* land that ſo oft rebelled, and hauing an army valiant and experte, to leade agaynſte the Rebellion of hys enimies, he was bent to peace, and ſayd:

Archelous to *Sylla*.

If *Mithridates* had bin iniured, he ſhould haue ſent Embaſſadoures, but doyng iniurie, he hath inuaded many lands of other mens, he hathe ſlayne very many, the common and holy thyngs of Cities, and the proper goodes of them he hathe ſpoyled, beeyng a like vnfaythfull to his friendes and to vs, of whome he hathe killed many, and ſlayne the Princes that were at a banquet with him in the night with their wiues and children, and hath ſhewed to vs rather crueltie of nature, than neceſſitie of warre, and

vſed

vsed the *Italians* in *Asia* with all kindes of euils, destroying and murthering men, women, children, and slaues that were of the nation of *Italy*, so great an hate had he against *Italy*. He alleadgeth now auntient amitie for a fashion, but not before he hathe lost a hundreth and threescore thousand men by me, he maketh any mention of it. Wherefore reason would, we should take him for vnfaithfull, yet for thy sake, I will vndertake to get him forgiuenesse of the *Romanes*, if he repente his doyngs: but if he dissembleth now also, loke thou wel to it *Archelae*, and consider the present state, as well for thy selfe, as for him. Consider howe he hath vsed his friends, and how we haue vsed *Eumenes*, and *Massinissa*. Hee speaking thus, *Archelaus* disdeynefull brake his tale, as spoken to proue him, and sayde, that he woulde neuer betray the army that was committed to him, yet hope I for peace at thy hand, if thou makest reasonable cõditions. *Sylla* ceassing a while, sayd, *Archelae*, if *Mithridates* doe deliuer vnto me all the Nauie which thou hast, and deliuer our Captaines, Embassadours, prisoners, fugitiues, and slaues fledde frõ vs, and let go the *Chians* beside forth, and all other that he hath made Captiues in *Pontus*, and take his garrisons from euery place, except those which he had before the breaking of peace, and defray the charges of the warre whereof he hathe bin the cause, and conteyne himselfe within the limits of his fathers dominions, I trust to persuade that the *Romanes* will no more remember what he hathe done. Thus he said. *Archelaus* by and by toke his garrisons from euery place, and of the rest sent to the King. *Sylla* to do somewhat in this vacation, spoyled the *Enetanes*, *Dardaneans*, and *Eutians*, nations nigh the *Macedonians*, and alwayes molesting *Macedonia*, he exercised his souldyoures, and gotte money likewise. Embassadoures were nowe come from *Mithridates*, who agreed to all things, hauing then excepted *Paphlagonie*, saying that *Mithridates* mighte haue more, if he would make peace with the other generall *Fimbria*. *Sylla* was angry at that, and said, he would punishe *Fimbria* well ynough, and whē he was come into *Asia*, he would see whether *Mithridates* hadde more nēde of warre than peace. When he had said thus, he went into *Cypsela* by *Thracia*, and sent

Talke of peace.

Mithridates people of Paphlegonia.

Lucullus

Lucullus afore to *Abydus*, whether he was now come, being in daunger of rouers many times. He brought a Nauie of Shyps from *Cyprus* and *Phœnitia*, frō *Rhodus* and *Pamphylia*, spoyling many coastes of the enimies, and skirmishyng with the Kings Shyppes. *Sylla* from *Cypseles*, and *Mithridates* from *Pergamo*, mette agayne to talke, and commyng both into the playne with a fewe. *Mithridates* recorded his, and his fathers amitie and confederacie, and accused the *Romane* Embassadoures and Lieutenantes, whiche hadde vsed him vniustly, setting *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and taking *Phrygia* from hym, and winking at *Nicomedes*, that dyd hym open iniurie. And all this they did (quoth he) for money, taken as well of me as of them. In this thyng (O *Romanes*) are you most to be blamed, bycause you will be corrupt with money. The warre being broken by youre Generalles, what soeuer I haue done in defence, it hathe bin rather of necessitie, than of will. When *Mithridates* had sayde thus, he ceassed. *Sylla* thus aunswered. Although thy comming is for peace, and yet doest renue other matter, I will not refuse to speake briefely of it. When I was lieutenant of *Cilicia*, I sette *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, by decrée of the *Romanes*, and thou diddest obey. Thou shouldest then haue spoken against it, and not wrangled afterwarde, or swarued from the order. *Manius* gaue thée *Phrygia* for money. The iniustice is indifferente to you both, and by this thou doest confesse, that thou gottest it vnlawfully, by giuing of money. *Manius*, both in this, and other things done for money, was reproued of vs, and the Senate dissolued all that he had done, by reason whereof, they woulde not make *Phrygia* tributarie vnto them, béeyng gyuen vniustly to thée, but lefte it frée. Then by what reason doest thou vsurpe the things that we haue taken by warre, and wyll not yet haue thée to rule? *Nicomedes* accuseth thée and *Alexander* for woundyng hys bodye, sendyng *Socrates Chrestus* into his Kyngdome. He to reuenge this, inuaded thy Realme. If he dyd thée wrong, thou shouldest haue sente Embassadoures, and haue tarried for aunswere. If thou dyddest make spéedy reuengeance on *Nicomedes*, why dyddest thou inuade *Ariobarzanes* that hadde

Talke of peace betweene *Sylla* and *Mithridates*.

Manius actes reproued.

done thée no wrong, for when thou hadst begunne with him, the *Romanes* were compelled by their couenantes to restore hym, and beeyng restored, to defend him. Thou madest warre, beeyng thus persuaded, and in hope, that if thou didst ouercome the *Romanes*, thou shouldest reigne ouer all, making these pretences of thy purpose, of the whyche we haue thys coniecture, that before there was any warre, thou madest league wyth the *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Sauromatians*, and sendest to the Kings thy neyboures. Thou madest shippes, and gatheredst maisters and mates, and the time doth bewray thyne intente. For when thou hardest that *Italy* was reuolted frō vs, wayting for our trouble, thou didst inuade *Ariobarzanes*, *Nicomedes*, the *Galatians*, and *Paphlagonia*. Thou dydst inuade *Asia* our lande, and when thou hadst got it, what didst thou against the Cities, ouer which thou madest slaues and fellowes in debt, rulers, by giuing of libertie, and releasing of debte: and agaynst the *Grecians*, of whom, for a small occasion, thou didst kill sixteene hundreth: or the princes of *Galatia*, whome being at a feast with thée, thou didst murther: And the *Italian* nation, in one daye thou didst kill and drowne, with their wiues and childrē, not sparing them that were fledde into the holy places. Howe greate cruelties, how great impieties and extremities of hate, didst thou shew agaynste vs, gathering euery mans mony? Thou didst sayle into *Europe* with greate armyes, we forbiddyng all Kyngs of *Asia*, to enter into *Europe*. When thou wert come, thou didst ouercome *Macedonia* our prouince. Thou tokest from the *Grecians* theyr freedome. Neyther didst thou repente thée, or make *Archelaus* the meane for thée, tyll I hadde recouered *Macedonia*, and delyuered *Grecia* from thy violence, and slayne a hundreth and sixtie thousand of thyne army, and taken thy Campes with theyr munition. Therfore I maruell now thou doest iustifye thy selfe in those thyngs, which thou desirest to be forgyuen by *Archelaus*, whyche I being farre off, thou didst graunte, but beingnigh, thou doest call into question whose tyme is past, thou making warre, and we resisting mightily, and will resist thée to the ende.

Sylla speaking this with anger, the King was afrayde, and

graun-

graunted and confyrmed the conditions made by *Archelaus*, and deliuerying the Shyppes, and all other things, he went into *Pontus* his fathers kingdome onely. Thus the firſte warre betweene the *Romanes* and *Mithridates* ceaſſed.

Sylla encamping two furlongs from *Fimbria*, commaunded hym to deliuer the army whiche he helde agaynſt the lawes. He taunted him again, that he did not rule lawfully, and being beſieged of *Sylla*, and many openly forſaking hym, he called the reſt to a counſell, and exhorted them to tarrie: and when they ſayde they woulde not fyght with their Countreymen, before his garmente, and beſoughte them: and when they refuſed that alſo, and many ſtill went from him, he went to the tentes of the Captaines, and winning ſome with money, he called them agayne to a counſell, and commaunded them to ſweare: and when the *Etrurians* cryed, that he muſt call them to ſweare by name, he called them that had bin benefited by hym, and firſt *Nonius*, that was pitie to all his doings. But when he refuſed to ſweare, he drewe hys ſworde, and threatned to kill hym, tyll a crye was made of all, and then he ceaſſed for feare, and hyred a ſlaue, for hope of libertie and money, to goe as a fugitiue and kyll *Sylla*. He beeyng about the thyng, and troubled, beyng thereby ſuſpected, was taken, and confeſſed it. And *Sylla's* army with rage and diſdeyne, ſtanding aboute *Fimbria* hys trenche, dyd reuile hym, and call him *Athenion*, who a fewe dayes was a King ouer the ſeruantes in *Sicelie* that rebelled. By the which *Fimbria* deſpayring of all, came to the wall, and deſyred to ſpeake wyth *Sylla*. He ſente *Rutilius* in his place, that chiefly greeued *Fimbria*, that he would not ſpeake with him, which is not denyed to enimies, and deſired pardon, if he hadde offended, being yet a yong man. *Rutilius* ſayd, *Sylla* would let him goe quietly to the Sea, if he would giue place in *Aſia*, in the which *Sylla* was Lieutenant. He ſayde, he would find a better way, and went to *Pergamo*, and in the Temple of *Aeſculapius* kylled hymſelfe, and the wounde not beeyng ſufficiente, he badde hys Page diſpatche, who kylled hys Maiſter firſte, and then himſelfe.

VVarre betweene *Fimbria* and *Sylla*.

Fimbria is forſaken.

Nonius refuſeth to ſweare.

Athenion.

Sylla will not ſpeake with *Fimbria*.

Fimbria killeth himſelfe.

Thus

His body is giuen to be buryed otherwyse than Marius vsed at Rome.

Thus ended *Fimbrias*, doing muche mischiefe in *Asia* after *Mithridates*, whome *Sylla* gaue to his freemade mē to bury, sayīng, he woulde not followe *Cinna* and *Marius* in *Rome*, who kylled many men, and woulde not suffer them to be buried, receyuing *Fimbrias* armye that came vnto hym, and sette them with hys owne, and commaunded *Curio* to restore *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and wrote to the Senate of all thyngs, not seemyng he was declared a Rebell. Then setling his prouince, he recompenced the *Ilians*, the *Chians*, the *Lycians*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Magnesians*, and others that were confederates, or that for their good will, had suffered, for the whiche cause hee dismissed them free, and registred them friendes of the *Romanes*.

The rewardes of the faithfull people.

To the rest, he sent his army, and proclaymed that all seruantes that hadde freedome by *Mithridates*, shoulde be restored to theyr maisters. Whereof manye disobeying, and some Cities rebelling, there followed great slaughters, of free, and bond, for diuers occasions, the walles of many were pulled downe, and made seruile people very many. They that were of the *Cappadocians* faction, both men & Cities were sharply punished, and chiefly the *Ephesians*, which did impudently reuile the *Romanes* cōmandemēts. After this, was there a proclamation made, that the chiefe of euery Citie should come before *Sylla* at *Ephesus*, who being come into the common hall, he thus sayd vnto them.

The punishment of the reuoking people.

Sylla to the Ephesians.

"We first came into *Asia* with our army, when *Antiochus* king of *Syria* did ouerrunne you, and driuing him away, and making *Aly* and *Taurus* the limits of his Kingdome, we toke not from you that was made ours by him, but lefte it free, excepte some, which we gaue to *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodes* our confederates, not to be tributaries, but tenants. In proofe whereof, we toke the *Licians* from the *Rhodians*, making their complaynt. Thus did we for you. And you did helpe *Aristonicus* foure yeares against vs, after *Attalus Philometer* had left his kingdome to vs by testament, till *Aristonicus* was taken, and many of you came againe for necessitie and feare. Thus doyng, and in foure and twenty yeares comming to great riches and substance as well publike as priuate, thorough peace and abundance, you wrangle againe,

Haly a floud running out of Taurus.

and

and wayting our trouble in *Italie*, some of you brought in *Mithridates*, and some receyued him when he came. He the moste cruell of all men, in one day killed all the *Italians* with the chyldren and mothers. And you did not spare them that fleede into the temples to your Goddes: For the whiche some punishment you haue had by *Mithridates*, beyng vnfaythfull to you, and fillyng you with murders and banishments, makyng diuisions of your landes, and releasing of debtes, and libertie of slaues: and to some putting tyrannes, and causing many robberies both by sea and land, that by your experience you may know, by comparison, what gouernour you haue receyued, & what reiected. The beginners of these things haue bene partly punished by vs, but the payne must be publique to you that haue done the lyke, that it may be correspondent to that you haue done. But the *Romanes* will not vse wicked murders, or sudden confiscations, or risings of seruants, or other barbarous things which the minde abhorreth. Regarde shalbe had to the nation and name of *Greece*, and to the glorie of *Asia*, & to the frendes of the *Romanes* for honours sake. We put vpon you the tribute of fiue yeares onely to be brought presently, and the expences of the warre which I haue bestowed. For the rest I will take order, and make the diuision accordyng to the Cities, & I declare frendship to them that shall kepe these orders, and to them that will not, I appoynt punishment, as to enimies.

When *Sylla* had sayde thus, he diuided the payne to the Embassadours and sente them for mony. The Cities beyng pore & oppressed with debte, some did let to Ferme their Theatres to creditours, some their common houses, their wals and portes, and any other thing that was publique, not without despite of the Souldiours that gathered it. This money was brought to *Sylla*, and *Asia* had inough of euils: for it was full of manifest robberies, rather like to armies thā to pirates. For *Mithridates* not long before had set thē in the sea, when he wasted al things, as not long to kepe it, then beyng moste aboundant, not onely troubling men on the sea, but spoyling portes, townes and cities euidently, *Iassus*, *Samos*, *Clazomene*, and *Samothracia*, *Sylla* being there,

Inconueniences in *Asia*.

Iassus, an Ile of Cana.

there, were taken, and the Temple of *Samothracia*, was robbed of the value of a thousand Talents. He eyther willingly, or leauing to punishe the offendoures, or bycause of the sedition at *Rome*, wente into *Grecia*, and from thence to *Italy*, with all his army, & what he did, we haue writtē in ỹ bookes of Ciuil dissentiō.

The seconde warre with *Mithridates* beganne of this occasion:

The seconde warre with Mithridates. Colchus is next Pontus.

Murena being lefte of *Sylla* with two legions that were *Fimbrias*, shewed certayne formes of warre for desire of Triumph. *Mithridates* being gone to *Pontus*, made warre vpon the *Colchians* and *Bosphorias*. The *Colchians* desired his sonne *Mithridates* might be giuen them for King, whome when they had receyued, they obeyed forthwith. But the king hauing his sonne in suspitiō, that he coueted the whole kingdome, sent for him, and held him with cheynes of gold, & after killed him, when he had done him muche good seruice in *Asia* against *Fimbria*. Against the *Bosphorians* he gathered a gret army, and made a great nauie. The mightinesse of the whiche preparation, raysed an opinion, that it was not against the *Bosphorians*, but against the *Romanes*, for he had not restored all *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, but kepte parte of it styll, and had *Archelaus* in suspition, that he granted more in *Grecia*, than he nēded to *Sylla*, in making the peace: the which *Archelaus* perceyuing, and fearing, fledde to *Murena*, whome he incensed, and persuaded against *Mithridates*. *Murena* by and by entered through *Cappadocia*, to *Comana*, the greatest Citie vnder *Mithridates*, hauing an holy temple and treasure, and killed certaine horsemē of *Mithridates*: and when the Embassadors alleaged ỹ leage, he answered he had none such, for *Sylla* did not wright it, but confirmed it by word, and so left it. Whē *Murena* had sayd thys, he fell to spoyle by and by, not refrayning from the holy money, & wintered in *Cappadocia*. *Mithridates* sent to *Rome* to the Senate, & to *Sylla*, to cōplayne of *Murenas* doings, who in ỹ time passed the floud *Aly* that was great, and thē very deepe, bicause of ỹ raine, and spoiled. 400. of *Mithridates* townes, the king not yet meeting with him, but loking for his Embassadors from *Rome*. Hauing got a great botie, he went into *Phrigia* & *Cappadocia*, whither *Calidius* came to him from *Rome*, touching *Mithridates* complayntes, but

Mithridates killeth his sonne.

Archelaus fleeth frō Mithridates. Comana, a Citie dedicate to Bellona.

Murena cauilleth.

Calidius commeth from Rome with counterfet commaundement.

but brought him no decree, onely sayde vnto him in the midst of the hearers, that ẏ Senate cõmanded him to spare the king their confederate. When he hadde said thus, he was sene to speake to him alone. And *Murenas* ceassed not of his inuasion, but still molested ẏ land of the king, who euidently perceyuing that he was vsed as an enimie of the *Romanes*, he bad *Gordius* to take the nigh townes. He gathered many beastes of cariage & munition, & priuate men and souldyours, and camped at the floud ouer agaynst *Murena*. Neither of them began ẏ fight, til *Mithridates* came with a great army, then was there a mighty fight at the floud. *Mithridates* by violence passed the floud, being otherwise too good for *Murena*, who fled the kings force into a strong hill, and hauyng lost many, departed by the mountaynes without anye way into *Phrigia*, being followed & oppressed. This victory being euident & quickly gotten, was sone spred abroade, and turned many to *Mithridates*. He putting out *Murenas* garrisons of euery place wt great spæde, did make his sacrifice to *Iupiter* ẏ warriour, after ẏ maner of his coũtrey, in ẏ top of an hil, wher they make a great pile of wood, to ẏ which the kings bring the first stick. Then they make another lesse in a circle. Vpon the higher, they put hony, milke, & wine, & oyle, & all kind of perfumes, they giue bread and meate of the best to them that be present. And they make ẏ pile after ẏ fashiõ of the *Persian* kings sacrifice in *Sardis*, the which for the greatnes, is euidently sene to many a thousand furlongs off, and ẏ one cã not come nigh the place many days after, ẏ aire is so hote. This sacrifice did he make, after the custome of hys countrey. *Sylla* not cõtent ẏ *Mithridates* being in league, should haue war made vpõ him, sent *Aulus Gabinius*, to cõmand *Murena* not to molest *Mithridates*, and that he should agree *Mithridates*, & *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* at ẏ meeting, making sure a some of *Ariobarzanes* of .iiij. yeares of age, and by ẏ meane holding still that he had in *Cappadocia*, & getting more, feasted all, & put gold in ẏ cup, and ẏ meate for the iesters & singers, & al other, as his vse was, of ẏ which only *Gabinius* touched none. Thus ẏ second war of *Mithridates* did end at ẏ thirde yeare. Being now at quiet, he subdued *Bosphorus*, & apointed thẽ his son *Macharis* for their king.

Murenas fleeth.

The manner of the sacrifice of the kings in Asia made by *Mithridates* for the victory.

Gabinius refuseth *Mithridates* gold.

He

He inuaded the *Acheans* that be aboue *Colchos*, (which seme to be of them that fledde from *Troy*, and lost theyr way) and losing two partes of hys armie with fighte and colde, and deceiptes, he returned, and sente to *Rome* to haue the league ratified. *Ariobarzanes* sente also, eyther of hymselfe, or stirred of others, that hee had not receyued *Cappadocia*, but that *Mithridates* kepte yt the better parte from hym. *Sylla* commaunded *Mithridates* to gyue place in *Cappadocia*, and hee did so, and sente other Embassadours for to haue the conditions of peace registred, but *Sylla* being dead, and the Senate not to be assembled, bycause of the vacation, he sent to *Tigranes* his sonne in law, to inuade *Cappadocia* as of himself. This cautele was not vnknowen to the *Romanes*. The *Armenian* compassing *Cappadocia* as with a nette, ledde away three hundreth thousande men into *Armenia*, and made them dwell with other at a place, where he first toke the Crowne of *Armenia*, and of hys name called it *Tigranocertes*, whiche is, the Citie of *Tigranes*. And these were the doynges in *Asia*.

Cochieus, came from *Troy*.

Tigranes by persuasiõ of *Mithridates* inuadeth *Cappadocia*.

Sertorius a Captayne in *Spayne*, dyd stirre it, and all the places about it, against the *Romanes*, and made a Senate of them that were with him, for to counterfeyte the *Romanes*. Two of his faction, *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, persuaded *Mithridates* to ioyne with *Sertorius*, putting him in hope of a greate parte of *Asia*, and the nations about him. He being persuaded, sent to *Sertorius*, he ledde the Embassadours into his Senate, and made a glorious tale, that his renoume spredde as farre as *Pontus*, and that he besieged the *Romanes* from the West to the East. He couenanted to giue *Mithridates Asia*, and *Bithinia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Gallagrecia* & sent him a Captayne *Marcius Varius*, and *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, that were of that counsel. With these dyd *Mithridates* begin the third and last war with the *Romanes*, in the which he lost al his kingdome. *Sertorius* being dead in *Spayne*, and Generals, sent from *Rome*, first *Lucullus* that was admiral of *Sylas* Naule, then *Pompey*, vnder whome, all that *Mithridates* had, and all that was nigh it, to the floud *Euphrates*, by the pretence & violence of the war against *Mithridates*, did fall to the *Romanes*.

Mithridates sendeth to *Sertorius*.

The third warre with Mithridates.

Mithri-

Mithridates hauing proued so oft what the Romanes were, and thinking that this war, made without cause, and of the sodaine, would not be appeased, made al the preparation that hee coulde, as now to try the whole, and the rest of the somer, & al ỹ winter, he made shippes and armoure, he brought to the sea, ij.C.M. Medimnes of grayne, and got confederates, beside hys former power, the *Chalibyans*, the *Armenians*, the *Scythians*, the *Taurians*, *Achaians*, *Heniochans*, *Leucosyrians*, and all that inhabite about the floud *Thermodon*, that was called the land of the *Amazones*.

Medimnus was a measure that contayned sixe *Modij*, & *Modius* contayned syxe *Sextares*, vvhych is commonlye called a Bushell. *Calybes* people in *Ponte* that dig yron naked. *Heniochi*, people of *Pontus* liuing by theft. *Thermedon*.

These had he gotte in *Asia*, to them he had before, and going into *Europe*, the *Sarmatians*, *Basileans*, *Iazygeans*, and *Coralleans*, and al the nations of the *Thracians*, that inhabite aboute *Hister*, *Rodope*, and *Aemos*, and the *Basternans*, a most valiaunt people.

These hadde *Mithridates* in *Europa*, he hadde gathered an hundreth and fortie thousande fotemen, and sixtæne thousande horsemen, another great number of venturers, pioners, & victualers.

When the Spring was come, he viewed his nauy, and sacrificed to *Iupiter* warriour, the vsuall sacrifice, and to *Neptunus*, he did caste into the sea a Chariot of white horses, and wente to, *Paphlagonia*, *Taxilus*, and *Eumocrates*, being his Generalls. When, he was come, he made a solempne oration to the armye, setting, forth his progenitors and himselfe verye highly, that he had enlarged his kingdome from little to great, and was neuer ouercome of the Romanes, being presente, whome he accused for, their ambition and vnsatiableneſſe, by the whiche, (saide he) they, haue made *Italy* and their Countrey seruile. He repeated the last, conditions, whiche they woulde not subscribe. Seekyng tyme to, inuade him againe, and making this the cause of the warre, hee, extolled his power and prouisiõ, and shewed the Romanes troubles, being molested in *Spayne* by *Sertorius*, and at home in *Italie*, by ciuil warre. Therefore (saide he) thorough their negligence, the Sea hathe long tyme beene full of Pyrates. Confederates haue they none, nor willingly anye wil be vnder them. Do you not see these noble men, (sayde hee) shewing *Varius* and the *Lucians*,) to be enimies to their Countrey, and friends to vs?

Mithridates to his souldiours.

When he had said thus and stirred his armye, hee wente into

Nicomedes leaueth his kingdome to the *Romanes*. *Cotta* fleeth.

Bythinia, *Nicomedes* beyng dead, without a chylde, and leauyng his kingdome to the *Romanes*. And *Cotta* that was presidēt there, a man of litle skill in warre, fledde to *Calchida* with his power, and *Bithynia* was agayne vnder *Mithridates*, all the *Romanes* flēying to *Cotta* into *Calchide*. And *Mithridates* comming thither, *Cotta* for lacke of experience came not forth. *Nudus* his admirall, with part of the army, toke the stronger parte of the fielde, from the whiche beyng driuen, hee fled to the gates of *Chalcide*, by many hedges, with great paine. At the gate there was great thrust of them that would get in, so as no darte was caste in vayne, of them that folowed. Wherefore the kēpers beyng afrayde of the gates, they let the barres fall from the tower, and toke vp *Nudus* and other Capitaynes by ropes. The other did perishe betweene their frendes and their enimies, holdyng vp their hāds to the other. *Mithridates* vsing the course of good fortune, brought his shippes that day to the porte, and breakyng the barre that was of yron, he burned foure of the enimies shippes, and toke the other three score, neyther *Cotta* nor *Nudus* resistyng, kēpyng thēselues within the walles. Three thousand were slayne of the *Romanes*, & *Lucius Manlius* a Senatour. *Mithridates* losse twentie of the *Basternians*, that first wente into the porte.

Nudus commeth to *Chalcide* vvhere the port coloyse is lette dovvne, & many *Romanes* slayne.

Lucullus is generall.

L. Lucullus, beyng Consull and chosen generall of this warre, brought one legion from *Rome*, and had two of *Fimbrias*, and beside them, two more, hauing in all thirtie thousand footemen, and sixtene hundred horsemen, and encamped agaynst *Mithridates* at *Cyzico*. And vnderstandyng by the fugitiues, that the king had three thousande men, and his victuals brought by the forragers, and from the sea, he sayde to them that were aboute him, that he would take his enimies without any payne, and bad them remember it. He espied an hill very fitte for his campe, from the which he might get forage, and kēepe it from his enimie. He entended to get it, as by it to winne victorie without daunger. Beyng but one way very straight to it, *Mithridates* kepte it with strength. For so did *Taxiles* & the other Capitaynes aduise him. *Lucius Manius* that came frō *Sertorius*, and made league with *Mithridates*, *Sertorius* being now dead, reuolted secretly to *Lucullus*, & fayth

Lucullus espieth his aduauntage.

fayth beyng receyued, he perswaded *Mithridates*, to lette the *Romanes* go and campe where they would, for the two legions that were *Fimbrias*, would straight reuolt and come to the kyng: then what neede he vse force and slaughter when he might ouercome without fight? *Mithridates* consenting to this very vnwisely and vncircumspectly, suffered the *Romanes* to passe the streight without feare, and to encampe at the hyll, by hauyng of the whiche, they might haue victuals behinde them brought without feare, and *Mithridates* beyng shut with fennes, hilles and floudes, could haue none by lande, but very litle, neyther hauyng way to do it easily, nor by force to compell *Lucullus* for the hardenesse of the passage, whiche when he had in his power, hée neglected, & winter beyng at hande, the commyng of it by Sea woulde faple. Which when *Lucullus* perceyued, hée put his frendes in remembraunce of his promise, and that hée spake, to bée as it were performed. *Mithridates* mighte then peraduenture haue passed thorough the middes of hys enimies with hys multitude, but hée lette that passe also, and gaue himselfe onely to the gettyng of *Cyzico*, thynkyng by that, to remedy bothe the wante and harde way, and hauyng plentie of Souldiours, wente aboute it by all meanes possible. His nauie hée enclosed with a double wall, and entrenched the rest of the Citie, and set vp many rampiers and engines vpon them, and towers, and rammes couered, and one called *Helepolis*, of an hundred cubites, vpon the which an other tower was set, casting arrowes, and stones, & diuerse weapons. At the portes two Gallies ioyned togither, bare an other tower, from the which, bridges were casse from the engine nigh the wall. When all this was ready, hée sente three prysoners to *Cyzicus* in shippes to the citie, holding vp their hands, and prayng them to spare the people that were in daunger, till *Lisistratus* their Capitayne, came to the walles, and by a trumpette erhorted them to beare patiently their mischaunce. When *Mithridates* was deceyued of this purpose, hée brought the engine by shippes, which threwe sodenly bridges vpon the wall, and foure men ranne vpon them, at the whiche the *Cyzians* amased, for the straungers gaue place, but no more commyng forth, they toke

Mithridates abused.

Errours of *Mithridates*.

Cyzico, an Iland and citie in *Propontide* of great renovvne.

Helepolis, is an engine to beate the vvall.

Lisistratus.

courage againe, and killed those foure without, and threwe fire and pitch vpon the shippes, and made them tourne with theyr engine. This at this enterprise of the sea the *Cyzians* had the better. That day the third time, he brought al his engines by lande at once, they within labouring and putting them backe for all their violence. The rammes they bet with stones, or put them by with collars, and brake their dint with peltes of woll. The fierie dartes, they quenched with vineger and water, and other with clothes cast against them, or with sayles wrapped togither stopped the throwe. They leste nothing vndone, that menne might doe: and although they suffered all labour, and resisted the euill, yet at night parte of the wall was burned and fell: but no manne durste enter for the heate, and the *Cyzianes* made it vp again in the night. And not long after, a great storme of wind did breake the reste of the kings engines. It is reade that this Cittie was in dowrie, of *Iupiter* to *Proserpine*, and the *Cyziens* honour hir most of all gods. When their feast day came, that they should sacrifice a blacke cowe, they not hauing one, made one of paaste, when as a blacke cowe came to them by sea, whyche going vnder the barre of the hauen, ranne into the Cittie, & came to the temple and stode at the aulter. The which the *Cyzians* sacrificed with good hope. *Mithridates* friendes counselled him to go from the Cittie being holy, but he would not. He went to *Dindimus* an high hill, and made a trench from it to the Cittie, and set it with towers, and with mines digged the wall. He sente hys horses, leane for lacke of meate, and lame for labour, into *Bythinia*. *Lucullus* mette with them as they wente to *Rindacus*, and killed and toke many prisoners, of men fifténe M. of horses fyre thousand, and many beasts of burden.

The valiantnes of the *Cyzians*.

A sacrifice to *Proserpina*.

Eumachus killeth the *Romanes Isauri*, a people *Asia* the lesse.

At this time, *Eumachus* a Captaine of *Mithridates* ranne ouer *Phrygia*, and slewe the *Romanes* both women and children: then he inuaded *Pisidus* and *Isauros* and *Cilicia*, till one of the Princes of *Galatia*, *Deiotarus*, stopped his course and killed manye. And this was done in *Phrygia*. Winter being come, *Mithridates* was without his victual that was wont to come by Sea. Wherefore all hys armye was famyshed and many dyed.

Some

some eate dead men barbarously. Other eate hearbes, and were sicke, and casting the dead bodyes vnburyed, broughte pestilence with hunger. But *Mithridates* continued, hoping to get the Citie with the engines that he had at *Dindymus*: but when the *Cyziceans* defeated his purpose, and burned his engines, and made many salyes vpon their enimies, being feeble for hunger, *Mithridates* intended to flee, which he did in the night with his shippes to *Pario*, and his armye wente by land to *Lampsaco*. When they came to the floud *Aesepus*, whiche was growen high, *Lucullus* set vpō them as they were passing, and killed many. Thus the *Cyziceans* did escape the greate preparation of the King, both by their owne manhode, and by the helpe of *Lucullus* that oppressed him with famine, for the whiche cause they make playes at this day, whiche they call *Lucullus* playes. *Mithridates* conueyed away his army that was come to *Lampsacū*, and besieged of *Lucullus*, and the *Lampsatians* also with Shippes that he sente them. And he committed tenne thousande of the best to be guided of *Varius*, that was sente to him from *Sertorius*, and *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, and *Dionisio* an Eunuch: he with more, sayled to *Nicomedia*, and winter weather destroyed many of them.

Dindymus the hill of *Idea*.

Aesepus a floud in the lesse *Asia* flowing from the hill *Ida*.

Lucullus playes.

Whē *Lucullus* had wrought this feate by sea through famine, he gathered shippes out of *Asia*, & betoke them to Lieutenants. *Triarius* toke *Apamea*, and killed many that were fledde into the Temples.

Apamea in the coast of *Bythinia*.

Barbas toke *Prusiade*, builded vnder an hill, and *Nicea*, the garrisons of *Mithridates* fleeing.

Prusias called before *Chius*.

Lucullus toke of the enimies Shippes thirteene, at the portes of *Achaia*. He ouertoke *Varius*, *Alexander*, and *Dionisius*, at *Lemnus* a desert Ile, where the alter of *Philoctetes* and the serpent of brasse, the bowe and the brestplate, tyed about with bendes, is seene, as a shewe of his calamitie. He sayled vpon them wyth great haste and contempte. They remayning still, he sente forth two Shyppes at once, and stayd the rest, to prouoke them to come out, but they not comming out, but defendyng themselues from the land, he sayled about the Ile with other Shippes, and set fowemen a lande, whiche made them to take their Shyppes.

Lemnus nowe *Stalimene*. The monument of *Philoctetes*.

Lucullus ouercometh three Capitaynes of *Mithridates*.

But they woulde not come aflote, fearyng *Lucullus* army, but sayling by the lande, & being followed both by lande and sea, they were hurte, and great slaughter and fighte was among them. *Varius*, *Alexander* and *Dionysius* the *Eunuche* were taken hidde in a caue, of the whiche *Dionysius*, hauyng dronke poyson, as it is thought, died by and by. *Lucullus* cõmaunded *Varius* to be killed, for it was not seemely to bring a *Romane* Senatour in triumph. *Alexander* was kepte for the pompe. And *Lucullus* wrote of his victorie, letters wrapped in Laurell to the *Romanes*, as the maner is in victories. And he wente to *Bythinia*.

Letters in Laurell.

Mithridates hath losse by sea, and is saued in a rouers barke.

As *Mithridates* sayled into *Pontus*, he had two tempestes and lost about ten thousande men, & threscore shippes, the rest were scattered as the winde droue them, his owne shippe falling in a leake, he went into a rouers barke, his frends being against it, and going with the rouers they set him safe at *Sinope*, frõ whence he went to *Amiso* to trie all, and to his sonne in law *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, and to *Machares* his sonne reygning in *Bosphoro*, hee sente, that bothe shoulde proude helpe. And to the *Scythiãs* that were rouines, hee sente golde, and many giftes by *Dioeles*: but he fledde to *Lucullus* with hys golde and his giftes. *Lucullus* goyng forwarde boldely after the victorie, ouercame euery thyng as he wente, and winnyng a wealthy countrey that had bene long without warre, a slaue was solde for foure drammes: an Oxe for one: Goates, sheepe and garments, and al other things after the like value. *Lucullus* besieged *Amison* and *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates* buylded nexte *Amiso*, and named *Eupatoria* of himself, and made it a kings palace, and with an other army, besieged *Themiscyra*, that had the name of one of the *Amazones* at the floudde *Thermodonta*. They lying at *Themiscyra*, sette vp towers and made trenches, and wrought so great mines, that there was fightyng vnder the grounde. The *Themiscyrians* opened them aboue, and threwe in Beares and other wilde beastes, & swarmes of Bees vpon the workemen. They at *Amisus* went an other way to worke, the *Amisians* defendyng themselues, and many tymes issuyng out, and prouokyng also to fight hande to hande. *Mithridates* sent them much victual, armure and munition from

In *Sinope* was an vniuersitie.

Dioeles, fleeth to *Lucullus*.

A dramme was a *Romane* penny.

Eupatoria.

Themiscyra a region of *Pontus*.

Cabeiris,

Cabeira, where he wintered and gathered his army. He had of fotemen fortie thousande, and of horsemen foure thousand. *Cabeira* a towne of higher *Asia*.

When the Spring was come, *Lucullus* wente against the king by the mountaynes, whyche he hadde garded to kæpe off *Lucullus*, and to make continuall fires if any happe should be. A man of the Kings bloud named *Phœnix*, was chiefe of this gard, who when *Lucullus* approched, made fires to *Mithridates*, but yeelded himselfe and all his power to *Lucullus*, so as he without stoppe, went to *Cabeira*, and hauing a fighte of horsemen with the King, and being ouercome, he retired to the hilles, and when *Pompeyus*, the Captayne of his horsemen was taken, and broughte to *Mithridates* wounded, he asked him what thanke he woulde giue him if he were saued. He answered, if thou art a friend to *Lucullus*, I will giue thee very great thanke, if thou bæst his enimie, I will not deliber of it. Thus aunswered *Pompeyus*, and the *Barbarians* woulde haue had the King to haue killed him. The King sayd, he would not hurte vertue that was destitute of Fortune: Preparing continually to fight, and *Lucullus* refusing it, he sought a way to come vpon him on the hill. There was a certaine *Scythian*, named *Olcabas*, that hadde bin a long fugitiue with *Lucullus*, and bycause he hadde saued many at the fight of horsemen, hee was admitted to *Lucullus* table, and priuie to his counsell and secretes. He came to his tent at midde day when he was at rest, and would haue gone in by force (being girded only with a short swoorde after the manner) and being angry that he was kepte backe, saying he hadde an earnest thing to tell him, and therefore woulde haue them awake him, they aunswering, that there was nothing so good for *Lucullus* as his health, he tooke hys horse by and by, and fledde to *Mithridates*, eyther meaning euill, and suspected for hys doyng, or for anger, compting himselfe dishonored. And he accused another *Scythian* called *Sobadacus*, that he woulde flee to *Lucullus*: therefore *Sobadacus* was taken. Whereas *Lucullus* woulde not goe into the playne, bycause the enimies Horsemen were the better, and could see none other way, he found in a caue an Hunter of wilde beastes, that was expert in vnknowen wayes, by whome he passed by secret wayes, and came vpō the

Lucullus is ouercome in one fight of horsemen.

Pompey the generall of horse, brought before the King, aunswered boldly.

A princely saying of the king.

Oltacilius fleeth from *Lucullus*.

Nothing so good as health of a ruler.

the head of *Mithridates*, and came downe, auoyding the fieldes, for the horsemen encamped at a flash of water, at the enimyes face. Wanting victuals, he sente into *Cappadocia* for corne, and skirmished with the enimies, and made them to flee, till the king came out of his Camp in hast, and amazed them, and made them to turne, and so afrayd the *Romanes*, as they fledde vp to the mountaynes, and did not perceyue when the enimies ceassed, but thoughte them that fledde with them, their enimies, as well as they that chaced them, so greatly were they made afrayde. *Mithridates* sent letters euery where of this victory. A great part of his horsemen, and they of the best, lay in awaite for them that brought victuall to *Lucullus* from *Cappadocia*, hoping to bring the to famine, as they themselues were at *Cyzico*. And it was a great argument so to be, because *Lucullus* had only from *Cappadocia*, frō the which, he might be shutte. The Kings horsemen mætyng with the first of the forragers in a streight place, and would not tarrie, till they came to an open place, they made their horses in that streight vnprofitable vnto them. The *Romanes* therefore being quickly in order by the helpe of the place, came forthe to the fighte, and killed the kings men, being holpen by the streyghte way, as fotemen, they droue some vpon their fellowes, and some they made flee by heapes, and slong them downe. A few escaping by night, ranne to the Camp, and affirmed that they onely were saued, and as the nature is, made the losse greater than it was. *Mithridates* before *Lucullus* shoulde knowe of this losse, and thinking that *Lucullus* for lacke of horsemen woulde by and by haue sette vpon him, determined to flee for feare, and told his friends in his tent. They before warning was giuen, sente away their geare haskily by night, and their cariage made a great thrusting togither at the gates. The whiche the armye perceyuing, knowing them that caried, and coniecturing worse for feare, and being greeued that no token was giuen, they brake vp their trenche, and fledde aboute the fielde confusedly, euery man as well as he coulde without Captaynes, or staying for warning.

The *Romanes* in a great feare flee.

Mithridates wrighteth of his victory.

A fight of the *Romane* forragers, and the Kings horsemen in a streight.

The Kings feare.

The Kings army fleeth.

When *Mithridates* hearde of these hasty and disorderly doings, he ranne from his tent among them, and would haue sayd some

somewhat to them, but no man giuing eare to hym, and beyng thruste of the people, he had a fall, and getting to his horse, hee fledde to the mountaines.

Mithridates is thrust down & flyeth.

Lucullus vnderstãding of the feate of ỹ forragers, and seeing the flight of his enimies, sent many horsmen to follow them, & bringing his footemen to the carters, and the reste that were in the campe, he commaunded them not to spoile, before they had kylled al. But they seeyng the vessels of gold and siluer, and costly garments, forgot the commaundement, and where they had taken *Mithridates*, and chaũced to cut the burden that one of the Mules bare, and the golde falling out, they were so busy about it, that they let the King go, who fledde to *Comana*, and from thence to *Tigranes*, with tenne thousande horse. He woulde not see hym, but commaunded to vse him like a King in hys Townes. Wherefore *Mithridates* being in desperation of his kingdome, sente *Bacchus* an Eunuch to his Palace, to kil his sisters and his wiues, and his concubines. They wer dispatched, some with the sword, some with poyson, some with halters pitifully. When the capitaines of *Mithridates* garnisons sawe this, the moste parte yelded to *Lucullus*. He setting things in order, sayled aboute the cities of *Pontus*, and toke *Armast*, *Heraclea*, and other. *Sinope* helde out lustily, and by sea fought valiantly. But whiles they were besieged, they burned their great ships, and fled with their smal. *Lucullus* lefte the citye free againe, by reason of a dreame, whych was this. They say *Antolycus* didde make warre with *Hercules* againste the *Amazones*, and being driuen by tempest to *Sinope*, he toke the Cittie, and ruled there, and the *Sinopeans* had hys Image in greate veneration. The whiche when they fledde, they wrapped it in linnen, and bound it fast, to cary with them.

The soulidiours alwayes gyuen to spoyle.

Mithridates fleeth to *Tigranes*, who vvoulde not see hym.

The king sẽdeth to kil his sisters, vvives & daughters.

A dreame of *Lucullus* saueth the Citie of *Smope*. *Antolycus* vvas one that lived by theft.

Lucullus knowing nothing of this, nor hauing hearde of it, hee thought he sawe hym call him, and the nexte daye, commaunding them that carried that Image, to shewe what it was, hee saide it was the same that he did see in the night. This was his dreame, and he caused *Sinope* to bee still inhabited, and *Amysus* also, oute of the whyche they fledde by sea. For vnderstanding that it was inhabited of the *Athenienses*, when they were Lords

Sinope restored to libertie.

of the sea, and made a populare state of it, it sometime obeyed the *Persian* Kings. And being restored to their libertie by *Alexander*, were subiects againe to the Kings of *Pontus*: and he taking pitie of them, and desirous of honour, after the example of *Alexander*, and the *Athenienses* nation, hée lefte it in libertie, and wyth all spéede reuoked the *Sinopeans* to their owne Cittie.

When he had thus restored them after their taking, he made league with *Machare*, *Mithridates* sonne, king of *Bosphorus*, offring him a crowne of golde.

Then he sought *Mithridates* that was with *Tigranes*, and being come into *Asia*, whyche dydde owe the fourthe parte of the fruits that *Sylla* putte vppon them for a payne, hée toke a taxe of their houses and seruauntes, and made the sacrifices of victorye, as thoughe the warre hadde beene fynished.

Lucullus vvyth a small armye against a greate King.

When the sacrifice was ended, he marched with two choise legions, and fiue hundred horse, against *Tigranes* that woulde not deliuer *Mithridates*. And passing *Euphrates*, requyring onlye money of the Barbarians, he wente on. The men made no warre vpon him, as they that thought not good to intermedle betwéene *Tigranes* and *Lucullus*.

Telling of truth euill reuvarded.

No man durste tell *Tigranes*, that *Lucullus* was commyng: for he that tolde it fyrste was hanged, as one that troubled hys Cities.

But when he hearde it, he sente *Mithrobarzanes* wyth two thousande horse, to stoppe *Lucullus* course. Hée appointed *Mancæo* to kéepe *Tigranocerta*, the whiche Cittie, as I haue sayde, the King builded in his owne honor, to the whiche he called his nobles, and appointed a paine, that whosoeuer broughte not hys goodes thither, shoulde be confiscate. Hée made a wall aboute it of fiftye cubites byghe. The bottoms of whyche, were full of stables for horse, and in the Suburbes, hee hadde builded hys Pallaice, and Gardens verye faire, with Parkes and fishe-pondes: and harde by, hee made a strong Forte, all the whiche committing to *Mancæo*, he rode aboute his countrey to gather men.

Mancæus keepeth the chiefe Cittie.

The defence of *Tigranocerta*.

Lucullus

Lucullus at the first conflict ouerthrewe *Mithrobarzane* and chased him. And *Sextilius* shut *Mancæus* in *Tigranocerta*, spoylyng all the places that were without wall, and entrenched the Fort and the Cittie, and broughte his engines, and vndermined the wall. Thus was *Sextilius* occupied.

Tigranes, gathering two hundred fyfty thousand fotemen, and fyftye thousande horsemen, sent fyre thousande horse afore to *Tigranocerta*. They passing thorough the Romanes, carried away the Kyngs Concubines that were taken. The rest of the armie, *Tigranes* sente agaynste *Lucullus*. Then *Mithridates* comaying fyrste into hys sight, counselled hym not to fyghte with the Romaynes, but to range with hys horsemen, and waste the countrey, to driue them to famine, if he coulde, by the whiche meane, hee was vsed of *Lucullus* at *Cyzico*, and loste hys feeble armye. *Tigranes* laughed at this counsell, and came forth in order of battaile: and seeyng the little number of the Romanes, sayde: If these bee Ambassadors they be too many, but if they be ennimies, they bee too fewe.

Tigranes laugheth at that *Mithridates*.

A quicke saying of *Tigranes*.

When *Lucullus* hadde perceiued a fytte hill beyond *Tigranes*, he commaunded hys horsemen to giue a charge on the front, and then to tourne and giue place of purpose, to bring the army oute of order. He in the meane tyme ledde his fotmen to the hill, not perceyued. And when he sawe the ennimye disordered, and runnyng by partes as thoughe they hadde the victorie, and all their carriage vnder the hill, he cried: We haue gotte the victorye (my fellowes.) And firste hee sette vppon the carriage.

Lucullus vvinneth an hill.

They fleeyng with confusion, ranne vppon the fotemen, and the fotemenne vppon the horsemenne, so as there was a fowle fleeyng oute of hande. And they that were gone farre to pursue the Romaynes, were killed of them tournyng vppon them, and the other disordered with the carriage, that they came as driuen among thē, al being afflicted, & none knowing ỹ truth, how the ouerthrow began, there was exceeding slaughter, without anye spoile, for *Lucullus* had forbiddē that with threats. Therfore treading vpon bracelets and chaines, they continued ỹ murder an hundred & twenty furlōgs, til night came vpon thē.

Lucullus hath the victorye.

then in their returne they spoyled, for *Lucullus* was contente.

The valiantnes of the Greeke souldiors.

After this victorie, *Manceus* that was leste at *Tigranocerta*, vnarmed al the Greeke mercenarie souldiours as suspected. They fearing to be taken, got them staues and went togither, and wer quiet.

But when *Manceus* came vpon them with the Barbarians armed, they wrapped their cloakes aboute theyr armes in stead of tergates, and with courage fought against them, and euer as they killed any, they kepte their armoure, and diuided it betwen them. And when they thought they had got sufficient, they toke some of the little Tents, and called the Romanes, and receyued them in. Thus was *Tigranocerta* taken and spoyled, being verye riche, and new builded, and inhabited moste honorably.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* went about gathering another army, of the whyche he made *Mithridates* Generall, the other thynkyng it fytte, beeyng taught with his owne losses. Hee sente also to the *Parthians*, requiring aide of them. And when *Lucullus* sent his Ambassadors also, requiring the kyng eyther to help him, or not to medle with either, he secretly promised both, but performed with none.

A policie of the *Parthian* King.

Mithridates gathered armour in euerye Cittie, and had in a manner all the *Armenians* in Campe, of the whyche hee chose threescore tenne thousande fotemen, and halfe of the horsemen, and lette the other go. These being diuided into bands and companies after the *Italian* discipline, he toke them to be trayned of his men of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* comming towarde them, *Mithridates* helde all his fotemen, and halfe his horsemen vpon an hill. The reste of the horsemen *Tigranes* ledde, and meeting wyth the Romaine forragers, was ouercome: after the whiche the Romanes forraged more safely, euen in the places next *Mithridates*, and encamped there.

By raysyng of muche duste, it was perceyued that *Tigranes* came, whose purpose was to haue shutte *Lucullus* in the middst of them both. Which when he perceyued, he sent his best horsemen, to encounter with *Tigranes* as farre off as they coulde, and to compell him to leaue his raungyng, and keepe his campe.

He

He prouoked *Mithridates* to fight, and encamped about him, but he could not moue him, tyl famine oppressed him, and disolued al their purpose. *Tigranes* went into the furthest parte of *Armenia*, *Mithridates* into *Ponius* with the rest of hys owne army, hauyng foure thousand, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* folowed him, being driuen also for want. *Mithridates* outgoing him, he mette with *Fabio*, that was lefte there of *Lucullus*, and ouerthrew hym, killing fiue hundred: *Fabio* taking fresh seruauntes that were in the campe, foughte againe the whole day, and the fighte was doubtfull, till *Mithridates* was hurt on the knee with a stone, and vnder the eye with a darte, and was caried away with spéd, and many dayes the one refrayned from fight, for feare of the kings health, the other, for the multitude of them that were hurte.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* flyeth.

Mithridates ouerthrovveth *Fabius*.

Fabius ouerthrovveth *Mithridates* vvhich is sore hurt.

The *Agarians* a nation of *Scythia*, did cure *Mithridates*, vsing the poyson of Serpents for their medicines, and for that cause be euer about the king. To *Fabius* came *Triarius* another Captaine of *Lucullus* with his owne army, and receyued the power and authoritie of *Fabio*: and not long after *Mithridates* and he comming to the fight, there was such a winde as neuer was felt. It tore the tentes of them both, it beate the beastes abroade, and stroke downe some men, and thus both went backe. When it was told that *Lucullus* was comming, *Triarius* desirous to fight before he came, he set vpon the former watch by night, and the fight being equall, the king with his wing, got the better, and dispersed the enimies, driuing the fotemen into a foule mire where they wer killed, bycause they could not stirre. The horsemen he sent to be chased in the playne, vsing valiauntlye the brunt of the victorie: til a Captaine of a *Romane* band, running by him as his seruant, gaue him a great wounde on the thyghe, bycause he thought hée could not strike through his harnesse on the backe. They that were nert, streight killed him. *Mithridates* was caried out to ẏ hinder part. The kings frends caused their retreat to be blowē, the soldiours hauing a manifest victorie, and folowing it egrely, and bycause it was straange to be called from it, they wer much troubled, and in feare leaste some other inconuenience hadde bene.

Agarenes the kings phisitions.

A marueious vvinde breaketh the fight.

Triarius for hast is ouerthrovven.

A *Romaine* captaine like a seruant, vvoūdeth the king.

Timotheus that was the Kings Phisition, stopped the wound, & shewed the king vnto thē, from aboue, that were come into the field & stode thronging aboute his bodye, euen as *Alexander* in *India*, when the *Macedonians* were afrayde for him, shewed him selfe to be cured in a Shyppe. When *Mithridates* came to hym-selfe, he blamed them that ceased the fight to ende, & that daye led his army against the Romaynes campe. They were fled from it fearfully. Whē ỹ dead were spoiled, thē were found .xxiiij. Tribunes, & .Cl. *Centurians*, such a number of Captains as seldome hath bin found slaine in a Romaine army. *Mithridates* went in to *Armenia*, which the Romaynes call *Armenia* the lesse, taking with him the victuall that coulde be carried, and that that could not, he burned, that *Lucullus*, whome he thoughte did follow hym, shold haue none of it. A Romane Senator named *Atilius*, fled from his countrey, bicause he was condemned, and in great credite & fauor with *Mithridates*, was then taken as one that would betray him: & bicause he was a Senator, the king would not put him to the torture, but killed him They that were of his coūsell he tormented cruelly. His frē made men he suffred al to departe vnhurt, bicause they did but their maisters cōmandement. *Lucullus* now was encamped nigh to *Mithridates*, when the Lieutenāt of *Asia* sent about & proclamed to the army, that the Romaynes accused *Lucullus*, bicause he made war longer than he oughte to do, & that his army shold go from hym, they that didde not obey, to haue their gōdes confiscate. Whiche bēing tolde, the armye went al away saue a fewe, which being very poore, & not fearing the paine, tarried stil with *Lucullus*. Thus the war betwēne *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, not surely ended nor finished, was broke vp. For *Italy* being rebelled, & they molested, & the sea being full of thēues, & they with famine oppressed, they did not thinke it good for them to take another so great a warre in hande, till they were deliuered of those incommodities. When *Mithridates* heard of this, he went into *Cappadocia*, & fortified his own kingdome, the Romanes winking at hys doings, till they had scoured the seas: whiche when it was done, and *Pompey* that was ỹ worker of it, was in *Asia*. The war with *Mithridates* began againe, & *Pompey* was sent to be the General. Therfore bicause ỹ acts that *Pompey*

The Kyng is shewed to the souldiours.

The Romaynes forsake their campe.

A great number of Romayne captaines slaine.

Atilius is killed of suspition.

Dissentiō vvyth the Romaynes.

Lucullus is lefte alone.

did in the sea, before hée came against *Mithridates*, is a parte of *Pompeis* feats, and can be put into none other proper writing, I will shortely repeate & run them ouer. When *Mithridates* made his first war against the Romanes, and ruled in *Asia*, and *Sylla* was busied about *Grecia*, thinking he should not long holde *Asia*, he spoyled euery place, as I haue saide, and set Pirats in the sea, the whiche at the first with a fewe litle boates, vexed such as they met. As the war grew, they were more, & had gotten great ships, & taking of great gaine, they did not cease, though *Mithridates* were ouercome, & had made truce, or was fled. For they ỳ had loste their liuyngs and countries throwe the war, and were fallen into extreame pouertie, left the land, & sought commeditie by ỳ sea: and first with brigandines & foists, then with litle galleys they roued, the Archpirats being their leaders as generals of an army, vnwalled Cities they spoiled, them that were walled, they vndermined or beate downe, or got by siege & destroyed. The best men they brought to the sea for their raunsoms: and to auoide the infamy of their rauine, they called themselues hyred souldiours, in stead of sea-rouers. They hadde workemen in chaines to do their businesse, & carying matter of wode, braſſe, & yron, they neuer rested. Being prowde of their gaine, & not thinking to leaue their practie, they thought they were lyke Kings & Tirans or gret generals, & supposed ỳ if they gathered togither, they shold be vncõquerable, they made ships & all kind of armor, spetially aboute *Cilicia*, that is called (the hard,) the which they made their common receptacle, or vsed it, as their campe, hauing manye forts & towers, & voyde Ilands & shipping in euery place. Their chiefe trade was at *Cilicia* the harde, beyng without ports, & ful of great hills, of the which, by a common name, they were called *Cilices*, the whych cuill begun there, of the hard part of *Cilicia*, brought vnto them *Syrians*, *Cyprians*, *Pamphilians* & *Pontians*, and almost al the nations of ỳ East, the whiche in the time of *Mithridates* war, rather chosing to do, than to suffer, they vsed the sea for the lãd, that in short space they were many thousãds, and they were not Lords only of the east seas, but all that which is within the pillours of *Hercules*. For they had ouercome some of the Romane Admirals in sea-fight, and some in *Sicelie*,

Mithridates filleth the sea vvith Pyrats.

The myshappes of the Rouers.

Cilicia, full of rockes ond Mountaynes on the coaste.

Cilices vvere compted rouers.

In

In *Sicilia*, no mã durst saile, & the land wanted their labourers, bycause of their robberies, and the Cittie of *Rome* found this inconuenience moste of all, all their subiectes being in want, and they, for their great multitude, in grieuous famine. This matter seemed great and harde vnto them, to dispatch so many armies of men and shippes, diuided by the whole circle of the lande and sea, easie to flee with their prouision, and not to be set vpon from their countries, or euident places, not hauing any house or property, but al that euer came to hande. So that the consideration of this warre was farre beyond the rest, hauing no certentie, no suretie, nor euidẽce, it wrought a doubt with a fear. *Murenas* being sent against them, did nothing, nor *Seruilius Isauricus*, after *Murena*: but nowe they were come to the coaste of *Italy*, and the rouers were bragge at *Brunduse* and *Toscane*, and had taken noble women, and two armies with their ensignes. Therfore the *Romanes* no longer suffering this losse nor shame, did chose by law, *Pompey*, a man of so great fame, to be chiefe Admirall for three yeares, of al the Seas within the pillours of *Hercules*, and foure hundred furlongs of lãd from the sea, they sent al kings, princes & Citties to helpe *Pompey* with all things, & gaue him authoritie to gather armies & money. They sent also a great army of their owne ordinarie, and as many shippes as they had, and fiue M. talents of *Athens*. So great & difficult a thing did they thinke it to be, to ouercome so many armies in so great a sea, lurking in so many holes easily, and fleeing safely, and appearing againe of the sodain. Neuer was there man before that, was set with such a power as *Pompey* was. To whom an army was giuen of CXX. thousande fotemen, fiue thousande horsemen, shippes with smal vessels two hundred LXX. and ministers, whiche being of the Senate, they call legats, XXV. to whome *Pompey* deuided the sea, and gaue them shippes, and horses and fotemen and ensignes of war. So was euerie man an absolute ruler of that parte that was committed to him: and he as king of kings, went about to see if they kepte the order that he appointed: neyther would he haue thẽ chased so, as they should be carried from one to another without profitte, but to mete with them, as they might serue

Murenas. Seruil. Isaurus.

Pompey chosen admirall against the Pyrates.

seruz one anothers turne, and shut them vp within the compasses. *Pompey* hauing thus ordered all, he appointed *Tiberius Nero*, to *Spaine* and the pillers of *Hercules*, & with him *Manlius Torquatus*: *Marcus Pompeius*, to the *Ligurian* and *Celtican* sea: *Lentulus Marcelinus*, and *Publius Attilius*, to *Lybia*, *Sardu*, *Cyrnus*, and al the nigh Ilands aboute *Italy*. He appointed *Lucius Gellius*, and *Gaius Lentulus*, *Plotius Varius*, and *Terentius Varius*, to *Acarnania*, and to kæpe *Sicelie* and the *Ionian* sea. To *Lucius Cinna*, *Peloponesus*, and the coast of *Attica*, with *Eubœa*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia* and *Bœotia*. To *Lucius Cullio*, the Ilandes and all the *Aegean* and *Hell-spont*. To *Publius Piso*, *Bithynia*, *Thracia*, and *Pelopida*, and the mouth of *Pontus*. To *Metellus Nepos*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnitia*. Thus hæ appointed his Captaines to make their courses and their onsets, and to kæpe their places, and to receiue, when they fledde from the other, that in their chase, they should not exceed too far, noz be caried aboute in their fighting, that it might be spædily done: and he sayled to them all, and hauing ouersæne all in the Weast in fozty dayes, he came to *Rome*, and from thence to *Brundusse*, & from *Brundusse* into the East, so long a way, he afrayde them all with his sodayne and quicke passage, and great preparation, and feare of his glozy, insomuche as the Pirates that hoped to haue him too good foz him, oz truely to haue put him to paine ynoughe, beyng afraid by and by, left their expugnations of other tittles, and resorted to their wonted holdes and holes. So that the Sea was scowred by *Pompey* without any fight, and the Rouers were taken of the Captaines in euery place by parts. He went into *Cilicia*, with a great army and many engins, thinking he should haue hadde manye fyghtes and besiegings, at their rocky Towers: but he næded none, foz his glozy and greate power, making them afrayde, and thinking that if they came not to fyght, they shoulde finde the more gentlenesse: fyrst they deliuered *Cragus* and *Anticragus* the greatest forts they had, then the mountaine men of *Cilicia*, and in order all yælded themselues, and also muche armour, some ready, some to be made readye, they deliuered: and shippes, some vpon the stocks, some apte to sayle: brasse and yron gathered foz that purpose, and sailes, cables and other

The maner of the appoinmẽts.

The diligence of *Pompey*.

The Pirats gyue ouer.

Cragus and *Anticragus*, hilles of *Lycia*, parte of *Taurus*.

diuerse matter, and a number of prisoners, some being in bands for their ransome, and some for to worke. Their stuffe *Pompey* burned. Their ships he toke. The prisoners he sente unto their Countreys, of the which, many founde their graues made, bycause they were thought to be dead. The Pirates that came to come to this warre, not of malice, but for lacke of liuing, he commaunded them to inhabite *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphania*, or any other place, desolate, and voyde of men, in the hard parte of *Cilicia*: some of them he sent to *Dyma* in *Achaia*. Thus the Pyrats warre that was thought to be most daungerous, was ended in few dayes of *Pompey*. Of shippes he toke. lxxij. Of the that were deliuered three hundred and fyue. Of Cities, Fortes, and other strong places. 120. Of the Pirates were slayne in fighte. 10000. These things being done speedely, and beyonde opinion, the *Romanes* highly extolling *Pompey* being yet in *Cilicia*, chose him the Generall of the warre against *Mithridates*, with like authoritie of a ruler alone, where he would inuade, and make warre, and to make friends or foes of *Rome*, whome he thought good, and of all the armye that was out of *Italy*, gaue him the authoritie, whiche was neuer so giuen to none before him, and peraduenture for this, they called him Great, for the warre of *Mithridates* was now ended by other Captaynes.

Many reskored beyond hope.

The Pirates appoynted to inhabite hard places in the coast of Cilicia.

The large commission that Pompey had.

Pompey gathering hys armye out of *Asia*, dyd encamp in the confynes of *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* hadde a choyce army of hys owne, of thirtie thousande fotemen, and three thousande horsemen, and he defended the place, whiche being wasted before by *Lucullus*, he had want of victuall. Wherfore many fugitiues wet from him, some of the which, he threwe downe headlongs, some he pulled out their eyes, and some he burned, therefore the fewer fugitiues wēt frō him for feare of punishmēt. He was cōsumed with want, & therfore he sent Embassadors to *Pompey*, to knowe with what condition he might make peace: he answered, if thou deliuer our fugitiues, and commit thy selfe to vs: which when *Mithridates* heard, he asked ẏ fugitiues what they thought, and whē he saw them afraid, he swore, he would neuer make peace with the *Romanes*, for their couetousnesse: and he deliuered none,

Answere of Pompey to Mithridates.

For

wor did nothing, but they were prouye to it. Thus diode he.

Pompey laying an ambushe of horsemen, bad other go to the front of the Kings battaile, and prouoke them. And if they came forth, to gyue place as thoughe they were ouercome, and bryng them to the place of the ambushe, at the whyche, they retournyng, they mighte gette into the Kynges Campe with them that fledde: Whyche hadde beene done in dæde, if the King fearyng it, hadde not broughte oute hys fotemen: and so they retired. Fight of horsemen.

Thys was the ende of the fyrste attempt of the horsemen betwæne *Pompey* and *Mithridates*.

The King being molested with want, was compelled to go backe, and suffer *Pompey* to come into that parte, thinking that being in that wasted place, he shoulde suffer many inconueniences: but he had prouided victuall to come behind hym, & going eastwarde againste *Mithridates*, made many Towers and trenches againste him, and compassed him in the space of fyue hundred Furlongs, that he coulde not nowe easilye come by victualls. And the King did not stoppe his entrenchyng, eyther for feare, or for ignorance, or for that all euils were nawe to come vppon him: and being oppressed againe wyth want, he kylled all beasts of cariages, onelye horses he spared, whiche scarcelye seruing for fyfety dayes, in the night he departed with great silence by harde wayes, whome *Pompey* coulde hardly ouertake in a day, sauing the tayle. Then the King being counseled by his friends to set hys men to the battell, would not fight, but with his horsmen onlye kæpe backe them that approched, and in the night hyd himselfe in thicke woodes. The day folowing, he toke a rocky place, to the which, was one way only to come, and there he was kepte with foure bandes. And the Romanes kept on the contrary side, that he shold not escape. The nexte daye, eyther of thē armed their men. The forewarders of either part, at the side of the hyll skirmished, and the horsmen of the Kings were commanded to help their fellows without horses. Upon whom, whē ỳ Romanes came with their horsmen, ỳ kings mē ran on heaps to ỳ cāp, to get their horses, & to match with ỳ *Romanes* egallye. The King fleeth.

A discomfiture vpon an errour.

They that were aboue and armed, seeing them come running with showt, and not knowing what was done, but thinking they hadde fledde another way from the Campe that was taken, threwe awaye their armoure and fled, and the place being hard, one fell vpon an other in the thrusse, til they fell from the rocks. Thus the army of *Mithridates*, thorow the lacke of them that woulde without order take vpon them to helpe their former fellowes, falling into a confusion, was loste. The reste of the matter was easy to *Pompey*, killing and taking the vnarmed, and beeyng shut in the rockes, of the which tenne thousand were slain, and all the Campe with the treasure of gold was taken. *Mithridates* with his guarde onely, fleeing thorough the rocky places, met with some of the hyred horsemen, and three thousande foremen. They conducted hym to *Sinoregia* a castle, where he had laid vppe muche money, and giuing gyfts and a yeares wages to the companions of his flight, he carried with him fyre thousande talents, and wente to the fountaines of *Euphrates*, minding to goe from thence to *Colchos*: and vsing continuall speed, passed *Euphrates* the fourth daye. Tarrying there three dayes, he toke them that were with him, or came to him, and wet to *Chotena* of *Armenia*, there ouerthrowing the *Cotenians* and *Iberians* that kepte hym off by slings and darts, he wente to the floude *Apsares*.

Sinoregia.

Cotenians.

Hiberians of *Armenia* & *Spaine.*

These *Hiberians* of *Asia*, some say were the progenitors, & some the posteritie, of the *Hiberians* of *Europe*: and some say, they were onely of one name, for their maner and tongue is nothing like. *Mithridates* wintred at *Dioscuride*, which Citie they of *Colcide*, thinke to bee a Monument of the trauaile of *Castor* and the *Argonants*: and though he were yet fleeyng, he conceyued no litle matter in his mynde, but to goe aboute all *Pontus* in a circle, and the *Scythians* beyond *Pontus*, and the Fenne of *Meotis*, and attempt *Bosphorus*, and to take the kingdome of *Machares* his sonne, as vnprofytable to him, and then to make open warre againste the Romanes, and to begin it from *Europe*, they beeing in *Asia*, and to put *Pontus* in the middest, whiche some thinke to be called *Bosphorus*, of *Io* swimming ouer, when she was made a Cowe, and fled the telousie of *Iuno*.

Dioscumas a citie in *Colchide*, where some tyme occupyed three hundred nations of dyuers language.

Pontus.

Io.

Thys

Thus muche beyonde all reason didde *Mithridates* thinke to bring to passe. He passed by the *Scythian* nations both that were enimies or otherwise, eyther by perswasion or violence. Thus fleing, and in miserye, he was honoured and feared. He passed by the *Heniochians*, they receyuing him. The *Achæans* that wold haue resisted hym, he put to flight. They as it is saide, came frō *Troy* to *Pontus*, beyng driuen by tempest, and there suffred muche of the *Barbarians*, bycause they were *Grecians*. And when they sent into their countrey for shippes, and were denied, they so hated the *Greekes*, that as *Scythians*, they sacrificed as many *Greekes* as came fyrste all for anger, then the faireſt onely, at laste, them to whome it fell by lotte. *Achæans* of *Troy*

A sacrifice of men.

And thus muche of *Achæans* and *Scythians*. *Mithridates* comming to *Meotis*, of the which were many Princes, they all receiued him, and sent to him for the glorye of hys actes, kingdome, and power, yet worthy to be honored, bringing him many gifts and sending others. He made lignage with them, thinking to do straunge feats, as to go from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, from *Macedonia* to *Pannonia*, and so to *Italy*, and the mountains of the Alpes, and made marriages for his daughters, with the mightieſt of his confederatours.

When his sonne *Machares* hearde that he had come so gret a way in so little time, thorowe so many fierce nations, and the places called the Locks of *Scythia*, that no man had gone before, he sent certaine Ambassadors vnto him, to excuse hym, that for necessitie, he obeyed the Romanes. And when he salue his anger extreame, he fledde into *Ponto Cherronſo*, burning his shippes that hys father shoulde not folow him. But he sending other to take hym, he kylled himselfe. *Mithridates* killed all his friendes that he betoke to him, when he went to that kingdome. The familiars of his sonne, that were come by priuate friendship, he lette goe vnhurte. Thus did *Mithridates*.

Machares killeth himselfe for fear of his father.

Pompey followed hym fleeyng as farre as *Cholcos*, not thinking good to follow him any further, nor to passe aboute *Pontus* or the Fenne of *Meotis*, nor supposing, that in that case he woulde attempt any great matter, he went to *Cholcos*, to see the historie of

Argonauti, were the Gentlemen that went with *Iason*.

Argonante, and *Castor*, and *Pollux*, and the iourney of *Hercules*, and chiefly to see the passion of *Promethew*, which they say he suffered at the hyll of *Caucasus*. There be many springs that runne from *Caucasus*, that carry shreddes of gold that can not be seene: and the inhabitants put fleeses into the streame, where it is deepest, and so gather the gold sand that is conteyned. And peraduenture such a one was the golden fleese that *Aetes* bare on hys backe. Whilest *Pompey* was beholding this story, other nations that were nigh, sent vnto him: but *Orazes* the kyng of *Albania*, and *Artocus*, the king of *Hiberia*, with 700. thousand, lay in wayt for him at *Cirtus*, the floud flowing into the Sea of *Caspy* with twelue mouthes, many riuers running into him, & *Araxes* greatest of all. When *Pompey* heard of the traynes, he passed the floud, and droue the *Barbarians* into the thickest woodes. They are good fighters in woodes, hiding themselues, and appearing suddainely agayne. He compassed the wodde with his army, and burned it, and chaced them that fledde, vntill all sent hostages & giftes, of whom he triumphed in *Rome*. Amõg the hostages and prisoners, there were found women, hauing no lesse woundes than men, and they were thoughte to be *Amazones*, eyther bycause the *Amazones* that be a nation therby, were come to help them, or for that the *Barbarians* call all warlike women *Amazones*. *Pompey* going from thence, encamped in *Armenia*, accusing *Tigranes* for helping of *Mithridates*, marching to *Artazata* whet the kings pallace was. *Tigranes* would not haue warre. He had children by *Mithridates* daughter, of the whiche *Tigranes* killed two, one in fight making him warre, the other, bicause he would not take him vp when he had a fall at hunting, and bycause he did set the crowne on his head. The third, bycause he lamented his father in that hunting, was crowned of him, but rebelling shortly after, he was ouercome of his father, and fledde to *Phraates*, king of the *Parthians*, that now succeeded in the Kingdome to his father *Sintrico*. When *Pompey* was at hande, conferryng with *Phraates*, and he agreeyng, and seeking priuate frendship with *Pompey*, the yong man humbly fledde to *Pompey*, being *Mithridates* daughters sonne. But great was the estimatiõ of *Pompey* among the *Barbarians*, for iustice and faithfulnesse, to the which

Artocus lyeth in wayte for *Pompey*.

Pompey destroyeth the enimies in a wodde.

Women found wodded.

Amazones were the women that cutte off one of their breastes.

Tigranes killeth two of his children.

Pompey in great honor for iustice

which, his father *Tigranes* also trusting, came vnto him, without sending any messengers afore, submitting himselfe & all his, to *Pompey*, and the iudgement betweene him and his sonne. *Pompey* sent his chiefe Captaynes, commanding them to meete ỳ King with all honor: they that were with *Tigranes*, bycause they had not sent before, fledde, but *Tigranes* wẽt on, & honoured *Pompey* as the better, after the *Barbariã* fashion. Some say, he was brought by ỳ sergeants, whom *Pompey* had sent to fetch him. Howsoeuer he came, he made an accompt of his doyngs, and gaue to *Pompey* fiue M. talents, & to euery common Souldioure. 50. drammes, & to a Captayne of a band a M. and to a collonell tenne M. *Pompey* forgaue all ỳ was passed, and agreed him with his sonne, and appoynted him to reigne in *Sophene*, and *Gordene*, (these be nowe *Armenia* the lesse) and his father, in the rest of *Armenia*, in the which his sonne should succeede him. The land that he had conquered, he commanded him to leaue, and he left *Syria* frõ *Euphrates* to the Sea, for *Tigranes* had this, and a part of *Cilicia*, putting out *Antiochus* that was called the vntrfull. The *Armenians* that forsoke *Tigranes*, when he went to *Pompey*, remaynyng in suspition, persuaded his sonne, being yet with *Pompey*, to entrappe hys father. He was taken and bounde, and in that time stirring the *Parthians* against *Pompey*, was brought in triumph, & dispatched. *Pompey* thinking all warre had bin ended, builded a citie, where he ouercame *Mithridates*, and of ỳ acte, called it *Nicopolis*, & it is in *Armenia* ỳ lesse. He restored ỳ kingdome of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and added *Sophene* & *Gordene* which he had giuẽ to *Tigranes* sonne, the which now be subiect to *Cappadocia*. He gaue him also *Cabala* a citie of *Cilicia*, & others, ỳ which kingdome *Ariobarzanes* gaue vnto his sonne whiles he was aliue, in the whiche was manye mutations, till *Augustus* time, in the whiche it was made a prouince as other kingdomes were. *Pompey* passing ouer ỳ hil *Taurus*, made war vpõ *Antiochus Conagemus*, til he was accepted to peace. He ouercame *Darius* ỳ *Median*, either bycause he holp *Antiochus* or *Tigranes* before. He ouercame ỳ *Arabiãs*, ỳ be called *Nabathei*, *Areta* being their king, and ỳ Iewes ỳ reuolted frõ their king *Aristobulus*, and toke *Hierusalem* ỳ is ỳ most holy city to thẽ, & the rest of *Cilicia* ỳ was not yet subiect to *Rome*,

Tigranes submitteth to *Pompey*.

The munificẽce of *Tigranes*.

Tigranes sonne is taken, & caried in triumph.

Pompey buildeth *Nicopolis*.

Arabians.

Pompey taketh *Hierusalem*.

and

and that parte of *Syria*, that is aboute *Euphrates*, which is called *Cale*, *Phœnice* and *Palestina*: and the *Idumeans*, and *Itureans*, and al other names of *Syria*, he brought vnder the Romanes dominion, without any warre, hauing no matter againste *Antiochus* the pittifull, being present and suing for his fathers Kingdome, but bycause he thought, that it being taken from *Tigranes*, who had put out *Antiochus*, it might wel be iudged to the people of *Rome*.

A straight interpretation of right.

Whiles he was aboute these matters, Ambassadors came vnto him from *Phraates* and *Tigranes*, that were at warre. They that came from *Tigranes*, desired helpe as of their fryende. They that came from *Phraates*, desired to be receyued into amitie with the Romaines. And *Pompey* not minding to make war vppon the *Parthians* without the decree of the Senate, sent arbitrers to reconcile them. And thus he did.

Mithridates had nowe gone about *Pontus*, and hauing taken *Panticupæon*, that is the chiefe cittie of Marchandise in *Europa* at the entrie of *Pontus*, he killed his sonne *Siphares* at *Porc*, for his mothers faulte, whiche was this:

Panticupæon a cittie at *Bosphorus Cimeris*

Mithridates kylleth his sonne.

Mithridates had a castle, in the whiche were hidde vnder the grounde in brasen vessels bounde with yron, muche treasure secretely. *Stratonice*, one of *Mithridates* wiues or women, whyche had the gouernement and keeping of this Castel, whiles *Mithridates* went about *Pontus*, deliuered the Castle to *Pompey*, and reuealed the treasure that was vnknowne. Onely wyth this condition, that if *Pompey* take hir sonne *Siphares*, he should saue him. He hauing the money, promised to saue hir sonne, and gaue hir leaue to carie awaye hir owne things. When *Mithridates* knew what was done, he killed *Siphares* at the narrowe sea, and threw his bodye vnburyed, his mother seeyng it on the other shoare.

Thus he killed the childe, to be reuenged of the mother.

He sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* being in *Syria*, & not hearyng wyther he were aliue or dead, that hee might enioy his fathers kingdome, and pay Tribute for it to the Romaines. *Pompey* bad him come, and speake for himselfe as *Tigranes* had done. That he saide he woulde neuer doe, being *Mithridates*, but hee woulde sende some of his children and friendes.

Thus

Thus he sayd, and withall gathered an army togither of free and bond, bringing much armour, shot, and munition, sparing no mans woodde, nor labouring Ore, to make strings. He sette taxes vpon euery man, though he were but of small substance, the collectors whereof did much spight, which he knew not of. And being sick in his face of a bile, he was healed of ỹ Eunuchs, and only sene of thẽ. When he was whole, and his army gathered, there was threescore choyce bandes, with fyre hundred in a company, and there was another great multitude, and shippes, and places which his Captaynes had got whilest he was sicke. He sent a part of his army to *Phanagorea*, whiche was another mart towne at the mouth, that he mighte haue his entries on both sides, *Pompey* being yet in *Syria*. *Castor* of *Phanagorea* beeyng inured of *Triphon*, an Eunuch of the Kings, he killed *Triphon* as he entred, and called the people to libertie: and they bycause the Castell was holden of *Artaphernes*, and other sonnes of the Kings, did bring woodde, and burned the tower, by the whyche feare, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, *Ozethres*, and *Eupatra*, *Mithridates* children, gaue themselues to be taken. *Artaphernes* was about fortie yeares olde, the other were faire yong men. There was another daughter of *Mithridates* called *Cleopatra*, who tarried still, whome the father louing for hir noble heart, sent diuers Foystes, and toke hir away. Other Castels there about lately taken of *Mithridates*, following the boldnesse of the *Phanagoreans*, reuolted from *Mithridates*, *Xerronesus*, *Theudosia*, *Nymphæon*, and all other that were fitte for the warre aboute *Pontus*. He seeing these many reuoltings, and hauing his army in suspition, not faithfull, being compelled to serue of necessitie, and for the great tributes, and the infidelitie of armies alwayes toward the Generalles that be in miserie, he sent his daughters by his Eunuchs, to be married to the princes of *Scythia*, requyring an army to be sente him with spéede, sending fiue hundreth Souldyoures with them. They, being not very farre off, *Mithridates*, killed the Eunuchs, bycause they were euer inured of the Eunuchs, that might do most with *Mithridates*, and led the maydes to *Pompey*. *Mithridates* being spoyled of so many childrẽ,

Mithridates sick in the face.

A mutenie at *Phanagorea*.

The kings children taken.

Cities reuolte.

The Kings Eunuchs be killed.

Caſtles, and of his whole kingdome, and not fitte nowe for to make battell, nor loking for anye helpe of the *Scythians*, yet not conceyuing any ſmall matter, as one that was in calamitie, but ſent to the Frenchmen, whome he hadde made friends long before, intending to go to them, and inuade *Italy* with them, thynking many of *Italy* were wæry of the *Romanes*, and hearing that *Anniball* began the warre in *Spayne*, and was moſt fearefull to the *Romanes*. He knew that of late almoſt all *Italy* rebelled from *Rome*, and kepte a long warre with them, and that *Spartacus* a ſwordplayer, was ſtirred vp of them, a man of no regard. With this opinion he marched toward *France*. This moſt bold enterpriſe the army diſappoynted, being not content with ſo great a boldneſſe, nor ſo long a iourney, to be ledde into a ſtrange countrey, againſt men, whom they could not ouercome in their owne countrey, thinking *Mithridates* to be in deſpaire of all things, and would in labour and like a king end his life, rather than in reſt. Yet awhile they abode, and were quiet, for he was no ſmal king, and not to be contemned euen in aduerſitie. They ſtanding thus, *Pharnaces* that was moſt dære to him of al his ſonnes, whome he had many times declared to be the ſucceſſour of his kingdome, eyther for feare of his kingdome by this army, being yet like to obteyne pardon of the *Romanes*, but if his father ſhoulde make warre in *Italy*, like to loſe all his heritage, either for other cauſes and reaſons, and deſires, he laide wayte for his father. The conſpiratoures being taken, and put to the racke, *Menophanes* perſuaded *Mithridates* not to kyll his ſonne that was ſo much eſtæmed now in his voyage, for (ſaydc he) ſuche mutations happe in warre, whyche bæying ceaſſed, they be ſtayed alſo. He being perſuaded, granted pardon to his ſonne: but he fearing the remembrance of it, knowing the army was wæry of the iourney, in the nighte went to the fugitiues of *Rome* that ſerued nert his father, and ſhewed what daunger they ſhoulde be in if they wente into *Italy*, whiche they euidently ſawe, and promiſing them many benefites if they woulde tarrie, brought them to rebell from his father. When he had perſuaded them, *Pharnaces* ſente to the other that were next in the army, they alſo

Pharnaces the kings ſonne.

Menophanes ſaueth *Pharnaces*.

The army reuolteth from the King, by the practiſe of his ſonne.

con-

consenting, the fugitiues were the firste that departed in the morning, that forsoke the king, and other that were euer nexte, made a great shoute, and the Nauie aunswered them, not bée ing all alike disposed peraduenture, but readye to mutations, and despising him that was in aduersitie, alwayes hoping for better at euery change. Other being ignorãt of that was done, & thinking all other to be corrupted, and that they alone should be despised of the more part, for feare and necessitie, rather than of good will, agréed to theyr purpose.

Princes forsake in calamitie.

Mithridates being stirred by the crye, sente some to knowe what they meante by theyr crye, they not dissembling, sayde, they required the some to reigne for the father, a yong man for an olde, that was ruled by his Eunuches, and that had killed so many children, Captaynes, and friends. Whiche when *Mithridates* hearde, he came forthe to say somewhat to them, and euen then a number of his gard fledde to the fugitiues. They sayde they would not accept them, vnlesse they did some notable feate, and withall shewed *Mithridates*. They killed his horse, and now as obteyning their purpose, saluted *Pharnaces* King, and one brought a broade paper out of the Temple, and crowned hym with it in stead of a diademe. Whiche when *Mithridates* did see from aboue, he sente one after another to *Pharnaces*, to requyre safe flighte, no man of them that were sent returning, fearing least they should be giuen to the *Romanes*. He prayling the gard, and such friends as yet tarried with him, sent them to the new king, and the armye killed some of them without anye cause, he takyng out of hys swoorde a poyson that euer he dyd carrie aboute hym, tempered it. Two of hys daughters, named *Mithridates* and *Nissa*, espoused to the Kyngs of *Aegipt* and *Cypres*, that were broughte bppe wyth hym, desyred they myghte take the poyson fyrste, and were verye instante, and wouldc not lette hym drynke it, tyll they hadde taken it: and the potion sone dispatched them, but it woulde not worke vppon *Mithridates* hymselfe, though hée walked fast for the purpose, bycause hée vsed to eate other medicines, whyche hée toke euer agaynste the violence of poyson, whyche

The kings horse killed by his gard.

A crovvne of paper in stead of golde.

Tvvo of the kings daughters die constantly before him.

The poyson vvould not vvorke in the king, bycause he had vsed dayly medicines against poyson, vvhich of hys name be called *Mithridatum*.

medicines at this day be called *Mithridatum*. Seing then one *Bitaton*, a Captaine of the Frenchmen, he sayde vnto him, I haue had much profite of thy right hand against mine enimies, I shall now receyue greatest pleasure, if thou wilt take me away, that am in danger to be carried to the pomp of a triumph, that haue bin a ruler and a king of so many and so greate a dominion, and can not dye of poyson, bycause of the continuall receits of other medicines. But the greatest and most ready poyson whiche kings alwayes fæle, is the treachery of armye, children, and friends, I did not foresee, but all things, concerning my dyet, I did foresee and kæpe. *Bitatus* wæping, obeyed the necessitie of the king. Thus *Mithridates* dyed, the eleuenth after *Darius* last king of *Persia*, and the eyght from *Mithridates* that forsoke the *Macedonians*, and possessed the kingdome of *Pontus*. He liued eyght or nine yeare aboue thræscore, and had reigned fiftie and seauen yeares: for being yet an Orphane, the kingdome came to him. He subdued the nigh nations of the *Barbarians*, and ouercame many of the *Scythians*, and made a sharpe warre against the *Romanes* fortie yeares, in the whiche he ofte conquered *Bithinia* and *Cappadocia*. He ouerranne *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Macedonia*, and sayling into *Grecia*, did manye greate actes, and was Lord of the sea from *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, till *Sylla* shutte hym againe within his fathers kingdome, ouerthrowing 140. M. mē, and after so great a losse, renued the warre easily, fighting with the best Captaynes. Being ouercome of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, he had many times the better hande of them. *Lucius Cassius*, *Oppius Quintus*, and *Manius Acilius*, he toke prisoners, and ledde them about with him, til he killed him that was the cause of the warre, and the other he deliuered to *Sylla*. He ouerthrew *Rhimbria*, *Murena*, and *Cotta* the Consull, and *Fabius* and *Triarius*. He had euer a great heart, and euen in his miserie was mighty and rayneful. He left nothing vnattempted against the *Romanes*, no, not when he was ouerthrowen. He was confedered with the *Martians* and *French*, and sente to *Sertorius* into *Iberia*. He was wounded many times in his person of his enimies and others by treason, yet not resting then, though he were olde. Neyther

The vvords of *Mithridates* before his miserable ende.

Treachery the greatest poyson to Kings.

The actes of *Mithridates*.

The courage of the King.

was

was any of the conspiracies hidde from him, no not in his last dayes, but where he willingly let it passe, he was destroyed by it, so vnthankefull a thing is malice obteyning pardon. Bloudy he was, and alwayes cruell. He killed his mother and his brother, and of his children three sonnes and three daughters. His body was bigge, as his armoure do declare, which he sente to *Nemea* and *Delphos*. He hadde good strength, and euen to the last, could ride and throw his dart. He ranne in one day a thousand furlongs by changing of horses. He guyded a chariot with .xvj. horses. He was learned in the Greeke letters, and thereby dyd vnderstand the Greeke Ceremonies. He loued musicke. He was temperate and paynefull in all things, and onely he was ouercome of pleasures with womē. Thus *Mithridates* called *Eupator Dionisius* dyed. When the *Romanes* heard of it, they made great ioy, as deliuered of a sore enimie. *Pharnates* sente his fathers corpse to *Sinope* to *Pompey* in Gallies, and them that toke *Manius* & other many pledges, as wel of *Grecia* as *Barbaria*: he desired his fathers kingdom, or to be king of *Bosphorus* only, the which kingdome *Machares* his brother had of *Mithridates*. *Pompey* gaue allowance for the burying of *Mithridates* body, and appointed them that loked to it, to burie it royally, and to place it in *Sinope* amōg the kings Sepulchres, louing him for his noble heart, as a king most worthy in his time. He made *Pharnaces* that had deliuered *Italy* from great trouble, friend and confederate of the *Romanes*, and gaue him *Bosphorus* for his kingdome, *Phanagorea* excepted, which he left free, and of their owne iurisdiction, which were the first that resisted *Mithridates* after he renued force, and had gotten ships, and another army, and places of receipt, and were leaders of rebellion to other, and causes of his destruction. He in this one war ouerthrew the pirats, and subdued the mightiest king, and being brought to fight withoute the warre of *Pontus*, the *Cholcans*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Armenians*, *Medians*, *Arabians*, and *Iewes*, and other nations of the East, he subdued, and limited the Empire of the *Romanes* vnto *Aegipt*, into the whiche he would not enter, though they were at diuision, and the king calling him, and sending him giftes, and money, and garmentes, t

Malice obteyning pardon vnthankefull.
A cruell King.
Nemea the place vvhere teates vvere shevved in the honor of *Hercules*.
The strength of the King.
The learning of the King.
He loued Musicke.
The body of the King buryed at the charges of the *Romanes*.
Phanagorea free.

to all his armye, eyther fearing the greateneſſe of that kyng-
dome yet flouriſhing, or auoyding the hate of his enimies, or o-
racles, forbidding it, or for other reaſons whiche I will ſhewe in
the ſtory of *Aegipt*. Of the nations that he wanne, ſome he left
frée, bycauſe they were of the *Romanes* amitie. Some he made
ſubiect to the *Romanes*, ſome he gaue to be kingdomes, as *Ar-
menia* to *Tigranes*, *Boſphorus* to *Pharnace*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ario-
barzanes*, with the reſt that I ſpake of. He committed *Seleucia* to
Antiochio, *Comagineſa*, and al the other that he had got in *Meſopo-
tamia*. He appoynted *Tetrarches* of *Gallogrecia*, whiche be nowe
Galatians, borderers vpon *Cappadocia*, *Deiotaro*, and others. *Atta-
lus* had power ouer *Paphlagonia*, and *Ariſtarchus* of *Colchus*. He ap
poynted *Archelaus*, the holy miniſter of the Goddeſſe in *Comage-
na*, which is as good as a kings dominion, and declared *Caſtor* of
Phanagorea, a friend to the *Romanes*, and he gaue to other muche
land and money. He builded Cities in *Armenia* the leſſe, *Nicopo-
lis*, bycauſe of his victory, in *Pontus*, *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates
Eupator* builded, and named it of himſelfe, and deſtroyed it, by-
cauſe it receiued the *Romanes*, and *Pompey* erected it againe, and
called it *Magnopolis*. In *Cappadocia* he reedifyed *Mazaria*, that
was vtterly deſtroyed, and others that were decayed or afflicted
he reſtored. In *Pontus*, *Paleſtina*, and *Caloſyria*, and *Cilicia*, where he
placed the Pirats. The Citie that of old time was called *Sole*, is
now *Pompeiopolis*. In *Talauris*, which Citie *Mithridates* had as a
ſtorehouſe for his munition, were found two thouſande cuppes
made of precious ſtone, bound about with barres of golde, and
pottes, & cannes, & lauers, beddes, and chayers moſt rich. There
were bridles, ſaddles, and capariſons for horſes, beſet with golde
and precious ſtone, the whiche were ſo many, as thirtye dayes
was ſpent in the deliuerie of them. Part of them were giuen by
Darius Hiſtaſpis, ſome of ỹ king *Ptolomei*, which *Cleopatra* gaue to ỹ
Coans, and they to *Mithridates*, and made and gathered more, be-
ing deſirous of precious apparell. At the end of Winter *Pompey*
diſtributed gifts to his armye, to euery man fiue C. drammes of
Athens, and to the Captaines accordingly. They ſay the ſumme
came to xvj. M. Talents. He went to *Epheſus* and ſayled to *Italy*,
and

Aegipt not touched.

Pompey appointeth kings and princes.

The miniſter of *Comagena* equall to king.

Caſtor.

Cities builded of *Pompey*.

Magnopolis.

Pompeiopolis.

Talauris ful of treaſure.

Gifres to the army.

and from thence wēt to *Rome*, leauing his army at *Brunduse*, and sending euery man home: whiche acte being so accepted to the people, made the *Romanes* to wonder. There came to mæte hym by seuerall companyes, the yong men furthest of, then in order as euery man could for age, last the Senate, extolling his actes, for there was no man that had ouerthrowen so many enimies, nor taken so many nations, and measured the *Romane* Empyre with the floud of *Euphrates*. He triumphed most gloriously as euer did mā at the.xxxv. yeare of his age, which continued two dayes of many nations, from *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and all *Syria*, of *Albania*, *Heniochia*, *Achaia*, and *Scythia*, and the East *Hiberians*. And he brought into the portes seauen hundred sound shippes, and to the pompe of his triumph Chariots, and Cartes wrought with gold, and other full of diuers treasure, as a bedde of *Darius Histaspis*, and the chaire and Scepter of *Euputer*, and an image of golde of eyght cubites to the breastes, of siluer coyned seauen thousand milions, fiue hundred and ten, an infinite number of cartes with armoure, and stemmes of shippes, and a multitude of prisoners & pirates, none bound, but clad after their countrey. Before *Pompey* wente the Captaynes of the kings that were ouercome, or their children or generalls, some being captiues, some giuen for hostages, in number three hundred.xxiiij. Then was there *Tigranes*, sonne to *Tigranes*, and fiue of *Mithridates*, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Darius*, & *Xerxes*, and two daughters, *Orsabaus* and *Eupatra*. There was broughte *Olthaces*, sceptre-bearer of *Colchos*, and *Aristobulus*, king of the *Iewes*, and the Tirans of *Cilicia*, and women of the kings bloud of *Scythia*, three Dukes of *Iberia*, and two of *Albania*, and *Menander* of *Laodicea*, that was generall of the horsemen to *Mithridates*. The Images of them that came not, were broughte: of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* fighting, being ouercome, and flæing: of *Mithridates* the besæging, and the night, when he was fledde was represented, and the silence, and last it was shewed howe he dyed. The Virgines that chose to dye with hym were figured, and descriptions of hys Sonnes and Daughters that dyed before him, the pictures of the *Barbarian* Goddes, and the

The receyuing of *pompey* of *Rome*.

The triumph of Pompey.

Here a Million is ten thousande.

ornā-

ornamentes of their countrey. There was borne a table shewing these things. The Shippes that were taken, were eighte hundreth, with beakes of brasse. Cities builded, eight in *Cappadocia*, in *Cilicia* and *Celosyria* twentie, and in *Palestina*, that which is now called *Seleucus*. Kings ouercome, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, *Artoces* of *Hiberia*, *Orizes* of *Albania*, *Darius* of *Media*, *Aretas* of *Nabathea*, *Antiochus Comagenus*, all these did the picture shew. *Pompey* himselfe was in a Chariot full of precious stones, hauing on the cloke (as they saye) of *Alexander* of *Macedony*, if it may be beleeued, that by like he had it in *Mithridates* Garderobe, being brought to *Coo* by *Cleopatra*. The Captaynes of the confederates followed the Chariote, some on horse, and some a foote. Being come to *Capitolio*, he killed none of the prisoners as other in triumphes had done, but sent them to their Countreys with the common expences, except the Kings, of the which only *Aristobulus* was streight killed, and shortly after *Tigranes*. This was the triumph.

The glory of Pompey.

Pharnace besieged *Phanagorea*, and the borderours of *Bosphorus*, till the *Phanagoreans* driuen by famine came forthe and fought, & were ouercome, of whome he hurt none but toke pledges, and went his way.

Pharnaces maketh warre.

Not long after he toke *Sinope*, and coueting *Amisus*, he made warre with *Caluisio* the Lieutenant, at the which time *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were at debate, till *Asander* his priuate enimie drowe him out of *Asia*, the *Romanes* being otherwise occupyed.

Asander.

He made warre with *Cæsar* after he had ouercome *Pompey*, returning from *Aegipt* at the hill *Scotio*, where his father ouercame *Triaro*, and being ouercome, he fledde to *Sinope* with a thousand horsemen. *Cæsar* hauing no leysure to follow him, sente *Domitius* against him, to whome he deliuered the Citie, and vppon conditions of peace, went away with his horsemen, whose horse he killed, they being much greeued at it. Being conueyed by shippe, he fledde to *Pontus*, and gathering some *Scythians* and *Sauromatians*, toke *Theudocia* and *Panticapæa*. His old aduersarie *Asandro* comming againe vpon him, and his horsemen wantyng horse, and not vsed to fight on foote, they were ouercome, *Pharna-*

ces alone fighting valiauntlye, till hée was wounded, and died when he was fiftye yeares olde, and xb. yeares king of *Bosphorus*. This *Pharnaces* loste his kingdome, whiche *C. Cæsar* gaue to *Mithridates* of *Pergamo*, that had holpen hym well in *Aegipt*. Nowe they be frée, but to *Pontus* and *Bythinia*, a presidente is sent euery yeare. *Pharnaces* slaine by a priuie foe.

The other coũtries that *Pompey* had giuen, although *Cæsar* blamed them for taking *Pompeys* parte against him, yet he let them haue it, sauing the spiritual office of *Comagene*. Which he trãslated from *Archelaus* to *Nicomedes*: but not long after, bothe these and those that *C. Cæsar* and *M. Antonius* gaue to other, wer made prouinces of the Romaynes, by *Augustus Cæsar*, when he hadde wonne *Aegipt*, the Romaines taking lighte occasions againste euery man. Therfore their dominion encreasyng by thys warre of *Mithridates*, into *Pontus Euxinus*, and to the sandes of *Aegipt*, and the floude *Euphrates* from the *Hiberians* that be at the pillers of *Hercules*, it maye wel be called a greate Victorie, and *Pompey* the Captaine euen so. They haue also *Affrica* to *Sirene*, which *Appion* the king of the house of *Lagida*, being base, gaue them by his Testament: only *Aegipt* was left for the compasse of their inwarde sea. Spiritual office of *Comagene*.

(.·.)

The ende of the Romaine ciuill vvarres vvith King Mithridates.

¶ The *Romanes* warre with the Spanyardes: by Appian of Alexandria.

Iberia that parte of *Spayne* on eyther ſide of *Iberus* the floud nowv *Ebro*. *Celtiberia* that part vvhiche nowv is called *Arragon*.

THe mountaynes of *Pyrene*, ſtretche from the *Toſcane* ſea to the North *Ocean*. The *Celtes* which now be called *Galles*, do inhabit part of them toward the Eaſt. The *Iberians*, and *Celtiberians* from the *Toſcane* Sea alſo, to the pilloures of *Hercules*, and the North *Ocean*, be towarde the Weaſt, ſo as *Iberia* is compaſſed with the Sea, except the mountaines of *Pyrene*, which be the greateſt and higheſt hilles of *Europe*. The nations make a nauigation with this compaſſe, and come to the pillers of *Hercules*. They doe not go by the winter and Weaſt *Ocean*, but to paſſe into *Brittayne* whyche they doe, by the commoditie of the tydes going and comming: and this paſſage is made by ſayling halfe a day. Other places of this *Ocean* neyther the *Romanes* themſelues, nor none of their Empire haue paſſed. Therefore the greatneſſe of *Iberia*, which now is called *Spayne*, being conſedered as one prouince, is almoſt incredible, for the breadth of it is tenne thouſand furlongs, and the length as muche. Manye nations inhabite it, and be diuers in names, and there be many nauigable flouds in it. What people did inhabite firſt, or who got it after, and ſuche other matter, I am not minded to ſhew, but only ſo much as may apperteyne to the *Romanes*. Only this I will ſaye, that I ſuppoſe the *Celtes* paſſed the *Pyrenian* hilles, and dwelled among the other inhabitants of the Countrey, of the whiche it is manifeſt, that the name of the *Celtiberians* came: and the *Phœnitians* long before, ſayling often thither, I thinke did inhabite a part of it. Likewiſe other *Grecyans*, that ſayled to *Tarteſſus*, to *Arganthonius* king of the ſame, did ſtay in *Iberia*, for as I ſuppoſe, *Arganthonius* reigned then in *Spayne* at *Tarteſſus*, whiche was then a Citie at the Sea coaſt, that is nowe named *Carpteſſe*. And I beleeue that the Temple

Brittayne nowve *Englande*.

Spayne a great region. Eight furlongs maketh a mile.

Tarteſſus nowv *Tareſſa* in *Germania*. *Arganthonius* lyued a hundred and fifty yeares.

of

of *Hercules*, was builded of *Iphenia*, in that place which is called the pillers, in the whiche at this day Ceremonies be vsed after the manner of the *Phœnitians*, and he that was borne at *Tirus*, not he that was borne at *Thebes*, was counted the God of that Countrey. But we leaue this to them that haue care to search antiquities.

There were diuers *Hercules*, whereof one was of *Tirus* borne of *Asteria* another of *Thebes* borne of *Alcumena*.

This coast so plentifull and rich, the *Carthagies* deuised to get before the *Romanes*, and subdued one parte, and vexed the other with continuall inuasions, till the *Romanes* put thē out, & possessed al their places. Other townes afterward came to their Empire by muche labour and long time, whiche reuolting diuers times, were againe subdued by the *Romanes*, who diuided that region into three parts, and sent so many presidents to it. How they got euery place, and what warre they kepte with the *Carthagies*, and then with the *Iberians* and *Celtiberians*, I will shew in this volume. The *Romanes* firste made warre with the *Carthagies*, but bycause that warre was made for *Spayne*, I must nedes shewit in this history, whiche I wright of *Spayne*, and for that cause I haue comprehended in the booke of the warre of *Sicelie*, what adoe was betweene the *Romanes* and *Carthagies* for that Islande, and that was, when the *Romanes* sayled into *Sicelie* to subdue that place.

The first vvarre of *Carthage* for *Sicelie*.

The first warre with the *Carthagies* was in *Sicelie*, for the dominion of that Island.

The second was in *Spayne*, for the possession of it, at the whiche tyme, eyther of them inuaded others lands wyth greate armyes and Nauie. The *Carthagies* destroying *Italy*, and the *Romanes Libya*.

This warre beganne aboute the CXL. Olimpiad, when the *Carthagies* had broken the truce that was made in the warre of *Sicelie*, the cause whereof was this. *Amilchar* surnamed *Barcha*, promised great rewards to the *Celtes* and *Libyans* that were with him in *Sicelie*, the whiche rewardes being required of *Amilchar* when he was come to *Carthage*, was the cause of the warre with *Affrike*, in the whiche the *Carthagies* suffered muche hurte, for they delyuered *Sardinia* to the *Romanes*,

The olde account of yeares was by the *Olimpiades*, vvhich vvere playes made euery fiue yeares, in the honour of *Iupiter*, institute of *Hercules* at *Olimpia*, a Citie of *Elide*. *Amilchar Barcha*.

for the iniurie they had done to the *Romane* Merchantes in that warre. For these causes, when *Amilchar Barcha* was accused of the contrary faction, as by whome came so greate detriment of the Citie, he, by the fauoure of them that gouerned the common wealthe, whereof *Hasdruball* called the Greate, was one, to whome he had giuen his daughter in marriage, and well beloued of the people, was not only pardoned, but also chosen a Captayne, togither with *Hanno*, that was called Great, against the *Numidians*, the accusation yet depending, by the whyche, *Amilchar* muste gyue an accompte of his doyngs in the warre.

In the first warre with the *Carthagies*.

Hasdruball.

Hanno.

When the warre of *Numidia* was ended, and *Hanno* called to *Carthage* for certayne complaynes, *Amilchar* remayned Captayne of the army alone, hauing with hym *Asdruball* his sonne in lawe. And with this armye, he sayled to *Gades*, and did molest the *Iberians*, spoyling theyr lande, not that they hadde deserued anye such thing, but that he soughte occasion to be absente from his Countrey, making that warre, to wynne the fauour of the people. For deuiding the pray, he gaue parte of it to the Souldyoures that were with him, and parte hee sente to *Carthage*, and parte he gaue to the chiefe of the Citie that fauoured hym.

Gades nowe *Cales*. They bee two Ilands in the furthest part of *Granata* next the streighte of Gillatar.

Whilest he dyd thus, certayne of the greate men, and others of *Iberia*, conspired togither, and killed hym thus.

They sent certayne Cartes laden with wodde, whyche they followed with their armoure. At this the *Carthagies* laughed at the fylste, not perceyuing the policie, but when it was perceyued, and the fyghte begunne, the *Iberians* sette the Cartes on fyre, whereby the Oren were dryuen vpon the *Numidians*. And when the fire was dispersed euery where, and the Oren came hyther and thyther, it muche disordered the *Affricanes*, and brake their aray, whereby the *Iberians* came vppon them, and killed *Amilchar Barcha*, and the rest that fought, but the *Carthagies* beeyng allured by the pray of *Iberia*, sente another army to *Asdruball* that was *Barchas* sonne in law, and committed the rule of that army to him. He ioyned to him *Annibal*

Stratageme of the *Iberians*.

Amilchar is slayne.

Asdruball.

niball that was sonne to *Barcha*, as his Lieutenant, and his wiues brother, who after got so great a name by his valiant actes, being very yong, but expert in the warre, and accepted to the souldyoures. *Anniball.*

He wanne manye places of *Iberia* by fayre wordes, as he was verye apte to persuade, and when any thing was to be done by force, he did vse the seruice of the yong man. By thys meane, he wente ouer *Spayne*, from the *Occidentall* Sea, to the floud *Iberus*, and made all subiect to the *Carthagies* Empire, the which floud diuiding *Spayne* in the middest, floweth into the *Ocean* towarde the North, fiue dayes iourney from the Mountaines. *Iberus* runneth from *Biscay*, to the sea of *Maiorca*. &c.

But the *Saguntines*, an olde inhabitance from the *Zathintians*, which be in the middest, betweene the mountaynes and the floud, and all other that were come of the *Greekes*, aboute the place called *Emporie*, and all other that inhabited any part of *Iberia*, being afrayd, sent four Embassadors to *Rome*, wherfore the *Romanes* not willing the power of the *Carthagies* to growe too much, sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where it was agreed, that *Iberus* should be the end of the *Carthagies* dominion in *Spaine*, and that the *Romanes* should not make warre vpon their subiects beyonde that floud, nor the *Carthagies* to goe beyonde that floud to moue warre, and that the *Saguntines*, and other Greeke people which were in *Iberia*, shoulde be free, and liue with their owne lawes, all the whiche were expressed in the league, that was made betweene the *Romanes* and the *Carthagies*. When this was done, a slaue killed *Asdruball*, whose maister he had cruelly kylled before, whilest he was taking order for that parte of *Iberia* that obeyed *Carthage*, and gone a hunting, whome *Anniball* after tormented most cruelly, and kylled. The army made *Anniball Barcha* their Captayne, a very yong man, and welbeloued of them. *Saguntí* was beyond the floud *Iberus*, nowe *Murviedro*, or *Nouiendro*. *Zathinthi*, of an Iland of the *Ionian* sea. The conditiõs. *Asdruball* killed.

The enimies of *Amilchar Barcha* in the Senate of *Carthage* agreed to it, who fearing the power of *Asdruball* and *Amilchar*, did laughe at *Anniball* as a yong man, and beganne to molest in lawe, the friendes of them, accusing them of

the ſame faults that they accuſed the other that were deade, vſing the peoples fauour, whiche hated them for the loſſes they had, in the tyme of *Barcha* and *Aſdruball*. They required thoſe gifts that *Barcha* or *Anniball* ſent to them, being of the ſpoyle of the ennimies. They ſent to *Anniball* for helpe, ſhewing that he alſo would be deſpiſed of his fathers ennimies, except hée hadde nowe ſome regard of them that might defend his matters there. This was not vnknowne to *Anniball*, for he knew well ynough that the beginning of deceyts would be vppon him, and thought it not good to ſuffer ſuche enmities continuallye with feare, as his father and grandfather had done, nor to liue all his lyfe, after the lightneſſe of the *Carthagies*, vſyng them vnthankefullye that were of their ſyde, and hadde done well for the common wealth.

Anniball vvas ſvvorne in hys youth to bee an enimye to the Romaines.

There was a rumor, when *Anniball* was a childe, and at hys fathers commandement, ỹ he brought hym into the place where hée made ſacrifices, and made hym laye his hand vppon the Altare and ſweare, that ſo ſoone as he had any rule in the common wealth, he ſhoulde bée a mortall ennimie to the Romanes. Therfore he purpoſed to put his country to great and continuall dangers, that by that feare, he might preſerue hys own & his friends matters from perill. Therfore, when he ſaw that *Affrica* was in good ſtate, and the *Iberians* that were vnder the *Carthagies*, lyke to continue in obedience, he thoughte he ſhoulde winne immortall fame, if he made warre agayne vppon the *Romanes*, by the feare whereof, the *Carthagies* ſhoulde be occupied, and mighte, by good fortune, ſubdue to hys Countrey the Empire of all the worlde. For hée hoped, that if the Romanes were broughte downe, that none ſhoulde be able to matche wyth hym, but if it chaunced otherwiſe, yet hys enterpriſe ſhoulde be honorable. And that the beginning myght bréede his eſtimation, if he paſſed the floude *Iberus*, he cauſed the *Torboletanes*, whych be nexte the *Saguntines*, to come & complaine that the *Saguntines* had made rodes vpõ them & done them other hurts: Which being perſuaded by him, he ſet theyr Ambaſſadors to *Carthage*, and he wrote letters priuilye, in the whiche he ſignified that the Romanes practiſed with the *Iberians*

Anniball picketh a quarrel agaynſte *Sagunt.*

berians, of the *Carthage* iurisdiction, to reuolte from them, and that the *Saguntines* didde procure the same from the Romaynes, and that there was no deceit left vndone. And of this he wrote many letters, till the Senate appointed him to do with the *Saguntines* that shoulde be profitable to the common wealth. Hee hauing got this occasion, practised with the *Torboletans* agayn, that they should come to him and complaine againe of the *Saguntines*, who also sent fiftéene Ambassadoures to hym. And when *Annibal* wylled them to declare their controuersies, and they answered, they woulde make the Romanes their Iudges, they were commanded of *Annibal* to go out of hys campe. And that night passing the ryuer, he inuaded that lande, and set hys artillerie against their Citie, which, when he could not take, he compassed with ditche, wall, and trench. Then placing many garrisons, he continued the siege, and in fewe dayes, wente and came dyuerse tymes. The *Saguntines* being in great feare, with these sodaine euils, sent Ambassadours to *Rome*, to whome the Senate ioyned their Ambassadoures, and sent firste to *Annibal*, to put him in remembraunce of the league, who, if he would not obey, they shoulde go to *Carthage*, and accuse hym. Wyth these Ambassadoures they went to *Iberia*, and when they came from their shyppes to the Campe, they were commanded of *Annibal* to go no further: Wherefore they went to *Carthage* wyth the *Saguntine* Ambassadors, where they shewed that the league was broken.

Sagunt besieged.

The Romaine Ambassadoures forbidden to enter *Annibals* Campe.

They on the other side accused the *Saguntines*, and saide they had done hurte to their Subiectes. The *Saguntines* on the contrary side, called them to the iudgement of the Romanes. They sayde the iudgement was in vaine, when the matter muste bee tryed by force.

Whiche when the Romaines vnderstode, some thought ayde to bée sente out of hande to the *Saguntines*, some denyed it, affyrmyng the *Saguntines* not to be comprehended in the league, but leste frée. So as bothe the besiegers and the besieged, muste vse their own lawes, whiche sentence preuailed.

The *Romaynes* helpe not the *Saguntines*.

But the *Saguntines* being destitute of the help of the *Romanes*,

and

and oppreſſed of famine, and continually aſſaulted of *Annibal*: for he (hearing the Cittie was riche and full of golde) gaue them no time to reſt: they commaunded all the golde and ſiluer both publique and priuate to be broughte into the market, and mixed it with lead and yron, that it ſhoulde bee vnprofitable to *Annibal*. And becauſe they hadde rather dye by ſworde, than by hunger, at mydnyght, when it was moſt darke, they came out, and aſſailed the watch of the *Carthagies*, loking for no ſuch thing, and killed many of them whiles ſome fought and ſome putte on their armour. The fight was long, many *Carthagies* were ſlaine, and all the *Saguntines*, whoſe decay beyng ſeene from the wals, ſome of the women leapt from the top of their houſes, ſome hanged themſelues, ſome killed firſt their little children, & then themſelues. This was the end of *Sagunt*, which was a great & mighty city. When *Annibal* vnderſtode what was done with ỹ mony, he toke as many of the youth as was left, whom he tormented and killed. And not thinking it good for a Cittie ſituate at the ſea, and in a fertile ſoyle, to be vnhabited, he made it an inhabitation of *Carthage*, whiche nowe, as I thinke, they call *Carthage Spartagena*. The Romaines ſent Ambaſſadours to *Carthage*, whiche ſhoulde require *Annibal* as a breaker of league, vnleſſe they wold confeſſe it to be done with ỹ common conſent, & except they wold deliuer hym, to denounce the warre preſently. They dyd ſo, and where the *Carthagies* would not deliuer *Annibal* they gaue the defyaunce, and they ſaide it was done after this ſorte. The *Carthages* ſcorned the Romane Ambaſſador. Hee toke vppe the ſkirt of his gowne, and ſaide: In this garment, O *Carthagies*, I bring you warre and peace, chooſe which you wil. They aunſwered, giue vs which thou liſteſt, he giuing warre, they cried al with one voice, and we receiue it: & by & by they ſent to *Hannibal* to ouerrun al *Iberia*, for the league was broken. Wherfore he raunging euerye where, got ſome by flattery, ſome by threats, and ſome by force. He gathered many ſouldioures, not ſhewyng to what purpoſe he didde it. Hys meaning was to goe into *Italy*, to ſende Ambaſſadors to the *Galles*, to ſearch the way of the Alps, to carry his army to *Rome*, & leaue *Aſdrubal* in *Spaine*. The

Annibal, nameth *Sagunt Carthage Spartagena.*

The manner of the Romaines defiance to the *Carthages.*

Romanes

Romaynes thinking they must make war with the *Carthagies* in *Spaine* and *Affrica*, not once suspecting their comming into *Italy*, sente *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* into *Affrica* with one hundred, threescore and two shyps, and two legions. What *Sempronius Longus* and other Generalles didde in *Libya*, all is shewed in the booke of the *Libyan* warres. They sente into *Spayne*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* with threescore Shyppes, and ten thousande fotemen and seauen hundred horsemen, to whome they ioyned for lieutenant, his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. But one of them, that is, *Publius*, when he heard of the Marchants of *Massilia*, that *Annibal* was comming into *Italy*, and had passed the Alpes, being afraide he shoulde haue taken the *Italians* vnprouided, he deliuered the army to hys brother, and in a Galley sayled into *Aetruria*. What he or other Captaynes did, that succeeded hym in thys war, tyll *Annibal* was driuen out of *Italy* after sixteene yeares, it is shewed of vs in the booke that followeth, wherein also we shewe all *Annibals* actes, and therefore name the booke by *Annibals* name.

Two *Scipios* sent into *Spaine*.

Massilia, *Marsiles* in the prouince of *Marbona* in Fraunce, an auncient Citie, and sometime a famous vniuersity

Cneus in this warre of the *Romanes*, didde nothing worth hy of wryting, till his brother returned vnto hym. For when hys tyme was expired, the *Romanes* sent the Consulls for hys successors, to make the warre againste *Annibal*, and he was vnderconsull to them, and sent againe into *Spaine*. And so the two *Scipios* didde make warre agaynste *Asdrubal* in *Spaine*.

The *Carthagies* being prouoked to fight, of *Syphax* kyng of *Numidia*, they called home *Asdrubal* w̄ part of his armye, wherby the *Scipios* did easily gette the reste of *Spaine*, and manye Cities yelded freely. For they were apte to gouerne armyes, and also by persuasion, to winne Cities to their obedience. The *Carthagies*, compounding with *Syphax*, sente *Asdruball* into *Spaine* wyth more menne, and wyth thyrtye Elephantes, adioyning other two Captaines to them, that is, *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, *Gysgons* sonnes.

After that tyme, the *Scipios* had sharpe warre, and yet were superiors, of the whiche, manye souldiours of the *Carthagies* and Elephants were consumed, till the winter beyng come, the *Carthagies*

thagies went to winter at the *Turditanes*. And *Pub. Scipio* layed at *Castulone*, and *Cneus*, at *Orsone*. To whom, when it was shewed
Pub. Scipio killed. that *Asdrubal* was comming, he went out of the Citie with a fewe, to see his enimies power, but going too far vnaduisedly, he was circumuented of the contrary horsemen, and killed, and al that were with him. *Cneus Scipio*, not knowing the chaunce of his brother, sent his souldiors to fetche artillerie, with whom
Cn. Scipio killed. the *Affricanes* made a fraye. Whiche *Cneus* vnderstanding, came forth in haste with the light harnessed to helpe his men, wherof the former being killed and putte backe, *Scipio* was driuen into a Tower, the whiche they sette a fyre, and burned him and his companye. Thus the two *Scipios* were killed, men certainly of great worthinesse, & greatly loued and lamented of the *Spaniards*, that had committed themselues for their sakes, to the Romains obedience.

When this was knowen at *Rome*, the Romanes toke it very grieuously, and sent *Marcellus*, which a little before was come out of *Sicilie*, and with him *Claudius*, with a nauy and ten thousande footemen, two thousand horsemen, and mony and victuall sufficient to make warre in *Spaine*. Of the whiche, no notable thing being done, the *Carthagies* encreased very much, for nowe they had wellnigh gotten all *Spaine*, the Romaynes being driuen into a little streight, so as they were caste to the *Pyrene* hils.

The whiche when they at *Rome* hearde, they were more grieued and afraide, least, whiles *Annibal* wasted those Regions, whiche were at the sides of *Italie*, the other army shoulde inuade another way: therfore thoughe they woulde neuer so muche, they coulde not leaue *Spaine*, fearing the warre of *Spaine* woulde stretch to *Italy*. Therefore they appointed a day to determine a Generall for the war in *Spaine*.

To the whiche prouince, when none nowe offered himselfe, they were in more trouble and feare than before, for all the Senators were still for feare, till *Cornelius Scipio*, sonne to *Publius*
Cornelius Scipio offereth his seruice in a time of feare. that was slaine in *Spaine*, a yong man of xxiiij. yeres of age, but wise, & accompted noble in mind, did step forth & boldly spake lamentably the harde happe of his father & vncle, affirming that he

be alone was left to reuenge both their deaths, and other things be added with great eloquence and vehemencie, so as it were by a diuine inflamation, he promised to restore, not onely *Spaine*, but also to take *Carthage*: wherefore he was thoughte to boaste to muche lyke a young man, but he got the fauoure of the people, whiche was stroken with greate feare. For they that feare, when better hope is promised them, they be comforted. And so *Spayne* was decreed vnto hym, as by a foresyght, that he would do some thing worthy the noblenesse of hys mynd, which the antients did not call greatnesse of minde, but rashnesse rather of courage.

The corsaie of *Scipio*.

Which when *Scipio* perceyued, he spake to the people again, after that sorte that he spake of himself before, adding this, that his youth should be impediment to no man. He exhorted the Elders to take that prouince, if any of them would: he willingly gaue place. But whē no man was found to take it, he went with the more estimation and admiration of all men into his prouince, into the whiche hē led with him. xxv. footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen. For *Annibal* vexing *Italie*, a greater number could not be spared. He had mony for their wages, and other furniture, with eightene Galleis, wyth the which, hē sayled into *Spaine*, where reteining the footemen and horsemen that were left, he putte them to other, and muckered and purged his whole army, and then spake to them very nobly, so as hys fame went shortelye ouer all *Spaine*, whiche was wearye of the *Carthagies* rule.

The modestie of *Scipio*.

The vertue of the *Scipians* stucke in their mindes, and they thought the house of *Scipio* was sent to them, by the will of God. Whiche thyng *Scipio* vnderstanding, pretended he did all things by diuine instigation.

And when he vnderstode that hys enimies were lodged in foure sundrye places, and that in euery campe was fiue & twenty thousande footemen, and two thousande horse, and further, that al mony, & munition, as well for sea as land, and also the captiues and pledges of *Spaine*, were in the Cittie that before was called *Sagunt*, and nowe named *Carthage*, and that *Mago*

was there to kéep that treasure with.x.M.mẽ, he thought good to make his first attempt there, being moued by the small number, the great abundance, and the seate of that Cittie to be as a Forte and a receipte of the warre both by sea and land, against *Spaine*, & the shorter passage into *Libya*. By these considerations, conferring with no man, he marched at the sunne set, riding all night toward this *Carthage*, & by daye he was there, and made a ditche and trenche about it, the *Carthagies* being amazed, and the same daye prepared to giue the assaulte. He sette engins & scales against al parts, but only one, where the wall was very lowe, but compassed with a poole & the sea, wherefore that place was negligently kepte of the souldiors, but ẏ they made it strong in ẏ night with arrowes and stones. *Scipio* tooke the streightes of the Porte, that the enimies ships should not escape, as hée that trusting in his vertue, hoped to take the Cittie. Before daye he commanded part of the souldiors to mount the engines, & to throwe vpon the enimies from aboue, & other to run the engines at the wall by lowe, by force. Of the other side, *Mago* placed.x.M.men at the gates, which taking their occasion, should sally with their swords only: bicause in those streights thei could not vse spears: other he cõmaunded to kéep the wals and towers, and they there with their engines stones, darts & arrows boldlye abyd ẏ fight. The alarm being made, both parts omitted no endeuor, whiles the stones or arrows were cast from hands, or engines. Some vsed slings, and euery man did his best in that kinde of armoure that he coulde handle. A band of *Scipio* was hardly handled, for ẏ *Carthagies* that kept the gates, issued with their swords, & made a hotte fray with them that brought the engines, and did as much hurt as they tooke, till the Romaynes, whose courage encreaseth in perils, made them to retire. they that defended that wall, being tyred, and they that fought without sleyng, the Romaynes myghte easilye sette their engines to the wall. Againſt whom, they that hadde skirmished, wente vppe to the wall, and so againe the Romaynes were putte to fighte. *Scipio* that loked aboute him, and exhorted them in all places, perceiued toward ẏ south, ẏ place where the wall was low, and that ẏ water did fall from

The diligence of *Scipio*.

Scipio beſiegeth newe *Carthage*.

frō it, according to the course of the sea, so that ẏ was before to the breast, was now but to the mid legge. Whiche thing being perceyued, and the matter diligently examined, he spent the rest of the day, that the sea did encrease, by going aboute, and encouraging his souldyoures to doe it. My Souldyoures (sayde he) nowe is the time, and whilest the help of God commeth to vs, scale the wall on this side, where the Sea openeth a way vnto vs, I will goe before you: and saying thus, he toke the ladders first, with the which he beganne to mount before any other, but his gard and others staying him, and the souldyoures takyng the matter in hand, the *Romanes* got vp, whome, when he perceyued to be vpon certayne towers, he badde the trumpetours and drummes goe vp the wall, and encourage the *Romanes* wyth their noyse. This thing affraying the enimie, they fledde as the Citie had bin taken, some of the *Romanes* fought with them, some ranne, and opened the gate to *Scipio*, who entred with his army. They of the Citie fledde into houses, and other places. *Mago* broughte his souldyoures into the market place, whiche beeyng some ouercome, fledde into the Castell with a few, which when *Scipio* assaulted, he not being able to defend it, all his men vtterly discouraged, he yéelded to *Scipio*. This so greate a Citie beyng taken in one day, which was the fourth day after his comming, he was extolled with infinite prayse of all men, beléeuing that he did all things rather by the councell of the gods than of men, and so he persuaded himselfe, the which opinion he mainteyned all his life, taking beginning at this time. For this cause hée woulde many times goe alone into the Capitoll, and shutte the doores, as to be taught of God. Wherefore at this day, only *Scipio* image is broughte out of the Capitoll, whereas all others are taken from the common place. Then *Scipio* hauing taken the Citie whiche shoulde be as a receptacle, and a storehouse of all things for warre and peace, in the whiche greate plentie of armoure, shotte, and engines, and furniture for the Nauie, and thirtie and three shippes, and corne, and manye other things were layde vp as in a common market, beside ryche golde, and siluer, as well coyned, as vncoyned, and the pledges of *Spayne*,

Newv *Carthage* is taken.

Mago yeeldeth.

An opinion of *Scipio*, that he did all things by inspiration from God.

and the captiues of *Rome*. He made sacrifice to God, and the next day triumphed. Then after he had prayed his souldyoures, he turned his tale to the townesmen, renuing the memorie of the *Scipios*, and deliuering all them that were in bondage, that when they came to their countreys, they mighte winne them to hym. These things being thus done, he rewarded him most liberally that firste mounted the wall, and to the seconde he gaue halfe so much, and to the third, and others by like proporsion. The ynorie, gold, & siluer, that was left of the pray, he put in shippes, and sent to *Rome*, where three dayes togither holy dayes were made, bycause it seemed, that the Citie was restored to the auntient dignitie, after so manye euils. All *Spayne*, and the *Carthagineans* were astonished with the great acte that was done so valiantly, and so speedely. *Scipio* leauing a strong garrison in the Citie, commaunded that parte of the wall that was next the fenne, to be made higher, and he went to subdue the rest of *Hiberia*, which he did by going himselfe to some of them, and sending his frends to other, and taking them by force that resisted. Of the *Carthagies* the Captaynes being both *Asdrubals*, the one sonne of *Amilcare*, and hauyng an army of strangers in the furthest part of *Spayne*, the other, the sonne of *Gisgo*, exhorted the Cities that remained in the *Carthagies* obedience, to continue in the same, for a greate armye shoulde come shortly to help them. He sent another *Mago* into the next places to gather men, and he entred the Countrey of *Lersanes*, which reuolted from the *Carthagies*, to besiege a Citie. But *Scipio* comming vpon him, he wente into *Granata*, and set his Camp at the Citie, where the next day he was easily ouercome, for *Scipio* put him from his Campe, and got all *Granata*. *Mago* was occupyed in gathering of Souldyoures, which were yet in *Spayne* at *Cerbona*, that with all his power, he myght encounter with the *Romanes*. Many *Spanyardes* ioyned with *Mago*, and many *Numidians* being commaunded of *Massinissa*. *Asdruball* kepte in his Campe with the footemen of these nations. *Mago* and *Massinissa*, with the horsemen, had their campe before the army. They being thus, *Scipio* diuided his horsemen, and sent one part with *Lelio* against *Mago*, and he went agaynst

Reuvards of the *Romanes* to him that firste mounted the vvall, a grounde of golde vvas geuen.

Lersanes.

Bruca.

Granata.

Cerbona.

Mas-

Maſsiniſſa. The fight was long, ſharp, and dangerous, the *Numidians* ſetting on, and going backe, and comming againe to the fighte with their ſhotte. But when *Scipio* gaue a token to hys Souldyoures, that the *Romanes* ſhoulde follow them, and fyghte with them with their ſpeares, the *Numidians* being deſtitute of ſhotte, were putte to flight, and retired to their tentes. *Scipio* encamped tenne furlongs from them, in a ſtrong place as he deſired. The whole ſtrength of the *Carthagies* was. lxx. thouſande fotemen, fiue thouſande horſe, and thirtie Elephants. *Scipio* had not the third part, therefore he was doubtfull awhile, and durſt not ioyne with the whole battell, but continued with ſkirmiſhing, whoſe victuall beeing almoſt ſpent, and the army beginning to lacke, he thought it vnhonorable to departe and doe nothing, therefore making ſacrifice, and bringing his armye where he mighte well be hearde, framing his countenance and loke, as though he had bin inſpired of God, he ſaid, his accuſtomed Angell hadde bin with him, and exhorted him to fighte, by reaſon whereof they ſhoulde rather truſt in the power of God, than in the number of men, chiefly bycauſe his other attemptes were brought to good effect, by the power diuine, and not by the multitude of Souldyoures. To make credite to his wordes, hee cauſed the ſouthſayers to ſhew them the ſacrifices. And whiles he ſpake thus, hee eſpyed certayne birdes flieyng, vnto whome turning hym ſelfe, he badde the Souldyoures beholde them, ſaying that God dyd ſende them that token of victory alſo, and that way the birdes flewe, he turned hys bodye, as one rapte with a diuine furie, and wyth hys eyes fixed, cryed. Wherefore all the armye turned with him hither and thither, and euerye man exhorted other, as to a certayne victory. When he ſawe the thing come to paſſe as he woulde, not ſuffering the courage of the ſouldyoure to relent, he made no delay, but as one taken with all one diuine furie, the tokens and ceremonies of theyr good lucke being ſhewed, he ſayd, it muſt be obeyed, and ỹ battell muſt be made. Whē the Souldyoures had refreſhed thēſelues, he cōmanded to take armor. He cōmitted ỹ horſemē to *Sillane*, the ſotemē to *Lelio* & *Martio*, *Aſdrubali*, *Mago*, & *Maſsiniſſa*. Whē they ſaid,

The valiantnes of *Scipio*.

Scipio taketh occaſion of euery thing to encourage the Souldyoures.

saw they were taken of the suddaine of *Scipio*, being but tenne furlongs betweene the Camps, they blew the alarme, not without confusion and tumult: therefore the battell being begunne, the *Romane* horsemen vsing their old arte, were superioure, following hard their enimies, and beating thē with their speares, though they fayned to flee, and turne againe, for the *Romanes* being continually at their heeles, kepte them from their shooting, bycause they were so nigh.

The footemen being ouerlayd with the *Libyans*, continued all day, and although *Scipio* ranne aboute and exhorted them to the fight, they would neuer giue any fierce onsette, til he delyuering his horse to his squire, toke a souldiours target, and wente alone into the middest betweene both armies, crying, helpe *Romanes*, help your *Scipio* in this perill. Therefore they that were nigh, seing him in so great perill, and they that were further off, hearing him, all being moued, both with shame, and danger of their Generall, exhorted one another, and went against their enimies with great vehemence, which when the *Affricanes* were not able to abide, they turned their backes, therfore partly weerie with fight, and partly weake with famine, the nighte being at hand, they were vtterly ouerthrowen. This was the ende of the fighte at *Cerbona*, in the whiche the victorye was doubtfull: eight hundred *Romanes* were slaine, and tenne thousand fiue hundred of the enimies. From that time, the *Carthagies* made hast to be gone, *Scipio* followed, and endamaged them al wayes that was possible, but when they were come to a place strong and well watered, and full of their necessaries, so as the matter required a seege, *Scipio* left *Sillanus* to hold them in, and he wente to winne the rest of *Spaine*.

The courage of *Scipio*.

Scipios victory at *Cerbona*.

The *Carthagies* that were beseeged of *Sillanus* remoued, and went to *Cales* to passe the Sea, and when *Sillanus* had done them as much hurt as he could, he returned with his army to *Scipio*.

Asdruball, *Amilchars* sonne, whiche was gathering of men at the North *Ocean*, was called of his brother *Annibal*, to come into *Italy* so sone as he could. The whiche, that he might doe vnknowen to *Scipio*, he passed the *Pirenian* hilles that were nerte the

Asdruball passeth the mountaynes.

the North, with the *Celtiberians* that he had, and so the *Romanes* being ignorant, *Asdruball* came to *Italy* with great iourneys.

In the meane season, *Livius* comming from *Rome*, tolde *Scipio*, that the Senate minded to make hym Captayne of the warre of *Carthage*, which thing *Scipio* loked for, and trusting it woulde be so, sent *Lælius* with fiue Shyppes to King *Syphax*, with many giftes, to remember vnto him the friendshyp that had bin betweene him and the *Scipios*, and to aske him, if he came into *Africa*, whether he would be friend to the *Romanes*, whiche *Syphax* promised to doe, and receyued the giftes, and sente *Scipio* others. When the *Carthagies* vnderstoode that, they sente Embassadors to *Siphax* also, to remember him of societie and league, which *Scipio* vnderstanding, and minding to preuent the *Carthagies*, bycause it was a matter of greate importance, with two Gallies onely, and with *Lælius*, wente vnto him, and when he came to the porte, the *Carthagies* whiche were come before him, brought out their Gallies, vnknowen to *Syphax*, against *Scipio*, but he hauing the benefite of the winde, with full sayle, entred the port before them. *Syphax* receyued them both courteously, and talking priuately with them, and giuing his faith, sent them away. He commaunded the *Carthagies* that layd new traynes againste him, to be stayd. This perill *Scipio* escaped, when he came to the coast, and when he went from thence. And it is said, that whileste *Scipio* was with *Syphax*, he sate at the table wyth *Asdruball*, who when he hadde asked him many questions, he greatly wondered at the sight and modestie of him, and turnyng to his friends, sayd, that he was a man to be feared, not onely in the warre, but also at a table.

Scipio in danger in going to *Syphax*.

The opinion of the *Carthage* Embassador of *Scipio*.

At this time, some of the *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* did yet serue vnder *Hanno*, with whome *Martius* did encounter, and kylled a thousande fiue hundred of them, the rest fledde home, other seauen hundred horsemen, and seauen thousand fotemen, being with *Hanno*, *Martius* droue into an hyll, where wanting all necessaries, they sent to *Martius* for composition, whome he commaunded to delyuer their Captayne *Hanno*, and the fugitiues, and then tell their message: so they take *Hanno* that was hea-

ring of matters, and deliuered him, and the fugitiues to *Martius*: he required also the captiues, whome, when he had receyued, he commaunded the Souldyoures to bring a certaine summe of siluer into a playne, bycause it was not fitte for them that aske pardon, to keepe highe places: whiche when they were descended, *Martius* sayde vnto them, you are well worthy deathe, for where as euery of you haue youre countreys subiect to vs, you had rather make warre against vs, than oure enimies, yet I am content, and giue you leaue to goe safe, putting off youre armour.

The victorie of *Martius*.

Whiche when they hearde, being all greeued with it, and denying to do it, a sharp fight was made, in the which, halfe of them were slayne, the other halfe escaping to *Mago*. He not long before, was come to *Hannos* Campe with sixtie Shippes, but hearyng of hys calamitie, he returned to *Gades*, where beyng in wante, he was put in greate feare, and there hee rested.

Souldyoures will not deliuer their armoure.

Sillanus was sente to the Citie of *Castaces*, where, when hee was receyued as an enimie, he sette hys Campe before the Towne, and made *Scipio* to knowe of it, who sending afore what was fytte for the seege, followed, and by the way gotte the Citie of *Illiturga*, the whyche in the tyme of olde *Scipio*, was friende to the *Romanes*: and when hee was slayne, they reuolted priuily, and pretendyng to receyue the *Romanes* armye as a friende, delyuered it to the *Carthagies*. Wherfore *Scipio* beeyng angrie, ouercame it in foure houres, and toke it.

Castaces.

Illiturga.

Heere *Scipio* hadde a wounde in hys necke, but not so greate, as hee woulde departe from the fyghte, tyll hee hadde gotte the Citie, for thys cause, the armye despising the pray, kylled women and children, and vtterly destroyed it.

Scipio wounded.

When they came to *Castace*, he beseeged it in three partes, but dyd not assaulte it, that hee myghte gyue the *Castaces* tyme to repente, bycause he heard they were aboute suche a matter. And when they hadde kylled the Captain of the garrison which resisted, they deliuered the Citie to *Scipio*: he leauing a certayne honest man of the Citie to keepe it, wente towarde *Carthage*, sending

The *Castaces* yeelde to *Scipio*.

sending *Sillanus* and *Martius* to the Sea, to spoyle and waste all that they could.

There was a Citie called *Astapa*, whiche was alwayes of the *Carthagies* deuotion. When they sawe they were beseged, and knewe that if they came vnder the *Romanes* power, they shoulde be solde as slaues, they brought all theyr goodes and riches into the market place, and compassing the same wyth wodde, they badde their wiues and children goe vp to it, and sware fiftie of the chiefe of the Citie, that if the Citie were taken, they shoulde kyll their wiues and chyldren, sette the wodde on fyre, and burne them and themselues. *Astapa.*

The desperatiō of the *Astapeās.*

When they hadde called the Gods vnto witnesse of the same, they issued vppon *Martius*, looking for no suche thyng, with the whyche violence, the shotte and the Horsemen were putte to flighte. The fotemen stayd. The *Astapeans* fought valiantlye withoute hope of remedye. The *Romanes* were more in number, but the *Astapeans* were not inferioure in vertue, who, when they were all slayne, the fiftie whyche were in the Citie, kylled all the women and chyldren, and then kindled the fyre, and lepte into it. *Martius* marueilling at the vertue of them, refrayned from burning their houses.

After these doyngs, *Scipio* fell sicke, and *Martius* ruled the army, and so the Souldyoures that had spente all vppon pleasure, and thought they hadde not receyued worthy rewardes for theyr seruice, bycause they hadde nothyng lefte, and to whome *Scipio* ascribed the glory of all hys noble actes, they reuolted from *Martius*, and hadde their Campe by themselues, and manye of the garrisons and nygh Castels ioyned vnto them, and some were sente of *Mago* with money, to persuade them to him. *Scipio* sicke.

The *Romanes* souldioures mutine.

They receyued the money, but makyng Captaynes and officers of themselues, they did all thyngs of their owne authoritie, and bounde them to it by oth.

Scipio hearing of thys, wrote vnto them that were all- The prudence of *Scipio.*
thoures, and sayde, hée coulde not yet rewarde them as

The prudence of *Scipio*.

they were worthy, because of his sickenesse, and to other he wrote, to appease them that were in rage, and wrote to all generally, as though they had now bin reconciled, that he woulde shortly rewarde them all, and willed them so sone as might be, to come to *Carthage* for forage. These letters being redde, some suspected some cuill, other thinking no hurt, thought good to giue credite to them, and agreed to goe to *Carthage*, whither when *Scipio* vnderstode they were comming, he commanded all the Senatoures that were with him, that eache one of them should goe with one of the Authoures of sedition, and receyuing them into their tentes in shewe of friendshippe, to take them priuily. Then he commaunded the Tribunes of the souldyoures, that the nexte morning, euery of them with their most trusty friendes, with their swordes, shoulde goe priuily, and place them in diuers partes of the citie, and when they had fitte places, not loking for any other commaundement, shoulde immediately kill them, if they made any stirre while he spake hys Oration.

When it was daye, he called all the Souldyoures to an assemblie, and caused himself to be borne to the Generalles seate. They hearing the founde of the trumpet, being ashamed not to awayte vppon their Generall, being sicke, and thinking they shoulde haue receyued their rewardes, came from euerye place, part without swordes, part couered with a little coate, because they had not time to make them ready.

Scipio to the souldioures that made the mutinie.

Scipio hauing a garde secretely aboute him, did firste rebuke them for their dede, then said, he would put all the blame in the authors of the sedition, whome O Souldyoures, by your helpe I will punish.

The authors of sedition punished and the multitude pardoned.

Then he commaunded the officers to remoue ỹ multitude further, which being done, the Senatoures brought the authors of seditiō forth, who crying, and praying their fellowes of help, the Tribunes that were commanded, killed them that durst once make any noyse. The multitude when they saw them thus handled, and the other armed, they were sorrie, and held their peace, *Scipio* commaunding them to bee fyrste killed,

killed, that cried, the other he bound to the pale and beate them with roddes, and after beheaded them. To the reste of the multitude he signified by the Trumpet, that he forgaue them, & by this order the army was reformed.

Indibilis a certaine Prince, that before obeyed *Scipio*, during the sedition of the souldiours, raunged the dominion of *Scipio*, he being followed, would not refuse battaile as a cowarde, and killed a thousande two hundred of the Romane souldioures. But losyng twenty thousande of his men, he was compelled to aske peace, whome *Scipio* punished by the purse, and receyued hym to grace. *Indibilis.*

Massinissa, vnknowen to *Asdrubal*, sailed into *Spaine*, & made amitie with *Scipio*, and promised if he came into *Affrica*, to be his aider. Thus he did being otherwise a cõstãt man for this cause. *Asdrubal*, that ledde him with hym, had espoused his daughter to him, whome *Syphax* loued. Whereof the *Carthagies* thoughte it nedefull for them, to holde *Syphax* agaynste the Romaynes, and gaue the maide in marriage vnto him withoute *Asdrubals* priuitie, whiche thing being done, *Asdrubal* was ashamed, and kepte it secreate from *Massinissa*. Whiche when he vnderstode, he made league with the *Romanes*. *Massinissa* ally eth vvith the Romaines by cause the *Carthagies* had giuen *Sophonisbaa* vvife to *Syphax* his enimies.

Mago the admirall of the *Carthagies*, despayring of the state of *Spaine*, went into *Gallia* and *Liguria*, and gathered men with al his mighte. This is parte of Fraunce and *Liguria* of *Italy*.

The *Romanes* toke *Gades* being lefte of *Mago*, and from that time, beganne to send yearely officers to gouerne *Spaine* a little before the. CXL. *Olympiade*, which in peace had the office both of a Captaine and a Iustice. In the which with no greate army, *Suntio* was brought into the forme of a Cittie, whiche of the name of *Italie*, was called *Italica*, and after, was the Countrey of *Adriane* and *Traiane*, who were chosen to the rule of the *Romaynes*. Hee returned to *Rome* wyth a naule well furnished and and filled with Captiues, mony and spoyle of al sorts, and was receyued of the people of *Rome*, wyth all Ilandes, especiallye of the North, for the greatnesse and maruellous expedition of his doyngs. And euen they that firste enuied him, and noted him *Suntij*, the countrey of *Adriane* and *Traiane*. *Scipio* honored of all sortes.

of boasting, confessed the thing to be brought to a glorious end.

Indibilis is killed

Indibilis after *Scipios* returne, reuolted agayne. Wherfore the lieutenaunts of *Spaine*, gathering the ordinarie garrisons togyther, and other of the prouince, killed hym, and condemned the authors of the rebellion, and confiscated their goodes. Them ỹ were priuie to the mutinie, they punished in money, spoyled them of their armoure, and toke pledges of them, and put greater garrisons in their Townes. These things were done streight after *Scipios* departure.

This is *Gallia Togata*, that did inhabite the place called nowv *Lombardie*.

This was the ende of the *Romanes* first warre in *Spaine*. After the whiche tyme, the *Romanes* making war with the *Galles* that dwell aboute *Poo*, and with *Phillip* king of *Macedonie*, the state of *Spaine* beganne to be troublesome againe. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Claudius*, and after thē *Minutius*, were chosen Generalls, and after, when there was greater stirre, *Cato* was sent wyth a greater army, a young man, but seuere and painefull, and very notable for hys wysedome and eloquence, insomuche, as of the people hée was called another *Demosthenes*, who was the principall Orator of all *Grecia*.

Emporium

Cato compared to *Demosthenes* his courage.

When he was come into *Spaine*, to the place called *Emporium*, and vnderstode that the enimies were togither in a place to the number of fortie thousande, he kepte hys Souldioures certaine dayes in exercise, and when he determined to fighte, he sent the ships which he had with hym to *Massilia*, admonishing the souldioures that it was not to be feared though the ennimie was more in number, séeing the vertue of the minde is muche more of price, than the multitude. And that he had therfore sent away his shippes, whereof they had no nœde, nor were kept, but for them that ouercame. And when he had saide thus, he gaue a fierce onset vpon the enimye, and afraying his Souldioures, rather than exhorting them, as other were wonte to doe, when the fight was beginne, he ranne to euery part, and encouraged the souldiors. The fight continued doubtfull till night, manye falling on both sides, and when he wyth three thousand had bēn vpon an hill, to sée al partes of the fight, and saw his men were compassed of the enimie, he came downe with haste, offring himselfe

Cato rather rebuketh than chydeth his hoſt

The valiantnes and diligence of *Cato*.

selfe to perill with the formost, & so crying & fighting, he brake the enimies aray, & laid the first foundation of victory. He chased ỹ enimy al night, he got their camp, & killed an infinite multitude. As he returned, al mette with him, embraced and congratulated with him as the Authour of victorie. These things beyng done, he gaue rest to the armye, and made destribution of the spoyle. Ambassadors came to him from al people, of whom he receyued pledges. Besides he sent letters sealed to the Cities, commaũding the bearers to deliuer al in one daye, appointyng the daye, as by coniecture he considered the distance of place, as they might make their iorny to the furthest Cittie: He cõmanded the rulers of euery citie, to pul down their wals, & threatned destruction to them ỹ made any delay. Al obeyed, being mindful of ỹ losse they had receyued, & seuerally they durst not resist, thinking it had bin cõmãded to them only & not to other, and if it were to other, they were afraid if other did obey, they should be punished, if they did disobey. And if they alone did obey, it was a matter of no greate moment. There was no respite for them to send to their neighbors, & of the souldiors that brought the letters, they were vrged to it: wherfore euery citie, to saue themselues, pulled down their wals, and that they might haue thanke for their quicke obedience, they did it with great spéede. By this meane all the Citties that be about the floud *Iberus*, did cast downe theyr walls in one day, by the only wisedome of their Captaine, & they were quiet to the Romanes, for the space of foure *olympiades*. But after the CL. *olympiade*, great parte of *Spaine* rebelled from the *Romanes* bicause they wer in wãt of al necessaries for fod. Wherfore the matter comming to light, *Fuluius Flaccus* Consull, ouercame them, and manye fled to their possessions. But they that were in most want, and got their liuing with robbing, assembled al togither at *Complega*, a Citty new made & wel defenced, that had encreased in a short time: frõ hence they many times molested the *Romanes*, and sét to *Flaccus*, that he shold leaue a cloake, an horse, and a sword for euery one that he had killed, and flée out of *Spaine* before worse hapned vnto him. *Flaccus* answered, he would bring many souldiors coats, & folowing their messẽgers, cãped at ỹ city.

The victory of *Cato*.

A people of *Cato* pulling downe the vvals of al Cities at once.

Fiue yeres vvas betvveene the *Olympiades*.

Fulvius hath victory.

Compolega.

The vvord is *Sagum* vvhich is cote that souldiours vvere in vvarre.

They

They not doyng any thing according to their great crakes dedde, and dayly spoyled the Countreis. They vse a certaine garment double, of thicke woll w̄ a buckle fastned like a cloke, and that they count a Souldiours coate.

Carabis. Scadaliena.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, succeeded *Flaccus*. The *Celtiberians* besieged *Carabis*, a Cittie friend to the *Romaynes* wyth twentye thousande souldioures, and thought to gette it quickly. Wherefore *Gracchus*, comming to helpe them, and not hauing any mean to signifie it to the besieged, a certaine capitaine of a bande, named *Cominius*, tolde *Gracchus* what he had deuised with himselfe, he put on a *Spaniardes* coate, and wente among the slaues of the campe, and as a *Spaniard* came with them to the Campe, and from thence into the Cittie, and tolde them that *Gracchus* was at hande with helpe. Wherefore they abode the siege valiauntly, and within three dayes *Gracchus* came, and so the *Celtiberians* left the siege.

The exployt of Cominius.

One daye twenty thousande came from *Complega*, bringing braunches of Olyue lyke petitioners, asking pardon, whiche comming nighe the Romanes Generall, gaue a violent onsette on the Romanes, and put them in great daunger. *Gracchus* went from the Campe of purpose, and made as thoughe he fledde, and whiles they were aboute the spoile, he returned, and sette vpon them and killed many of them and got *Complega*. He appointed their lande and the neighbors to them that had neede: and made league with the inhabitants of that countrey, with certaine conditions, whereby they were receiued into the *Romanes* amitie, to the whiche he bounde them by othe. These conditions were much desired in the wars that followed, and for these things, the name of *Gracchus* was greate bothe in *Spaine* and *Rome*, where he triumphed gloriously.

A craft of the Celtiberians punished vvith the like.

Conditions of Gracchus.

A fewe yeares after, great warre was renewed in *Spayne*. There was a Cittie in the borders of the *Celtiberians* that is called *Belli*, named *Segeda*, great and mighty comprehended in the league of *Gracchus*. This Citie enticing other little Townes to it, builded their walls, the compasse whereof was forty furlongs. Their example induced the *Titthians*, an other nation of

of the *Celtiberians* to do the lyke. Whyche thing the Senate vnderstanding, forbadde them the building of their wal, and required the tribute appointed by *Gracchus*, and commanded them to goe to warre with the Romanes, to the whiche they were also bounde by the league of *Gracchus*. They aunswered, that touching their walles, they were bound by *Gracchus*, not to builde any newe Cities, but not, that they should not defend their olde. As touching tributes and seruice in war, they were released by the Romanes, and so they were indeede, with this condition, so long as it shoulde seeme good to the Senate and people of *Rome*, wherefore *Q. Fuluius Nobilior*, was sent against them with an army of thirty thousande.

Segetanes.

The *Segetanes* hearing that he was comming, their walls not being yet finished, desired the *Araschians* to receiue them, and so they fled to them. They made their chiefe Captaine, *Carus*, whom the *Segetanes* thoughte to be a man expert in war. He three daies after he was created Generall, laide an ambushe of twentye thousande footemen, and fyue thousande horse in a shadowy and woddy place, and from thence gaue a charge vpon the Romanes. The fight was doubtfull a greate while, at length *Carus* hadde a noble victorie, for he slewe fyre thousande Romaines, whiche was a great losse to the Citie,

Araschains.

Carus.

Carus victorie of the Romaines.

But when they vsed the victory rashlye and too proudlye, the Romaines horsemen that garded the carriage, set vppon them, and slew *Carus* fighting valiantly for himselfe, and fyre thousand with hym, tyll the fyghte was ended by the darkenesse of the night.

Carus is slaine.

This was done the same daye that the Romaynes kepte the feaste of *Vulcane*. After that daye, none of them woulde come to fight, but by compulsion. The *Araschians* assembled that night at *Numantia*, which is a very strong citie. They chose *Arathen* and *Leucon*, Captaines of the warre. *Fuluius* came thither the thirde daye, and camped foure and twenty furlongs from the citie, to whom, *Massinissa* had sent three hundred horsmen, and thirtye Elephants, which being come, he went straight to the fight. He placed the Elephants at the backe of the army, and when

The feast of *Vulcane* vvas in *August.*

Arathen, Leucon.

Fuluius vvinneth and looseth.

the fight was begonne, opened a way for the Elephants, whom when the *Celtiberians* sawe, they and their horse, were afraid, and fled to the walles. The Romayne bad the Elephants shoulde be brought to the wal. There was a fierce fight, till one of the Elephants being hurte in the heade with a stone from the wall, beganne to rage and be unruly, and with furie turne upon his fellows, thrusting and treading downe euery one he met, no difference betweene friend and foe: and the rest of the Elephants being made afrayde did the lyke, and trode and thrust downe the Romaine souldiours. The whiche thing the Elephants, when they are in feare, are wonte to doe, taking euerye man for their enimye: wherefore for this falshode, they are called common enimies. Therfore the *Romanes* without order fled away, which when the *Numantines* saw from the walles, they came forth and chased them, and slewe foure thousande of them, and toke three Elephants, and muche armour, and many ensignes. Of the *Celtiberians* two thousand were killed. When *Fuluius* hadde gotten from that slaughter, he besieged *Axenium*, which was as a common market for the enimyes, for there was all thinges to sell. Where, when he did no good, but lose his men, he retired by night to his campe. Wherefore hee sente *Blesus* the Capitayne of the horsmen to a nation that was nigh and his friend, (for he wanted horsemen) with a bande of horse. In the way, they fell into an ambushe of *Celtiberians*, whiche beyng knowne, the friendes fledde, and *Blesus* fought and was killed, and many *Romanes* with him.

An Elephant hurt loseth the victorie.

Elephants common enimies.

The flight of the Romaines.

Axenium.

Blesus killed.

For the whiche losses and ouerthrowes, *Ocile*, a Cittie in the whiche the *Romanes* had their treasure and munition, yelded to the *Celtiberians*.

Ocile in *Galacia*.

Then *Fuluius* distrusting himselfe, and afraid of al things, kepte within his campe that winter, defending it as well as hee coulde, and getting victuall, yet was greatly troubled for lacke and for bitternesse of colde, wherefore many Souldyours partly goyng for wood, partly for the sharpnesse and great colde, did perishe.

The mountains be the cause of colde in hote countries.

The yeare following, *Claudius Marcellus*, came in *Fuluius* place,

Claudius Marcellus.

place, bringing eight thousande footemen, and .v. C. horsemen, against whome, when the enimies likewise had laide traines, he, by another crafte, auoyded them, and went streight to *Ocile*, & there camped with all his power: and fortune fauouring hym, toke the Cittie at the firste assaulte, whome he pardoned, receiuing some pledges, and thyrtie talentes of golde. When thys modestie was heard, the *Nergobriges* sente messengers to *Marcellus*, to know what they might do to haue peace. He commaunded them to sende him an hundred horsemen. They promised so to doe, yet they folowed the taple of the armye, and toke some of the cariage. Notwithstanding, they came after, and brought a hundred horsemen, and saide, their hurte in the carriage, was done by the errour of some, that knewe not the couenauntes.

Ocile taken and pardoned.

Nergobriges vse craite.

Marcellus made the hundred horsmen prisoners, and solde their horses: then he ranged their lande, and gaue the pray to the souldioures, and encamped at their Cittie, where, when they sawe their engines brought, and their trenches made, they sente oute an Herault wearing a Wolfs skinne, to aske pardon, whiche he denyed to giue, except the *Aruacceans*, *Bellans*, and *Titthians*, would serue for them, the whiche those nations did willingly, praying that a reasonable payne beyng putte vppon them, they might be brought to the league of *Gracchus*. Some of them denied that, bicause they hadde bin at strife. *Marcellus* sent the Ambassadoures of both parts to *Rome*, there to dispute their controuersies, and secretly wrote to the Senate to compounde the matter, for he desired the war might be ended in his time, thinking it would be for his glory.

The vvar vvas ended by him that brought a rodde called *Caduceum* vvherof embassadours of peace are called *Caduceatores*.

The Embassadours of the friendes were receyued into the Cittie, they of the enimies were lodged without the Cittie as the manner is.

Embassadors diuersely vsed in Rome.

The Senate would haue no peace, being grieued they were not brought into ỹ *Romanes* power, as *Nobilior* would haue done, that was Generall in *Spaine* before. Therefore the Senate answered the Ambassadors, that *Marcellus* should declare their pleasure there, & forthwith sent another army into *Spaine*. And then was the first time that souldiors wer take by lot, & not by choice,

Souldiours take by lotte.

as had bene before. For manye did reproue the Consulls, as not vsyng themselues truely and sincerely in the choise of soldiors, that they might sed to lighter enterprises as cause required. Therfore it seemed good then, to take their soldiors by lotte, of whome *L. Lucullus*, was made Generall, to whom *Cornelius Scipio* was lieutnant, that shortely after gotte *Carthage*, and *Numantia*.

Lucullus. Scipio.

Whiles *Lucullus* was comming, *Marcellus* proclaimed warre againste the *Celtiberians*, to whome he rendred their pledges, they requiring them, yet he deteyned hym long with him that went Embassadoure for them to *Rome*, for what cause it is vncertaine.

There was a suspition then, which was beleued much more, by a thing that happened, that is, that he persuades these people to committe their matters to him, for he dide what he could to make an end of the warre before *Lucullus* came. For after those controuersies, there were fyue thousande *Aruacceans*, that toke *Nergobrigem*, and *Marcellus* went to *Numantia*, and encamped within fyue myle of the Citie, and droue the enimies into it.

Marcellus procureth peace.

Wherfore *Linteuon* Captain of the *Numantines*, cried and said he woulde deale with *Marcellus*. And being come in to talke, he saide he would leaue the *Bellans*, *Titthians* and *Aruacceans*, whom when *Marcellus* had accepted willingly, he commaunded money and pledges to be deliuered, which when he had receyued, he let those people go free.

Linteuon.

This end had the warre of the *Bellans*, *Titthians*, and *Aruacceans* before the comming of *Lucullus*.

But *Lucullus*, partly for desire of glorie, and partly for néde, (for he was poore) ledde his armie againste the *Vacceans*, whiche be a people in *Celtiberia*, nert to the *Aruacceans*, notwithstading the Senate determined nothing of them, nor they had euer bin enimies of the people of *Rome*.

Lucullus needie. *Vaccei* people of the Iland of neather *Spaine*.

Therefore when he had passed the floude *Tagus*, he came to the citie of *Cauca*, and there encamped. They of the towne asked why he came, & for what purpose he molested them that were in quiet & rest. Who, when he had answered that hee came to helpe the *Carpetanes*, whom they had iniured, they returned into Citty.

Tagus, the floud Tais in *Lusitania*.

Carpetanes dwvel at the floud Taio.

And

And when the *Romanes* wente for forrage, they kylled many, which being vnderstode, the army was brought forth, and they mette and fought. The *Cauceans* a while had the better, til their shotte fayled them, then they fledde, not being good at a firme battell, and so thrusting together at the gate, there were three thousand slayne. *Cauceans* slayne at their Citie.

The next day, the olde men came forth, and besought *Lucullus* to tell them what they might doe, to keepe the *Romanes* fauour. He required pledges & an C. talentes of siluer, and y their horsemen shoulde serue with him: which when it was graunted, he saide, he woulde put a garrison in the Citie, and they did not denye that. He put two thousand choyce souldyoures into the citie, whome he commaunded to take the walles, whiche beeyng done, he brought in all his army, and killed all without respect of age, and thus by extreame crueltie, they were all slaine, calling vpon the Gods, and the faith of the oth, by the whiche the *Romanes* had sworne, and charging the *Romanes* with infidelitie, by the which they had murthered twenty thousande, a fewe except, that were in the strong and rocky places. *Lucullus* spoyled the Citie, and gaue the prey to the Souldioures, purchasing an immortall infamie to the name of *Rome*. All they of the Countrey assembled, and came out of the playnes into the hils, and into the strong townes, carrying so muche with them as they could, burning the rest, that *Lucullus* shoulde haue no profite of them. Extreame iniurie done to the *Romanes* by *Lucullus*.

When *Lucullus* had made a long tourney by the hard and deserte way, he came to a Citie that is called *Enderacia*, into the whiche, more than twenty thousand fotemen were fledde, and two thousand horsemen. *Lucullus* (suche was his folishnesse) inuited them to composition, to whome, they obiected the calamitie of the *Vacceans*, & asking, if he woulde exhorte them to suche amitie. *Lucullus* being angry for their obiection (as the manner is of them that do naught, whereas they should rather be angry with themselues) wasted their land, and besieged their Citie, made many trenches, and continually prouoked them to fight. One of them very faire in armour, came many times *Enderacia.*

forth on horsebacke, and prouoked any *Romane* to fighte hand to hand: and when no man answered him, he laughed, and scorned the *Romanes*, and wente leaping, and reioycing home. Doyng this very oft, it grieued *Scipio* that was a yong man, who came forthe, and toke the matter in hande, and by the benefite of fortune, ouercame the greate straunger, he being but of small stature, which gaue courage to the *Romane*. But in the night, they were diuersly affrighted, for all the horsemen of the *Barbarians* whiche were gone a foraging before the *Romanes* came, and coulde not get into the Citie, ranne vpon the Camp with great alarms, and they of the Citie did the like with greate vehemence, sore troubling the *Romanes*, who being afflicted with watche (for all that night they were compelled to watche in armoure) and not accustomed to the meates of that countrey, and hauing neyther wyne, salte, nor oyle, nor vinegre, and did eate sodden wheate and barlie, and muche fleashe of Dere and Hare without salte, they fell into fluxes, of the whiche, many dyed. Thus they continued, tyll they hadde brought their trenches to due height, whiche being done, they beat downe one part of the wall, and entred the Citie, but being valiantly repulsed in their retire, vnawares they fell into a fenne, where a greate parte of them perished. The *Barbarians* the night following, made vppe theyr wall, but at length, when both sides was oppressed with famine, *Scipio* promised them, that there shoulde be no fraude in their treatie, to whome faith was giuen for the opinion of hys vertue. This was the ende of thys warre, that they shoulde deliuer tenne thousande Souldioures coates, a certayne number of cattell, and fiftie pledges. The gold and siluer, *Lucullus* could not haue, for whose cause he made the warre, thinking *Spayne* had bin full of it, for those people hadde it not, neyther doe these *Celtiberians* much esteeme suche things.

Scipio fighteth a combate, and killeth a *Spaniarde*.

Romanes made afrayde.

VVant of salte.

Romanes perish.

Celtiberians esteeme not gold.

After this, he wente toward *Pallantia*, whiche was a Citie of greater name and power, into the whyche, many were fledde: therefore many counselled him to leaue it, but he, bycause he heard it was wealthy and riche, did not followe their councell. When he went to forage, euer he had the *Pallantine* horsemen

Pallantia a Citie nigh the *Vaccæans*.

vpon

vpon him, so as for lacke of victuall, he was fayne to remoue his Camp, and so ledde his army in a square battell, the *Pallantines* euer following, till he came to the floud *Orius*. Then they went away at midnight, and he returned to the *Turditanes* land, and there wintered. This end hadde the warre whiche *Lucullus* made with the *Vacceans* without the authoritie of the Senate. Therfore that he shuld not come to iudgemēt being accused. &c.

Orius.

Turditani, people of *Granata.*

¶ Notwithstanding, another part of *Spayne* called *Lusitania*, lyuing after their owne lawes, with a certayne Captayne of *Affrica*, did spoyle the Countreys that obeyed the *Romanes*, and whē they had ouerthrowen *Manilius*, and *Calphurnius Piso* the *Romane* Captaynes, they killed fyre thousande of them, beside *Terentius Varro*, that was treasourer, by the whiche thing, the *Affrican* being proude, did runne ouer all the Countreys, to the *Ocean* sea, and ioyning the *Vettones* vnto him, besēged the *Blastophenicians*, that were subiect to the *Romanes*, with the whyche, they say, *Anniball* did mingle some of the *Carthage* generation, therfore they were called *Blastophenicians*. Thys Captayne was hurte on the head with a stone, and dyed, and in hys place succēded another called *Cessaro*. Hée foughte wyth *Mummius* that was come from *Rome* wyth another armye, of whome being ouercome, and *Mummius* chacing hym, he returned vppon them that followed disorderly, and kylled tenne thousande, and recouered all hys prey, and hys owne Campe whyche hée hadde lost, and besyde spoyled the *Romanes* Campe, and toke theyr Ensignes, the whyche they shewing throughout *Spayne*, made a laughingstocke of the *Romanes*.

Lusitania, now Portugall.

The *Romanes* killed.

Vettones in hither *Spayne*, of whome the hearbe *Betonie* is named.

Captaine killed. *Blastophenicians.*

Cessaro.

The *Romanes* ouerthrowen vnder *Mummius.*

Mummius nowe Campyng in a strong place, exercised the Souldioures whyche he hadde lefte, whyche were fiue thousande, and durst not bryng them into the playne, tyll they hadde recouered theyr courage. The *Lusitanes*, albeit they inhabite the other syde of the floud *Tagus*, yet they toke armes, and wasted the *Cuneans* that were tributaries to the *Romanes*, *Canchenus* beeyng theyr Captayne, and toke *Cunistorges* theyr greate Citie, and passed the Sea at the pillers of *Hercules*, so as some of them wente into *Affrica*,

Cunistorges in Celtiberia.

and

and some beseeged the Citie of *Ocilis*. *Mummius* followed them with nine thousand footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and killed of them fifténe thousande that wasted the Countreys, and many of the other, and deliuered *Ocile* from the seege, and then méeting with them that raunged ỳ Countrey, he destroyed them all, so as not a messenger was left. The prey that coulde be carryed, he distributed to the Souldioures, the rest he burned in the honor of the Gods that be the rulers of warre, for the which things, he triumphed at *Rome* at his returne. *M. Attilius* succéeded him, which in one rode, killed seuen hundred *Lusitanes*, and destroyed a great Citie called *Ostrace*, and toke all the countrey aboute, yéelding for feare, in the whiche, some were of the nation of the *Bottanes*, but so sone as *Attilius* departed to hys winter station, they reuolted, and beseéged certayne of the *Romanes* tributaries, whome when *Seruius Galba*, successor to *Attilius*, would haue put from the seege of the sodayne, when he had gone in one night and a day, fiue hundred furlongs, he shewed himselfe to the *Lusitanes*, and put his souldioures wearie of their iourney to the fight forthwith, and when he had put the enimie to flighte, and folishly followed them with his Souldioures weake and wearie, the *Barbarians* séeing them scattered, and manye times resting them for faintenesse, turned, and gaue a charge vpon them, and killed seauen thousande of them. *Galba*, with the horsemen about him, recouered himselfe at the Citie of *Carmena*, where he gathered all them that escaped, and when he had twenty thousand of the tributarie souldyoures, he went into the borders of the *Cuneans*, where he wintered at *Cunistorge*. *Lucullus*, who made warre with the *Vaccéans*, without the authoritie of the *Senate*, comming that time into *Turditania*, vnderstoode that the *Lusitanes* made warre vppon their neighboures, therefore he sent some of his best Captaynes, and killed fifténe hundred of them as they passed a water, and others that were fledde into an hill, he compassed with trenches and mountes, and killed a great multitude. Then entring *Lusitania*, he wasted one parte, and *Galba* another. Some, that sente Embassadors to confirme the league made with *Attilius*, and broken of them, he

Victorie of *Mummius*.

Ostrace.

Bottanes.

Seruius Galba taketh too much of his vvearie souldyoures, and loseth.

Carmena.

Cuneans.

Lucullus.

he receyued into friendship, and compounded the matter wyth them. Also he fayned that he was sory for them, and knewe, that they, for continuall wante, were driuen to spoyle, and so breaking league, made warre. I know (quoth he) that you were cõpelled to it by the barennesse, and want of your Countrey, but I will put you into a plentifull soyle, and diuide you into three seuerall places full of abundance. They being allured by thys hope, went from their owne houses, whome being diuided into three partes, he shewed them a playne, where he bad them stay till he came to shew them the place, where they shoulde buylde their Citie. When he was come to the firste, he willed them to leaue their armour as friends, which they did, then he enclosed them with ditches and trenches, and sent in his souldyoures, and caused them all to be kylled, not one escaping, they calling vpon the Gods for the breach of faith. He did the like to the seconde and thirde, before one vnderstode of anothers calamitie: and thus he reuenged fraude with fraude, following the *Barbarians* vse: no respect he had to ỹ honor of *Rome*. A fewe escaped, among whome was *Viriatus*, who after was Captayne of the *Lusitanes*, and did greate feates, and killed many *Romanes*. Those things that were done afterwarde, I will shewe in the other bookes.

Another manifest iniurie of *Lucullus*.

Viriatus.

But *Galba*, who passed *Lucullus* in couetousnesse, distributed a fewe things among the souldyoures, and toke the rest to hymselfe, although he was most riche of all the *Romanes*. He was a man that in peace where profite appeared, would not refrayne from periurie and lies. And when he, being hated of all men, was accused, yet for his riches, whereof he had great plenty, he was euer quitte and discharged. Not long after, as many as remained of the vnfaithfulnesse of *Lucullus* and *Galba*, gathering togither to the number of tenne thousande, wasted the lande of *Turditania*. Agaynste them, *M. Vettilius* with another armye wente, and ioyning to him all other that were in *Spayne*, whych was tenne thousande, he wente agaynste them that wasted *Turditania*, and kylled many of them, and droue the other into a Castell, in the which, if they woulde tarry, they must perishe for hunger, if they departed, they must fall into the *Romanes*

Galba described.

handes, so narrow was the place: wherefore they sent Embas-
Vettilius. sadoures to *Vettilius* in humble wise, desiring to haue a place to inhabite, that they from henceforth with all these, might be tri-
butaries to *Rome*: whyche he accepted, and they ready to come
forth. But *Viriatus* that had escaped from *Galbas* crueltie, and
The policie and hardinesse of *Viriatus.* was then with them, put them in remembrance of the *Romanes* falsehode, and tolde them how oft they hadde bin deceyued by colour of promise, and that all the *Romanes* army was nowe lyke vnto the deceytefulnesse of *Galba* and *Lucullus*: but if they woulde be ruled by hym, he woulde tell them how they might all escape safe. They beeyng moued with hys wordes, and conceyuing good hope, chose hym theyr Captayne. Therefore when he hadde placed all the horse in the front of the battell, as though he woulde fyghte, he commaunded the other, so soone as he toke hys horse, to diuide themselues, and by diuers pathes
Tribola. to flée ouer the hylles, as well as they could, to *Tribola*, and there to tarry hym tyll he came. He kepte wyth hym choyce Horsemen, of euery number, and then he lepte on Horsebacke, and the other fledde with spéede.

Vettilius, afrayde to followe them that were thus separate, and diuided to many partes, staied to sée what *Viriatus* woulde doe, who abode still. He with hys swifte Horse nowe comming vpon the *Romanes*, now going backe from them, and now comming agayne vppon them, spente so that whole daye, and the nerte also, goyng on, and comming of from that playne. And when by coniecture, he thoughte them that were gone, to be come to a sure place, at midnighte wyth moste spéede, by diuers hard wayes, he got to *Tribola*. The *Romanes* coulde not ouertake hym, partly for the weight of their armoure, partly for the ignorance of the way, and partly for the diuersitie of theyr Horses. Thus *Viriatus* saued hys men that were in desperation of themselues. Thys policie wanne hym greate fame ouer all the places aboute, and so they came vnto hym in great numbers.

He kepte warre wyth the *Romanes* thrée yeares togither, and it is well knowen, that this warre muche troubled the same,

and

and in the ende, was very daungerous vnto them. And if there were any other stirre in *Spayne*, that was the cause that it continued the longer. *Vettilius* followed, and came to *Tribola*. *Viriatus* layde an ambushe in an hyll, whyther when he knewe that *Vettilius* was come, he fledde. And when *Vettilius* was past the ambushe, he turned, and they of the ambushe came forthe, and besette the *Romanes*, kylling and takyng, or throwing them headlong from the hygh places. *Vettilius* was taken, whome, when the taker knewe not, but sawe hym to be a fatte olde man, he thought hym to be of no regarde, and kylled hym.

Traynes of the *Romanes*.

Vettilius taken and killed.

Of tenne thousande *Romanes*, scarsly fiue thousande saued themselues at *Carpesso*, a Sea Towne, whyche I thynke was called of the *Gretians Tartessus*, in the whyche *Arganthonius* reigned, who (they say) lyued a hundred and fiftie yeare. The Treasurer that came with *Vettilius*, followyng them that went to *Carpesso*, seeing them afrayde, kepte them in the Citie, and made them keepe the wall. And when he had gotten fiue thousande of the *Bellans* and *Titthians*, accordyng as he desired, hée sente them agaynste *Viriatus*, whome he kylled, not one béeing lefte to bryng tydings home. The treasourer remaynyng in the Citie, lokyng for newes from *Rome*, durst doe nothyng.

Carpesso.

Arganthonius the old Kyng.

Viriatus killeth the *Spanyards* sent against him.

Viriatus in the meane season, inuaded the plentifull and abundant soyle of the *Carpetanes*, whyche he spoyled without feare, tyll *Caius Plautius* came with tenne thousande fotemen, and thrée hundred horsemen. When *Viriatus* pretended to flée. *Plautius* sent foure thousand to follow him, vpon whome *Viriatus* turned, and killed all saue a fewe. Then he passed the flood *Tagus*, and camped in an hill full of Olyues, yet called by the name of *Venus*. *Plautius* finding him heere, and desirous to heale his former wounde, gaue him battell, wherein he was ouercome with great losse of men, and fledde with shame, and kepte in strong Cities, and as men be wont, in winter, he durst neuer come forthe all that Sommer. *Viriatus* raunged the Countrey, and toke money of the owners for to saue their harueste, whyche if they denyed hym, he wasted all. At *Rome*, when

C Plautius.

The *Romanes* killed.

Plautius is ouercome.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

this was knowen, they sente *Q. Fabius Maximus*, that was *Paulus Aemilius* sonne, that ouercame *Perseus* kyng of *Macedonia*, and gaue hym authoritie to gather men hymselfe. He, because of late they hadde gotte *Grecia*, and *Carthage*, and made a prosperous ende of the thirde warre of *Macedonia*, to gyue some respect to the olde Souldioures that were come from thence, hée toke vp two legions of yong men vnexpert in warre, and sente for ayde of hys friendes, and came to *Orsona*, a Citie in *Spayne*. The contente of hys armye, was fifténe thousande fotemen, and two thousande Horsemen, in the whyche place, not myndyng to beginne the warre, tyll he hadde trayned hys Souldioures, he wente to *Gades*, to sacrifice to *Hercules*. *Viriatus*, méeting with some of them that were gone a forraging, kylled the moste parte of them, and putte the reste in feare, who being called agayne to theyr Ensigne of theyr Captayne, he ouercame them, and spoyled them of a greate prey. When *Maximus* was come, he was ofte in the fielde, and prouoked hym to fyghte. *Maximus* thoughte it not good to auenture the whole fyght, but continued in exercising hys Souldioures, and suffered hys souldioures to skirmishe, that by that meane, he myghte trie the heartes, both of hys owne, and of hys enimies. When they shoulde goe for victuall, hée garded them wyth many shotte and Horsemen, he riding to them, as he had séene his father *Paulus* doe in *Macedonia*.

Orsona.

Viriatus spoyleth the *Romanes*.

Maximus refuseth fight till he had trayned his men.

When Winter was past, and he hadde sufficiently exercised hys Souldioures, he was the seconde, of whome *Viriatus* was ouerthrowen and putte to flighte, doyng all the partes that belongeth to a Generall. And so, of two Cities which he held, he toke one, and burned another. And when he had driuen him to a strong place, whiche was called *Vecor*, he killed many, and in winter, he wente to lye at *Corduba*.

Wherefore *Viriatus*, not illuding hys enimie now as he was wont, he induced the *Aruacceans*, the *Titthians*, and *Bellans*, warlike people, whiche were at a warre of themselues, to reuolte: And so of them, hee made the warre with the *Numantines*, whiche was long, paynefull, and daungerous to the *Romanes*, the

the which (when I haue done with *Viriatus*) I wil shewe briefly.

This *Viriatus* fought in an other part of *Spaine*, with another Capitaine of the *Romanes*, *Q. Pompeius*. And being ouercome, hée fled to *Venus* hills. From the which comming again vpon the enimy, he killed many of *Quintus* mẽ, toke diuers ensigns, & droue the rest to their campe, and caste out the garrison at *Vtica*, & wasted the lande of the *Basitanes*. For *Quintus* did not helpe them for cowardlinesse and vnskilfulnesse, but rested at *Corduba*, in the middest of Autumne, although *Martius* didde moue hym to it, sending a *Spaniarde* vnto him from an *Italian* Citie. The nert yeare *Fabius Maximus*, brother of *Aemilianus*, came successor to *Quintus*, with two other *Romane* legiõs, and some friends So he had in all eightéene. M. footmen, & a thousand fiue hundred horsemen. He wrote to *Micipse*, king of *Numidia*, so some as the time would serue to send him Elephants: & he with part of his armie wente to *Vtica*: whome *Viriatus* encountring by the way with six thousand, with great escries and alarms, after their Barbarian manner, with long and vgly heare *Maximus* withstode him, and without his losse repulsed him. And when the other army was come, and out of *Affrica*, ten Elephants, and thrée hundred horses, he toke a large place to encampe, and fortified it. He bégame firste to tame *Viriatus*, and to put him to flight, and chase him. But when the *Romanes* followed hym once oute of order, he perceyuing it, turned vpon them, and killed thrée thousande of them, and chased the reste to their campe, the whiche, hée assaulted, and founde fewe at the gates to resiste hym, for they were fledde into their Tentes for feare, from whence the Generall and Captaines, could hardly remoue them. In that fight, *Fannius*, the sonne in lawe of *Lelius*, behaued hymselfe valiauntlye, and saued the *Romanes* by his comming. *Viriatus* running by the darkenesse of the night, and heate of the daye, suffered no moment of time to passe, in the which he did not molest the enimye with his shotte and light horsemen, till *Aemilianus* encamped towarde *Vtica*.

Viriatus killeth Romaines.
Vtica.
Basitanes.
Corduba.
Cordona.
F.M.
Aemilianus.
Micipse.
Romanes killed
Fannius.

Then *Viriatus* victuall fayling, and with a small armye burning al his tents, he wẽt into *Lusitania*, whom when *Aemilianus*

coulde not finde, he spoyled fyue Townes that holpe *Viriatus*.

Then he led his armye into the bordures of the *Cuneans*, and from thence, into *Lusitania* against *Viriatus*: and as he went, two Captaines of theeues, *Curius* and *Apuleius*, troubled hym and made spoile. But *Curio* being killed in the fight, *Aemilianus* recouered the pray shortly after, and toke the Cities *Iscadia*, and *Semella*, and *Oballa*; in the whiche the garrisons of *Viriatus* were. Some of these he spoiled, some he pardoned, and of ten thousand captiues, he headed fiue hundred, and the other he bade to be killed confusedly: which being done, he went to winter the seconde yere of his prouince and this warre. These things being done, he went to *Rome*, leauing *Q. Pompeius* his successor. &c.

Curius and *Apuleius* captaines of theeues.

Iscadia.
Semella.
Oballa.

Great murder by execution.

¶ His brother *Maximus Aemilianus*, hauing taken a Capitaine of theeues, called *Conoba*, who yelded vnto him, he pardoned only him, and the handes of the reste he cut off. After following *Viriatus*, he entrenched his citie *Erisana*, into the whiche, *Viriatus* entring by night, he set vppon the Pioners and workemen, till they left the armye and their toles, and fled. And he droue other to the hills and hard places, from the whiche it was impossible for them to come. But *Viriatus* that was neuer insolent by hys good fortune, thinking he had nowe gotten a goodly occasion to make an end of the warre, by shewing such a benefite to the *Romanes*, made peace and league with them, whiche was approued of the people, that is to say:

Here lackyth. *Conoba.*

Hands cut of. *Erisana.*

Viriatus content to make peace, vvhen he had vauntage.

That *Viriatus* shoulde be a frend of the *Romanes*.

That al ẏ wer with him, shold be Lords of the land that they possessed.

So *Viriatus* thoughte he hadde made an ende of a great warre with the *Romanes*, & was quiet, but the peace continued not long. For *Caepio* the brother of *Aemilianus* did not allow those conditions ẏ he had made, & wrote to *Rome*, that it was dishonorable. The Senate at the beginning priuily agreed to him, thinking for the comm̃ wealth, to professe enmitie against *Viriatus*. And when he had wrote many letters therof, & urged the matter, they decreed that he should breake the league with *Viriatus*, & renue ẏ war. Then *Caepio* trusting vpon thys decree, made open war vpõ

The peace not allovved.

Caepio.

Viriatus

Viriatus, & toke Arsa a citie that he had left into his power. And folowing Viriatus that went aboute wasting the Countryes, hee ouertoke him at the country of the Carpetanes, far exceeding him in number. Wherefore Viriatus not minding to fight for his smal number, sent away the great part of his armie by a certaine bypathe, and placed the rest on an hill, as thoughe he would fighte. Arsa.

And when he thoughte they were come to the sure places, hee toke his horse with the spurres, and with the reste of hys companye, with great scorne of the enimie: he went forth so spedily, that they that folowed him could not tell which way he became. Then Capio wasted the Countrys of the Vettones and Gallecians, many followed Viriatus, and spoyled Portugall. Against them, Sextus Iunius Brutus was sent, who being wearye of the long waye, whiche Tagus, Lethe, Darius, and Betis, nauigeable floudes, conteyne, staide from following him. For they lyke theeues, conueyed themselues out of sight in a moment. Wherefore Brutus thought it a great labour to ouertake them, and not to doe it, a greate dishonor: and supposing finall glorie to be in ouerthrowing them, he went to spoile their campes, both bycause he thought he might so chastice them, and also get a great bootie for his souldiors, and furder that that bande of robbers woulde scatter when they shoulde thinke of the daunger of theyr seueral countreis. Viriatus saueth his men again by policie. Inn. Brutus. Rodes of Spaine

Wyth this entent and purpose he spoiled whatsoeuer was in his way. The women that came into the warre with their husbandes, and were killed with them, and shewed suche constantie, that they woulde not speake a worde, when they were slaine. Many went to the Mountayns wyth as much as they coulde carrye, to whome desiring peace, hee gaue it, and diuided their land. Valiant vvomē.

When he passed the floude Orius, he wasted a greate region, and required hostages of them that yelded, and so came to the floude Lethe, and he was the first Roman that thought of the passage of it. Which when he was past, and gone forth, he came to the riuer Nibene, and lodge by a camp against the Bastarnes, bycause they intercepted his victualls. Orius. Nibene. Bastarnes.

These

These bee people that goe also with their women armed to the warre, which with good courage, abide death boldly, not sparing themselues, neyther fleeing from the fight, nor lamenting when they dye. Some women that were taken, would kil themselues, and some their children also, rather than they shoulde bee slaues.

Many cities that then helde with *Brutus*, rebelled shortely after, and were subdued of hym againe. And for these causes when he came to *Labrica*, that had ofte made peace with him, & then were disobedient, they desired pardon, and woulde doe all things at his commaundement. He required hostages, the Romaine runneawaies, and all their armour, and lastly that they should leaue their Cittie. Al the whiche, when they hadde done, he called them quietly to an assembly, and when he had compassed them with his army, he put them in remembraunce, how oft they had reuolted, and made warre, and made them so afraide, as they might feare a worse punishement. In the ende being satisfied with that rebuke, he refrayned from furder paine. But he toke from them horse, corne, and common money, and all other publike preparation, and beside all their hope, suffered them to lyue in their country. Which things, when he had thus done, he returned to *Rome*. I haue declared al this in the historie of *Viriatus*.

Labrica.

Capio vseth mercie.

In this time, other folowing his example, exercised robberies; and *Viriatus*, that he might come to some end, sente *Ditalcone* and *Minuro* to *Capio*, the whiche being corrupted by many promises, undertoke to kill *Viriatus*. The matter was thus handled.

Practise to kil *Viriatus*,

Viriatus vsed little sleepe after moste greate labours, and for the moste parte, slepte armed, that he might be readye at all sodayne chaunces. For this cause it was lawfull for hys friends to come to hym by night. Whiche manner, the conspiratoures knowing, and marking the firste houre of hys sleepe, entred hys house armed, as for some greate matter, and cut hys throate: for in any other parte they could not hurte him. And when no man hearde the noise of the deede, for the facilitie of the cutte, they escaped to *Capio*, and required their rewarde: To whome he forthwith

The manner of killing *Viriatus*.

forthwith gaue al they did possesse, and whatsoeuer was in their power: but as touching their rewarde, hee sente them to *Rome*. *Viriatus* friends, and the whole army, when it was daye, tarried for him, and thinking he had rested, maruelled at that alteration, and so went in and found him dead in his armour: wherfore great sorrowe was made in al the Campe, euerye man lamenting his harde happe, thinking on the danger they were in, and the Captaine they had losse: and it moste grieued them, that they coulde not fynd the killers. Therefore they burned his body with muche honoure, vppon a great starke, killing many sacrifices in his reuerence, and as well the footemen as the horsmen, after the Barbarian manner, wente aboute the fyre, and extolled him to heauen with their praise. At laste when the fire was out, and the funerals finished, they made many turneymēts hand to hand at his sepulchre, so great loue and desire did *Viriatus* leaue to his men, who, thoughe he were a *Barbarian*, yet he was moste skilfull in gouernement, most warie in perils, and aboue all other, bolde in despisyng them, and moste iuste in diuiding his pray. For he could neuer be brought to take any whitte more, than the reste, althoughe hee were desired, and that hee toke, he gaue to the valiant sort: Wherby it came to passe, (that is moste harde, and to this daye hath not happened to any Captaine) that hys armye gathered of all kinde of nations, eighte yeares togither, whiche the warre continued, was euer most obedient to him without mutinie, and endured to the vttermost moste ready to abide all daunger.

Honor done to *Viriatus* at his buriall.

The prayse of *Viriatus*.

And when they had created *Tantalus* for their Captaine, they went towarde *Sagunt*, which Cittie, when *Annibal* had destroyed and restored, he called it *Carthage*, of the name of his country. And being driuen from thēce by *Capa*, that was alwaies at their backes, when he had passed the floude *Betis*, beeing wearye, he yelded himselfe and his army to *Capa*. He toke al hys armor, and appoynted them a good land to lyue in, that they shoulde no more be driuen to robbe.

Tantalus.

Nowe oure history shall retourne to the warres of the *Vacceans*, and the *Numantines*, whom *Viriatus* caused to reuolt.

Cæcilius Metellus, sent from *Rome* with moze men, shortely ouercame the *Vacceans*, whereby the reste were discomfited & put in feare. &c.

Here vvanteth. *Termantia. Numantia.*

¶ There remayned yet *Termantia*, and *Numantia*, in an hylly place, diuided with two floudes, and compassed with hylles and thicke woddes, bending into the playne onely one waye, at the which part, it was fortified with many ditches, and pillours ouerthwart. The *Numantines* were good eight thousand mẽ, bothe on horse and foote, and with so small a number, (suche was their manlinesse) they put the *Romanes* to muche paine.

Metellus at the ende of winter, deliuered his army to *Q. Metellus Aulus* his successor, in the which was thirtie thousãd foteHere vvanteth men, and two thousand horsmen wel armed and practised. &c.

¶ And when *Pompeius* had his campe at *Numantia*, & from thence went into a certaine place, the *Numantines*, descending from an hil, destroyed his horsemen that ranne to him. Who, when hée was retourned, brought forthe his bataple to fyghte in the playne.

The enimies comming down, gaue a charge vpon hym, and by & by, as though they had bin afraide, retired vnto the hil, till they had brought thẽ to the places where the ditches and ouerthwart beames were layde, so as *Pompey* perceyuing he was in *Pompey* looseth. these skirmishes quermatched of them that were inferioure to hym, he tourned hys armie towarde *Termantia*, thinking to doe better there, where they fought with him to his losse of seauen hundred. Beside that, the *Termantines* put a Tribune to flight, that was comming with victuals, and in one day giuyng thrée onsets on the *Romaynes*, they droue them thrice into sharpe and rocky places, and threwe many of their fotemen and horsemen (togither with their horses) from the hylles and rockes, so as the reste being afraide, remayned al night in armor, and when it was day, comming forth in order of battaile, they fought doubtfullye, till night ended the fight. *Pompey* in the night made hast to *Malia* wyth his horsemen, whiche place the *Numantines* helde with a garrison. But the *Malians* killing the garrison by treaMalia nove Malgrado, is deliuered to Põpey. son, deliuered the Citie to *Pompey*, who, receyuing armoure

and

and pledges of them, went to *Sueditania*, which a certayne Capitaine, named *Tanginus*, did spoyle wyth his armie. *Pompey* fought with him, and ouerthrewe him, and toke manye of hys souldyoures. *Sueditania. Tanginus.*

But suche manhode was in these theeues, as none of them woulde lyue Captiue, but some killed themselues, some theyr Maisters, & some made holes in the shyp that caried thē, to sincke it. Manhode of theeues.

Pompey beyng returned to *Numantia*, went about to turne the floude that was in the playne, an other waye, that he mighte presse the Citie with famine.

The Townsemen droue the labourers from their worke, and comming by bandes, without trumpet, they threwe darts and arrowes vpon them, that they should not tourne the floude, and fought at hande with them that came to aide the Pioners, and droue them to their Campe. and encountring them that wente for forage, killed manye of them, and the Tribune that was their leader, and giuing a charge on an other side on the *Romanes* that made a ditche, they killed one thousand four hundred with their Capitaine. By the whiche discommodities, certaine men of the Senate came to *Pompey*, to helpe hym with theyr counsel: also young souldioures, not yet exercised, were gathered for the old, that had bin nowe sixe yeares abroade. Wyth the whyche olde souldioures, *Pompey* hauing receyued so manye displeasures, remayned the winter in campe, to recouer his estimation. Where they were cursedly vexed with colde, warding and watching. And then the nature of that countrey beganne to bee perceyued, for they were taken wyth the flyxe, and manye dyed. The Romaines killed. Counsellours sent to *Pompey*. Flixe among the Romane souldioures.

When anye of the souldiours shoulde goe oute of the campe for victuall, the *Numantines* lying in awayte, woulde not cease to hurte the *Romanes* with their shot and darts. Which when they coulde not abide, they waulde nedes go against them: then they come from their traines, and do them muche harme: And once againe the *Numidians* meeting wyth them that brought victuall, destroyed many of them, aswell noble men as other. *Numantine* hurte the Romanes.

Pompey therfore being vexed with so many euils, by the counsaile of the Senatours, remoued, that he shoulde lye the reste of the Wynter in sure places, and the Spring, in Cities. And because a Successoure was to come to him, and he afraid to be accused, he begamne to practise secreatly with the *Numantines*, the which also for the losse of many their chiefe citizens, and for that they coulde not tyll their ground, and for want of victuall, and for ỹ continuance of war, which was longer than they thought, they sent Ambassadors to *Pompey*, to whom openlye he spake, ỹ they should yeld themselues. For he said, that he knew none other way but that, howe to agree with them, for the dignitie of the Romaynes. But priuily he tolde them, with what conditions he woulde vse them.

Pompey practiseth peace with the *Numantines*.

And so when the thing was agreed, they yelded to hym.

Pompey required pledges and fugitiues, whiche he receiued. He required also thirtie talentes of siluer, of the which the *Numantines* paide fiftene presently. *Pompey* loked for the reste.

Popilius.

When his successour *M. Popilius Lena* was come, the *Numantines* paide it.

Pompey being deliuered of the feare of warre, knowing the composition that he had made was vnlawfull, being done without the *Romanes* consent, when his successor was come, he denyed he had made any agreement with the *Numantines*. They proued it by witnesse present, of men of degree, of Senatours and Tribunes, and also of the Capitaines of hys horsemen. Therefore *Popilius* sent bothe partes to *Rome*, to pleade the matter before the Senate. The Senate thought beste to holde war still with the *Numantines*.

Pompey goeth frō his peace.

In the meane season, *Popilius* entred the lande of the *Lusones*, which were neighbours to the *Numantines*, and returned doyng nothing. And *C. Hostilius Mancinus* succeeded him, and he went to *Rome*. When *Mancinus* came to fight, he was oft ouercome, & at length when he had lost many, he kepte within his camp. There was a rumor that the *Cantabrans* and *Vacceanes*, would come help the enimie, wherefore in the night, without lighte, he fled to the abandoned Campe of *Nobilior*, where beyng shutte, neyther

Lusones.

Cantabri.

Vacceani.

Briscage.

hauing

hauing fortifyed the place, nor otherwise able to defend, the *Numantines*, beseging him and all his armye in hard state, least hee should make a dishonorable peace with them, he made a league and amitie betweene the *Romanes*, and with the *Numantines*, with equall conditions, to the which, he bound himselfe: whyche thing, when it was knowen at *Rome*, they were all very sory, bycause the league was shamefull. Therefore *Aemilius Lepidus* another Consull was sente into *Spayne*. *Mancinus* was called to iudgemente, whome the Embassadors of the *Numantines* followed, *Aemilius* loking for aunswere from *Rome*, being weerie of rest, for now such Generalles driuen by desire of false glorie, or profite, or triumph, went to their prouinces, not for their coũtreys profite, pretẽding a false crime against the *Vacceans*, accusing them, that they had holpen the *Numantines* with victuals, and inuaded their land, and beseged their chiefe Citie *Pallantia*, whiche had not offended against the league. And when he had sent *Brutus* his sonne in law into other partes of *Spayne*, to make him partaker of the warre, *Cinus* and *Cæcilius* came Embassadors from *Rome* to them, shewing the Senate did dote, that after so many losses receyued in *Spayne*, *Aemilius* would sowe new warres, and declared the decree of the Senate, that he shoulde not make warre vpon the *Vacceans*. But he hauing begunne the warre, and sent *Brutus* abroade, bycause he thought the Senate did not knowe that the *Vacceans* did helpe the *Numantines* with victuall, money, and souldyoures, fearing also, if he lefte warre, all *Spayne* would reuolt, as done for feare, he sent the Embassadoures without delay, and so wrote to the Senate. He fortifyed a certaine Castell, and bestowed the time in gathering of men and victuall. *Flaccus* being sent a forraging, and falling into traynes which came vpon him, a word was craftily cast forthe, that *Aemilianus* had wonne *Pallantia*, at the whiche, when the Souldioures made a crie, as the manner is in victorie, the *Barbarians* hearing it, and beleeuing it to be true, were afrayde, and departed. And by this meane, *Flaccus* deliuered his men from perill, and his forage from spoyle.

Mancinus maketh peace dishonourably.

Aemilius.

Generalles of prouinces for profite.

The army saued by a vvorde.

The seege continuing long at *Pallantia*, the *Romanes* wanted victuall,

Pallantia.

victuall, and hauing consumed all their Cattell, they waxed so weake, that some dyed for hunger. The Captaynes *Aemilianus* and *Brutus*, suffered the want as long as they could, but at lēgth being ouercome with the mischiefe, *Aemilius* commaunded to breake vp, therefore the Tribunes and *Centurians* went aboute the Campe, and commanded the souldioures to departe before day, so they forsoke all, euen the sicke and woūded souldyoures, who embraced them, and recommended themselues vnto them. They departing confusedly, and without order, as men that flée, the *Pallantines* ranne vpō them euery where, and much troubled them, following them from morning till night. When it was darke, the *Romanes* being scattered, wente into diuers places as lucke serued them. The *Pallantines* lefte chasing of them, as bēing called frō their purpose by the power of God. These things chanced to *Aemilius Lepidus*, whiche, when the *Romanes* vnderstoode, they put *Aemilius* from his prouince and Consulshippe, and so hée returned a priuate man to *Rome*, and was punished. The *Numantines* and *Mancinus* were heard in the Senate. They broughte forth the capitulations of the league. He layde all the blame vpon *Pompey*, that was ruler of the prouince before hym, of whome he receyued a rude and cowardly army, by ỹ whiche, being oft euill handled and ouercome, he made peace wyth the *Numantines*, being thereto compelled, as *Pompey* hadde done, by whose league, he affirmed this warre to be vnlucky to the *Romanes*. The *Romanes* were angrie with both, yet *Pompey* was acquit, being accused of the same afore. The Senate decrēd, that *Mancinus*, who had made so dishonorable a league, without consent of the Senate, should be giuē to the *Numantines* after the olde example, which gaue the Captayne to the *Samnites*, bycause he agrēd to so shameful a peace. So they cōmanded *Furius* to leade *Mancinus* into *Spayne*, depriued of al things and naked, who was not receiued of the *Numantines*, against whome *Calphurnius Piso* was made Generall. He entred the land of the *Numantines*, and then wasted part of the *Pallantines*, and spent the rest of his time in harborough in *Carpentania*. The people of *Rome* being wery of this long and tedious warre with the *Numantines*, that it might

Cowardly departure of the *Romanes*.

Aemilius put frō his office.

Sp. Posthumius Consul, was deliuered to the *Samnites*.

Mancinus is deliuered to the *Numantines*. *Calphurnius*.

Carpentania.

might once be ended, chose *Cornelius Scipio* Cõsull againe, ẏ wõne *Carthage*, as one ẏ only could ouercome ẏ *Numãtines*. And where he could not be Consul for his age (for he was but yong) a decrée of ẏ Senate was made, that the Tribunes should dispense with the law for that yeare, and restore it ẏ yeare following. Therefore *Scipio* being made Consull, made spéede to goe against ẏ *Numantines*. He ledde none with him of the souldioures by choyce, both bycause they wer troubled with war, and also bycause many of them were in *Spaine*. He had some voluntary, which were sent of kings & cities, by the consent of the Senate. He led many seruants with him frõ *Rome*, and made one band of fiue C. companies and frieds, which he called *Philonida*, that is, the band of frieds or felows. And whẽ he had appointed four M. of his souldiours to his cousin *Butco*, he wẽt afore with great spéede to the army, which he vnderstood was corrupted with ydlenesse, riote, & sedition, knowing he could not ouercome his enimies, except he restreined & kept his souldiours in awe, with ẏ temperance & integritie of his gouernemẽt. So sone as he was come, he put out all merchants, harlots, & southsayers, whome the souldioures in their feare, would aske many questions: and forbad any thing to be brought to the Camp that was not necessary. And he forbad the sacrifices, by the bowels whereof, things to come were enquired. And he would suffer but few slaues and drudges, and cõmanded to sell all the beasts of burthen, except a fewe néedefull. He would haue the souldioures haue no cokes. He forbad any other instruments, or vessells of kitchen to be carried, but a spit, a panne, and a vessell for drinke. He would haue thẽ eate no flesh otherwise dressed, but sodde or rost. So he appointed measure to their diet. He forbad thẽ featherbeds, and he was the first ẏ lay vpõ a bed of hay. He forbad his souldiours in their tourneys, to ride on Asses or Mules, for he saide, there was little good to be hoped of that man in warre, that could not go afote. Likewise, he reproued them ẏ vsed ministers in hote houses, and called thẽ Mules, which for ẏ they wãted hãds, had néed of other to rub thẽ. And thus he made his souldiours obediẽt & temperate, & by litle & little, acquainted thẽ with reuerẽce & feare, being hard to heare their quarels, or grãting any thing ẏ was not iust. He had oft ẏ sentence

A disputation to make *Scipio* Consull.

Philonis a band of friends.

Butco.

Scipio reformed his Camp.

Cokes, souldioures in the Camp.

Fauourable Captaynes.

sentence in his mouth, that easie, fauourable, and affable Captaynes, were profitable to the enimie, which though they were beloued of their souldyoures, they set little by them. They that be hard and seuere, haue their souldyoures ready and obediente at all assayes: the whiche though he had thus instructed, yet he durst not bring them into the fielde, till he had exercised them with much labour. Therefore going dayly by one field or another, he made diuers Campes, one after another, whiche being defaced, he called the Souldyoures to worke agayne, to digge the ditches higher, and to fill them againe, to make high walles, and to pull them downe againe, and he stode from morning till night to ouersee the pioners. When he made any iourney, he went with a square battell, that it shoulde not be scattered by any suddaine attempte, as had happened to other. He rode about the army, and sometime to the hindermost, and bad the sicke should be borne on the horsemens horses. He toke the burdens from the Mules that were too much laden, and diuided it to be borne of the footemen. When he kepte himselfe in the house in sommer, the troupes of horsemen that he sent to espye, he commaunded at their returne to stand without at the trēch, till another bande of horsemen had viewed all: and all the labour and worke was diuided among the pioners, that is, some to make trenches, some ditches, and some walles, and some to pitch tentes, and to euery of them a certayne time was appointed to doe it. When he perceyued his armye to be made fierce, obediente, and paynefull in sommer, he encamped nygh *Numantia*, yet did he not chose places very strong for his Camp as other were wont, nor diuided his men, least if anye losse should happe at the first, he shoulde be contemned of his neyghboures, whiche were wont to laugh at him. Neither did he encounter with the enimie, waying the nature and end of warre, and the strength of the *Numantines*, least they would come vpon him with all their force. Therfore he commaunded to wast all things the corne to be cutte whilest it was greene, which being wasted, he must nedes goe further. The way that went to *Numantia*, by the playne, was shorter, and many persuaded him to goe

Numantia nowe of some is called *Cæsar Augusta*, of some *Saua*.

go that way, to whome *Scipio* sayd, he considered the way to re- Hard way sure.
turne, for the enimie was full of shotte, to come out to the fight, and had the Citie at their backe, to returne safely againe. But we (said he) being laden with victual and weary, should be farre too weake for them. Beside that, we haue beastes of burdens, and cartes and carriage, so the fighte shoulde be hard, and very vnequall, for we being ouercome, should be in great perill, and if we did ouercome, we should haue no great gayne, and it were a folly, to put hymselfe to perill for a small matter, and he is an euill Captayne that fighteth without profite, and he is valiante and wise that entreth the danger of fight, when he is constreined by necessitie. He brought an example of Phisitians, which come not to cut and burne, till they haue tryed the sicke place wyth medicines, which when he had said, he cõmanded the Captaines to leade ẏ further way. Then he cõmanded to goe further to the lande of the *Vacceans*, where the *Numantines* had their victuall. Their fieldes being wasted also, and the corne gathered for the vse of the souldioures, he burned the rest. The *Pallantines* had laide many in awayte vnder certaine hilles, adioyning to that playne, called *Coplanium*, and then openly molested thẽ that were at harueste. Therefore *Scipio* sente *Rutilius Ruffus* that was hys Tribune (who after committed this warre to wrighting) wyth four bands of horse to stop their rangings. Therefore *Ruffus* be- *Rutilius Ruffus* in danger.
gan to follow them boldly, and to chace them to the toppe of the hilles where the ambush was, whiche discouering themselues, *Ruffus* commanded his mẽ, neyther to followe, nor to encounter the enimie, but holde them at the speares poynte. *Scipio* seeyng *Ruffus* going further to the hilles than was appointed him, began to follow him with his army, fearing the worst, and when he was come to the place of the traynes, he diuided his horsemẽ, and commanded to giue onset vpon the enimie both wayes, and when they had cast their dartes, to returne, not right on, but a soft pace, that they that were behinde, might ioyne with them: and by this meane he brought his horse safe into the playne. After this, when *Scipio* would remoue, there was a water hard to be passed, and myre, at the which, the enimie lay hidden, which

when it was knowen, he lefte that way, and ledde hys army by another longer way, but sure from decepts, and went by night, and commanded many welles to be made for thirst, in the most part of ẏ which, salt water was found. Neuertheleſſe the army wẽt on ſafe, though with great payne, but ſome horſes & Mules were killed for drought. Then he entred the lands of the *Cauteans*, whome *Lucullus* had inuaded, contrary to the league, all the which, he cõmanded by his crier, to goe quietly euery one to hys owne. From thence, he wente to the *Numantines* grounde to winter, where he remained, till *Iugurtha*, the nephewe of *Maſſiniſſa*, came to him with .xij. Elephants, and archers and ſlingers well armed. And being occupyed in waſting and ſpoyling the countreys that were nigh, he was almoſt entrapped at a Village, the which was enuironed with a great fenne of one ſide, & of ẏ other with an hilly place, in ẏ which ẏ traynes were layde. And where *Scipios* hoſt was diuided into two partes, entring the towne, and leauing their enſignes without, they went to ſpoyle. Other a fewe horſemẽ rode about the towne, who were beſet of the ambuſh, & defended thẽſelues. *Scipio* being about ẏ enſignes, called ẏ ſouldiours out by trumpet, before ẏ which could come, he with a M. horſemen, ranne to help thẽ that were in diſtreſſe. And when the moſt part of the ſouldiours were come out of the towne, he made the enimie to flée, yet did he not follow thẽ, but a fewe being killed of both ſides, retired to his camp. Then laying two Camps before *Numãtia*, he made his brother *Maximus* ruler of the one, and the other he gouerned himſelfe. Whiles he was in this ſort, the *Numantines* came forth, and offered to fight, but *Scipio* contemned them, thinking not better to fight with thẽ that were in deſperation, than to tame them by famine, and driue them to yéelde. And when he had made ſeauen trenches about the Citie to preſſe them the rather, he ſente letters to the confederates, in the whiche it was conteyned, what and howe many ſouldioures they ſhoulde ſende, whyche when they were come, he diuided them into many partes, as he did his owne, and commaunded their Captaynes and leaders, to make ditches and enclo ſures about the Citie. The compaſſe of *Numantia* was

Salt vvater.

Iugurth.

Scipio like to be entrapped.

Two Campes before *Numantia*.

four

four and twenty furlongs. The enclosure was as muche, or more, and all that was distributed to the Tribunes, whiche, if they were let of the enimie, they should signifie it by day, with a redde cloth vpon a speare, and in the night, by a fire, that he and his brother might aide thē that were circumuented, whiche beeing done, and they that were set for gard, were sufficient to resist the enimie. He commaunded another beside that to be made, and to plant stakes about it, or next them, to build a newe wall, the breadth of the which was fiue foote, and the height, tenne, beside the pinnacles and towers distant by equall space. The fenne that was nexte the wall, bycause he coulde not compasse it with a wall, he made a trench as high as a wall, and that might serue for a wall about it. And this *Scipio* was ẏ first as I thinke, that compassed a Citie beseeged with a wall, the whiche did not refuse to fight. The floud *Dunas* that ranne by the Campe, was very commodious to the *Numantines*, to bring in victuall, and to receiue men out and in, or to swimme vnder water, or to send boates out full sayle, when the winde was bigge, or to rowe, when the time serued. And bycause a bridge coulde not be made vpon it for the breadth and vehemence, *Scipio* caused two Castels to be made on either side the banke, and betweene both, he hāged certaine long beames with ropes, and let them goe into ẏ water. In the beames were laide plates of swords on euery side, and other weapons pricking, whiche with the continuall course of the water being turned, did not suffer the enimies Shippes, nor swimmers to passe. This was the thing that *Scipio* most desired, that none should go to the beseeged, to tell what was done abroade, whereby they shoulde be destitute both of councell and comfort. These being thus disposed, engines were placed in the towers, and instruments ẏ cast arrowes & dartes, & stones. The walles were ful of stones & shot. The Castels were kept of shooters and slingers. He placed also many men in the trenches, that shuld both day & night signifie what new thing happned, in rākes, one frō another, holding vp an enligne at ẏ tower ẏ was in need, and that the other towers should do the like, whē the token was sēn that ẏ first made. This was done, that in a momēt of time

Three myles.

A vvall about a Camp.

Dunas.

Policie of *Scipio.*

he might know what happened, and for those things that must be declared in deede, he would haue brought to him by certayne messengers. He deuided his army, which, with the confederates was .lx.M. into two partes, of the which, he set one to garde the sea, and vsed the other to goe for things requisite, as occasiõ required. Twenty thousand were appointed to fight when neede was, to the ayde of the which, other xx.M. of confederates were assigned. Euery mã had his place, from the whiche, he might not go without leaue. So euery mã repaired to his place, and to the token that was made, when the enimie made any thing adoe: so orderly & wisely had *Scipio* considered euery thing. The *Numantines* made many salies vpon the ordinary wardes, nowe heere, now there, but they were sone made afraid of the dreadful sight of them that came so sone to helpe, and also with the ensignes that were set vpõ the wall to shew ẏ matter, and with ẏ keepers of the towers & trenchies, and with the sound of the trumpets, in so much, as all the cõpasse of ẏ trẽches, which was 50. furlongs, was in a moment a terror to them all. This place *Scipio* rode about euery day to see it, and by that meane hauing shut in his enimies, he thought they could not lõg continue, seing they could be holpen by no man, neither of victuall, mẽ nor armour. *Ritogenes* a *Numãtine*, & chiefe of thẽ, with v. fellowes, persuaded by him, & so many seruants & horses, in the darke night, passing that space that was betweene the towne & the Camp, and comming ouer ẏ trenches, with a ladder made to scale, gate vp, and killed the watch, and sending their seruãts back into the citie, they got away, & went to the *Aruacceãs*, holding vp their hãds, & praying thẽ to help ẏ *Numantines* their kinsfolke. The *Aruacceãs* would not receyue thẽ, but bad thẽ goe their way. There was a Citie of power xxx. furlongs from *Numantia*, called *Lucia*. The youth of this Citie much fauoured the *Numantines*, and moued their Citie to help the *Numantines*, of the which the auntientes certified *Scipio*. Therefore *Scipio* at the eyght houre of the night, toke his iourney, and by day was at *Lucia*, and beseeged the Citie, and required the heads of the youth to be giuen him. The townesmen answering, that they were fled, he threatned spoyle

Ritogenes auenture th for his countrey.

Aruacceans.

Lucia.

of

of the Cittie, vnleſſe they obeyed. Whiche the Citizens fearing, brought forth foure hundred young men, whoſe handes he cutte off, and went away with great ſpæde, and the nert day betimes, was at his campe.

Foure hundred yong mens hãds cut of.

The *Numantines*, now oppreſſed with famine, ſent fyue men to *Scipio*, with commiſſion to know, that if they woulde yælde to him, if he would vſe them mercifully, and be content with a moderate fine. But *Auarus* the chiefe of them, a man of an highe courage, did muche ſet out the valiantnes and entente of the *Numantines*, affirming they did not offende, then being in ſo greate daunger, fyghting for their wines, children, and libertie of theyr Countrey. Wherefore *Scipio* (ſaide hée) it ſhal be almoſt rightful thing, if thou being a noble man of ſo great vertue, wilt pardon ſo noble a people, and appoint vs that paine, that we ſhal be able to beare. We knowe the mutation of fortune, and that the ſafetie of oure Country, was not in vs, but in thée. Then take our Cittie being content with moderate puniſhement, or if thou haſte vs in contempt, thou maiſte hope to ſée it periſh and be ouerthrowne, by defending it ſelfe.

Numantines ſue for peace.

Boſting out of time.

When *Auarus* hadde ſaide thus, *Scipio* knowing by the Captiues what was done in the Cittie, ſaide, he woulde haue them frely yælde themſelues, and their Cittie, with their armoure: Whiche when it was tolde the *Numantines*, and thoughte ſo before, inflamed with anger, for the greate deſire of libertie, bycauſe they had neuer bin acquainted to obey, and being more taken with rage and furie, they killed *Auarus* and his companye, as bringers of euill newes, and conſpiring with *Scipio* to ſaue themſelues.

The *Numantines* kill them that yvent for peace

Not long after, all victualls faylyng them, hauing neyther fruite, nor cattell, nor hearbes, firſte they eat leather mollified in water, as other in neceſſitie haue done. When leather failed them, they eate deade mens fleſhe ſodden and roſte. Then hauing no reſpecte to the ſicke, the ſtronger forced the weaker, thinking nowe none acte cruell or violent, their mindes being turned into wilde creatures, and their bodies into beaſtes for the meate they did eate. Therfore being killed with hunger, and

The neceſſitie of the *Numantines*.

consumed with pestilence, with hear and beardes horrible, they at length yeelded to *Scipio*, whiche commaunded them the same daye to bring their armour into a place appointed, and the next day, to come themselues into another place assigned. But they deferred a daye, confessing there were yet many in the city, that for the loue of libertie, would end their liues with sword and famine, and desired a time to kill themselues: so greate loue of libertie, so gret vertue was there in a barbarous & litle citie, whiche when they flourished in peace, wer eight thousand good men, the whiche, what thinges they had done againste the Romanes it is euident, and how many leagues they made with them with lyke and equall condition, which coulde neuer be brought to doe it with any other nation. Who their Captaine or Generall was, I nede not to rehearse: yet *Scipio* he being in the fielde with .lx.M. men, was many times prouoked of the *Numantines*, to fight. But *Scipio* was better and wyser than other generals, for he thoughte not good to deale with those wylde men, by the force of armes, but to conquere them by famine, whiche is a thing inuitable, by the whiche euill, the *Numantines* coulde bee only taken, as they were. These things I had to say, of the *Numantines*, when I consider their small number, their sufferaunce of labour, and noble actes, and how long they were inuincible. Therefore of the *Numantines* they that so determined, dyuerslye killed themselues. The reste the thirde daye came to the place appointed, al vgly, filthie, and horrible to beholde, which had bodies foule and full of heare, wyth long nayles, full of filth and stincke, worne garments of euill sauoures, by whiche thinges they were miserable to their ennimies, and yet feareful to loke vpon: therefore they were beholden of the Romaines wyth admiration, considering in them, the straunge affection of their bodies that was felt in the ayre, of the dolour and labour whiche they had suffred, and also of their conscience, that one had eaten anothers flesh. *Scipio* chosing oute some of them for the pompe of hys tryumphe, commaunded the other to be solde, and their Cittie vtterly to be destroyed. This Generall of the *Romanes*, these two Cities being taken, harde to be wonne, *Carthage* for the

Numantines kil themselues.

A pitiful yelding of the *Numantines*

the greatnesse of the Cittie and the power thereof, by the decrée of the Romaines he preserued, for the commodity of the lande & sea. *Numantia* hée raised, a little Citie that helde but a fewe, of the whiche the Romanes had not determined, eyther bycause he was irefull and harde of nature againste them that he toke by violence, or bicause (as some say) he thought his glorie to be the greater, by the greatest calamities of other. Therefore to this day he is called *Affricane* and *Numantine*, of the destruction he gaue to those Citties. Then the places nighe *Numantia* being assigned and setled, and if any were suspected, put in seare by payment of money, he returned to *Rome*.

The *Romanes* as the maner was, sent tenne men of the Senatoures into the places of *Spaine*, that were of their gouernment, that those that *Scipio*, or *Brutus* had taken, might be brought into the forme of a prouince. After a certain space, when newe stirre was made in *Spaine*, *Calph. Piso* was sét thyther with authoritie, to whom *Ser. Galba* succéded. But a multitude of *Cimbrians* comming into *Italy*, & *Sicilie*, afflicted with ỹ second seruile war, they sent no army into *Spaine*, bicause of these wars, but would haue lieutenãts go to pacifie al as wel as they could. When the *Cimbrians* wer repulsed, *Tit. Didius* wẽt thither & killed twenty thousand *Arvacceans*, and brought *Termentum* a great Cittie, which scarcely would euer obey the *Romanes*, the strong place in which it was scituated, into the plaine, willing them to dwel in houses dispersed wythout wals. And when he had besieged a city called *Colenda*, he toke it the ninth moneth of the siege. *Diãus* solde all the *Colendans* with women & children. The *Celtiberians* inhabited an other Cittie next to *Colenda*, with other mixed, to whom, *M. Marius*, bicause they serued him againste the *Portugalls*, he gaue those places to kyll by decrée of the Senate. But they compelled for néede, exercised robberies. Therefore *Didius* minding to kyll them by consent of the r. men that were with hym, told their Captains, ỹ he would ioyne to them the lands of the countrymen, bicause they were in néed. Which offer whẽ he perceyued they accepted, he bad them tel ỹ people ỹ they might come with their wiues and children to diuide the lands. Who when they came, he willed the souldiours to go oute of the campe, and

Calphurnius Piso.
Ser. Galba.
Termentum.
Colenda.

that

that they should enter, as though the number of the men and women should be tolde, and so be appointed to the lands, and when they were entred within the trenches, they were al killed of the souldioures by his commaundement, for the whiche acte he triumphed. And when the *Celtiberians* reuolted againe, *Flaccus* beeing sent to that prouince, killed .rr.M. in the Cittie of *Belgeda* when the people was turned to rebel.&c. ¶ with whom was authorite to assemble the Senate, when he was doubtful what to determine, he burned the whole Senate. *Flaccus* when he came, punished al the Authoures of that wickednesse.

Celtiberians killed by craft.
Flaccus.
Belgeda.
Here vvmeth

I haue founde these thinges of the *Romanes* agaynste the *Spaniardes* worthy of writing. After a while, when the ciuill warre was hotte betweene *Cinna* and *Sylla*, the country being diuided in that sedition, *Q. Sertorius* of the faction of *Cinna*, being created a Generall in *Spayne*, allured the *Spaniardes* to rebell against the *Romanes*. Then getting a gret army, and a number of his friends, chosen after the forme of the Romayne Senate, hee determined to come towarde *Rome*. *Sertorius* was a bolde man, and of a noble harte and knowen vertue and strength, insomuch as the Senate being afraid of him, created many worthy Captains, *Cæcilius Metellus* first with a great army, that any way he coulde, he should kéepe war from *Italy*, which was vexed with great dissentions. A certayne man called *Perpenna*, of *Sertorius* faction, killed him and made hymselfe Generall, and *Pompey* killed him in battell. And so had that warre an ende, the which put the *Romanes* in a great fear. But these things be shewed more plainly in the booke of *Syllas* ciuill wars. After the death of *Sylla*, when *C. Cæsar* was chosen Generall to make warre againste all men, he appeased all the tumultes in *Spaine*, and any other nation that molested the *Romanes*, and compelled all to obey the people of *Rome*. Also *Octauius Cæsar Augustus*, sonne to *C. Cæsar*, made some warre with them that practised rebellion. From that tyme the *Romanes* diuided *Iberia*, whiche is nowe *Spaine*, into three parts, into two of the which, the Senate sent yearely officers, and the Emperor sent a president into the thirde, the time of whose prouince, dependeth of the pleasure of the Emperour.

Cæcilius Metellus
Perpenna.
Sylla.
Cæsar.
Cæsar Augustus.

The ende of the *Romanes* vvarres vvith the *Spaniardes*.

¶ The Romane warres with Antiochus the Great, King of Syria: by Appian of Alexandria.

ANtiochus descended of *Seleuchus* and *Antiochus*, kyng of *Syria*, *Babylonia*, and other nations, the sixte from that *Seleuchus* who reigned in *Asia* to the floude *Euphrates* after *Alexander*, inuading *Media* and *Parthia*, and other regions ỹ had reuolted, being a prince of greate courage, and named *Antiochus* the Greate, aduauncing himselfe by his actes and this name, did violently take from *Ptolomeus Philopator* kyng of *Aegipt*, and yet a child, *Cœlesyria* and *Cilicia*, and nowe conceyuing no small matters, inuaded them of *Hellespont*, the *Aeoleans* and *Ionians*, as subiect to the ruler of *Asia*, bicause they of olde time, did obey the kings of *Asia*. Then he sailed into *Europa*, and subdued *Thracia*, and al that would not yéeld, he compelled. He fortified *Cherronesus*, and builded *Lysimachia*, which *Lysimachus* king of *Thracia* after *Alexander*, erected, to be a bridle to the *Thracians*, and they after his death pulled it down, and this *Antiochus* sette it vp againe to be inhabited, and called home the banished men of the Cittie, and redéeming anye that were in thraldome, to whome he ioyned others, and gaue them oxen, and shéepe, and yron for their tillage, leauyng nothing that might helpe to the spéedy renuyng of it. For he thoughte it a very fytte place for to deale with all *Thracia*, and a store-house moste commodious for all the reste that hée entended to do.

Manye obeyed him and receyued his garrisons for feare of his power.

This part of *Syria* is called in Greeke συρίαι πολη. that is *Syria* the nolovv, bicause it lieth betvven the flouds *Euphrates* and *Tigris* and is named *Mesopotamia*. *Cherronesus* is a place compassed vvith vvater, saiuing none parte. *Lysimachus* is restored by *Antiochus*.

But the *Smyrneanes* and *Lampsaceans*, and some others, refusing so to do, sent to *Flaminius* the Romane Generall, who lately had ouerthrowne *Philippe* of *Macedonie*, in a great battell in

Philippe the Son of *Demetrius*.

This is left out in the Italian.

Thessalia. For the time was, that the matters of *Macedonie* and *Grecia*, haue bene intermedled, as the state and time serued, as we haue shewed in the historie of *Grecia*. Betweene *Antiochus* and *Flaminius*, were diuerse Ambassages, and practises in vaine. And the *Romanes* & *Antiochus*, ẏ one had ẏ other in great suspition: They, because they thought *Antiochus* woulde not be quiet, being proude of his great kingdome, and happy successe. Hee, bycause the *Romanes* only, might be moste greate impediment to his encrease, and resist his passage into *Europe*. But no euident cause of enmitie being giuen by him, there came Ambassadours to *Rome* from *Ptolomeus Philopator*, praying he might be restored into *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, which *Antiochus* had taken from hym.

Ambassadours from *Ptolomie* of *Egipt*.

The *Romanes* gladly toke this pretence comming in good season, & sente Ambassadoures to *Antiochus*, in shewe, to reconcile *Ptolomeus* and *Antiochus*, but indeed, to espy the meaning of *Antiochus*, and to hinder it as muche as might be. *Cneus* the Ambassadour, required of *Antiochus*, that *Ptolomeus* a friend to the *Romanes*, might enioy the kingdome that his father lefte him, and that the Cities of *Asia*, which *Philip* of *Macedonie* hadde taken, might be free: For it was not iuste that *Antiochus* would enioy, ẏ places that the *Romanes* had take from *Philip*. Finally, he said it was to bee doubted, why *Antiochus* should bring such a nauye and an armye from *Media* out of *Asia* into the sea, & inuade *Europe*, builde Cities in it, and subdue *Thracia*, but for to lay a plat to another warre.

The *Romanes* sed ambassadors to *Antiochus*.

The answere of *Antiochus*.

He answered, that *Thracia*, belonged to his ancestors, and was for lacke of quietnesse reuolted, and nowe he hauing leysure, recouered it again, & he restored *Lysimachia* to be a dwelling for his son *Seleuchus*. That he would leaue the cities of *Asia* free, if they would thanke him, & not ẏ *Romanes*. As for *Ptolomie* (quoth he) I am his kinsman, and shortly I shal be his father in law, & I wil cause him to giue you thankes. But I doe doubt also, by what right the *Romanes* can meddle with *Asia*, since I doe not deale with *Italy*.

A report of death of *Ptolomie*.

Thus breaking vppe without anye conclusion, they vttered manifest threatnings, one againste another. It was reported & thought

thought that *Ptolomeus* was dead, wherfore *Antiochus* went with spéd toward *Egipt* to get the kingdom voide of a prince. And being at *Ephesus*, *Annibal* of *Carthage* came to him, fléeing his country for the hate of his enimies, accusing him to the *Romanes*, as contentious and seeking warre, and coulde not liue in rest. For then the *Carthaginenses* did agrée with the *Romaynes* as confederates. *Antiochus* receyued *Annibal* gloriously for the fame of his valiantnesse, and hadde him aboute him, and vnderstanding at *Lycia* that *Ptolomie* was aliue, he refrayned from *Egipt*, and thought to take *Cyprus* in steade of it, & sayled thither with great spéde. But being Winter, at the floude *Sarus*, he had a wrecke, and losse many shippes with diuerse of his men and friends, and sayled to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and there repaired his shaken nauie, & made a mariage of his children *Antiochus* and *Laodice*, ioyning them in matrimonye.

Antiochus hath a shipwracke at *Sarus*.

And nowe bycause he knewe that euident warre woulde folowe betwéene the *Romanes* and him, he allied himselfe wyth the kyngs his neighboures, and sent *Cleopatra* called *Syra* to *Ptolomei* giuyng him *Cœlosyria* for hir dowry, whiche hée had taken from hym, so to please the young man, that hée might be quiete in the warre with the *Romanes*. *Antiochida* hée sent to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and an other that was lefte, to *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamo*, but he perceyuing he meante to make warre vpon the *Romanes*, and for that purpose, would make affinitie with him, did refuse him. And when his brethren *Attalus* and *Philetayrus*, dyd maruel at him, that he reiected the alliaunce of so greate a king hys neyghbour, and seeking it, he answered, that it was lyke that warre would be, which in the beginning woulde be equall on both sides, but in time the *Romanes* woulde ouercome for their good conditions & taking of paines. Then (quoth he) the *Romanes* being Conquerors, I shal hold my kingdom surely. But if *Antiochus* ouercommeth, I feare al wil be taken away of my neighboure, and I feare if I haue my kyngdome, I muste be a kyng vnder him. For these considerations did he refuse this mariage.

Antiochus hath allyance with his neyghbours.

Enimies refuse his alliaunce.

Antiochus straight went from thence, to *Hellespont*, & sayled to *Cherronesus*, where he subdued and ouerthrewe manye places of *Thracia*, he made free the *Grecians* & inhabite *Thracia*, and granted

Hellespont is the streight of *Galipoli*.

Bizance nowe Constantinople. These be called the French Greekes.

many things to the *Byzantines*, hauing a Cittie verye commodious at the mouth of that sea. The *Galathians* he pleased with gifts, and drew by feare also, to the societie of his determination, thinking them good confederates for the bignesse of their bodies.

Antiochus sendeth ambassage to the Romanes

Then he wente to *Ephesus*, and sent Ambassadoures to *Rome*, *Lysias*, *Egesianactes*, and *Menippus*, in deede to feele the minds of the Senate, but in worde, *Menippus* saide, the King was desirous of the *Romanes* amitie, and that he woulde be their confederate, if they woulde accept him. Yet he did maruell that they would require him to leaue Cities in *Ionia*, and lose his tributes, and not to deale with certain of *Asia*, and to forgo *Thracia*, that had euer bin hys progenitors, whiche were things, not for friendes, but for conquerours to commaunde to the conquered. The Senate perceyuing their comming to be but an espiall, shortelye answered: If *Antiochus* do suffer the Greeke Cities in *Asia* to be free, and refraine from *Europe*, he shall be a friende to the *Romanes* if he will. Thus the *Romanes* answered, and made none other shewe of cause.

The answere of the Romanes

The opinion of *Annibal* touching the warre.

Antiochus minding firste to inuade *Grecia*, and there to begin the warre againste the *Romanes*, asked *Annibals* opinion in the matter. He saide, that *Grecia* was easy to be ouercome, bycause of their long affliction. The warre that is made at home, is moste grieuous for dearth that followeth of it, but abroade it is more tollerable: neither should he ouercome the *Romanes* in *Grecia*, seeing they myght haue sufficient prouision and helpe from home. Therefore his opinion was, he should inuade the *Romanes* in *Italy*, whether, if he went, he shoulde fynd the *Romanes* weaker, both at home and abroade. I haue, saide he, experience of *Italy*, and with .x. M. men I can take fitte places of it, and I will write to my friends at *Carthage*, to stir the people to reuolte, being sory for me, & angry with the *Romanes*, & being full of hope, & hart, wyll thinke I will once againe get *Italy*.

The king hearing this aduice very well, and thinking the accesse of *Carthage* to make muche for the furtheraunce of hys warre, badde hym sende letters to hys friendes, oute of hande, but hee sente not, for he thoughte it not sure, the *Romaynes* lying

in

in wayte euery where, and the war not being yet proclaymed, and many being in discord at *Carthage*, and the common wealth hauing no firmenesse nor certentie, which shortly after was the destruction of *Carthage*. Yet he sent *Ariston* a merchant of *Tyrus*, vnder pretence of marchandise, to his frendes, exhorting them, that when they vnderstode that he inuaded *Italy*, they should stirre the people of *Carthage* to be reuenged. *Ariston* did so, but when *Annibals* enimies perceyued *Aristons* purpose, they made much adoe, that any innouation shoulde followe, and diligently sought for *Ariston*. Ye, that the frendes of *Annibal* should not beare all the blame, secretely in the night, sette vp a writing at the common house, in the whiche *Annibal* exhorted all the Senate to reuenge their Countrey vnder *Antiochus*, and when he had so done, he sayled away. When daye was come, all the suspition was taken from *Annibals* frends, bycause the matter belonged to all the state. The people was ful of yre, angry with the *Romanes*, but not able to hurte them. And thus went the matters at *Carthage*.

Annibal sendeth *Ariston* to practice at *Carthage*.

The deuice of *Ariston* to saue *Annibals* frends.

The *Romanes* sente other Embassadors, and with them *Scipio* that ouercame the *Carthagies*, to proue the kings minde, and to espie his preparation. And when they founde the king to be gone to *Pisidia*, they tarried his returne at *Ephesus*, and in the meane time, had many times talke with *Annibal*, that seeing *Carthage* was in league, and *Antiochus* not yet a manifest enimie, they blamed him that he would flee from his countrey, seing the *Romanes* had not offended against him, nor any other of the *Carthagies* since the league was made. This they did, to make *Annibal* suspected to the king as they did in deede, by their ofte resorting and talking with him. And though *Annibal* were a very circumspect man, yet he did not foresee this. For when the king heard of it, he suspected *Annibal*, and was not so ready to trust him. Beside, an enuie and hatred grewe againste him, least he should haue the prayse of the things that were done. Among other talkes, they say, there was one betweene *Scipio* and *Annibal*, in a Scholehouse, where many were to learne, and presente to heare, touching the excellencie of a Captayne: And whereas

Scipio goeth Embassadour to *Antiochus*.

Pisidia, a countrey in *Asia*, nigh to *Lycaonia* and *Pamphilia*.

Annibal is brought into suspition with *Antiochus*.

Enuie.

The talke of *Annibal* and *Scipio* touching the best Captayne.

Scipio asked him, whome he thoughte to be the best Captayne, he answered, *Alexander* of *Macedonia*. *Scipio* stayed at that, and gaue place to *Alexander*. Then he asked him, whome hée thought the second next *Alexander*, he sayde *Pirrhus* of *Epirota*, putting the vertue of a Captayne in boldenesse, for there can not be found a more couragious Kyng, than hée. *Scipio* now was grééued, and againe asked him whome he thoughte to bée the thirde, thinking verily he woulde haue named him: he answered my selfe, for béeing a yong man, I subdued *Spayne*, and with mine armie passed the Alpes into *Italy*, the firste after *Hercules* that so haue done. I inuaded it, when none of you durst doe any thyng. I ouerthrewe foure hundred Townes, and broughte youre Citie many times into daunger, hauing neyther money nor men sent me out of *Carthage*. When *Scipio* perceyued he dyd so of purpose aduance himselfe, he smyled and sayde, in what place wouldest thou haue put thy selfe (O *Anniball*) if thou hadst not bin ouercome of me. He perceyuing this emulation, sayde, I woulde haue set my selfe before *Alexander*. So dyd *Anniball* continue in his lofty talke, and yet secretely please *Scipio*, as making hym better than *Alexander*.

Thys talke being ended, *Anniball* desired *Scipio* to hys lodging, *Scipio* sayde he woulde come very gladly, but that it should cause suspition betwéene *Antiochus* and the *Romanes*. Thus these noble Captaynes ended theyr malice, when the warre was ended, but so dyd not *Flaminius*. For when *Antiochus* was ouercome, and *Anniball* fledde, and sauing himselfe in *Bithinia*, he being sente Embassadour for other purpose to *Prusia*, not being iniured by *Anniball*, nor commaunded of the *Romanes*, nor to be feared, bycause the power of *Carthage* was abated, kylled him with poyson by *Prusias* consente, of the whyche it is sayde, hée was warned before by an Oracle after thys sort.

Malice endeth in fome, vvhen matter ceasseth.

Oracle of *Anniballs* death.

The lande of *Libyssa* shall couer *Annibals* body.

Libissus.

He thoughte he shoulde haue dyed in *Libya*, but *Libyssus* is a flood in *Bithinia*, and the Countrey is called *Libyssa* of the flood.

This

This remembrance haue I made of the noble myndes of *Annibal* and *Scipio*, and of the cowardly heart of *Flaminius*. Noble minds.

Antiochus comming from *Pisidia* towarde *Ephesus*, gaue audience to the Embassadoures of the *Rhodians*, and promised that the *Rhodians*, the *Byzantines*, and *Cyzicenans*, and other Græke Cities in *Asia*, shoulde be frée, if he entred league with the *Romanes*, the *Aetoleans*, and the *Ionians*, he would not grant so to be, bycause for the most part, they had bin vsed to obey the barbarous kings of *Asia*.

The *Romane* Embassadoures bringing nothing to passe, for they came not to doe any thyng in déede, but to espie, they returned to *Rome*.

The Embassadors of the *Aetolians* came to *Antiochus*, of the whiche, *Thoas* was chiefe, offering him the leading of their armie, and wishing he woulde sayle into *Grecia* as to a sure thing, not tarrying for hys armie to come out of high *Asia*, but setting for the their owne strength, promised him the ayde of the *Lacedemonians*, and of *Philip* kyng of *Macedonie*, (angry at the *Romanes*,) so hée woulde make hys voyage wyth spéede. *Antiochus* is perswaded by the *Aetolians*.

Hée was moued very lightely, and woulde not stay his hast, although he hearde out of *Asia* that hys sonne was dead, and with tenne thousande only, sayled into *Euboia*, all the whyche he gotte, they yéelding for feare. *Micithion* his Captayne setting vpon the *Romanes* at *Delos*, whyche is an holy place of *Apollo*, kylled part of them, and part toke alyue. *Micithio* killeth the *Romanes*. The *Romanes* be killed at *Delos*.

Aminander kyng ofthe *Athamanes* came into league with *Antiochus* by this occasion. *Aminander* king of *Athamanes* people of *Aetolia*.

One *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, béeing brought vp in *Megalopoli*, and made frée of that common wealth, fayned himselfe to come of *Alexander*, sonne to *Philip*: and to gyue credite to hys deuice, he named hys children *Philip* and *Alexander*, and *Apamea*, whome he married to *Amynander*. *Philip* hir brother going with hir to the marriage, and perceyuing that *Amynander* was a weake man, and of little experience, remayned wyth hys brother in lawe to gouerne the Kyngdome. *Megalopolis*, one in *Arcadia*, another in *Asia*. Counterfet *Philip*.

This

This *Philip Antiochus* promised to restore the kingdome of *Macedony* as his owne, and by this meane, had the *Athamaneans* his confederates. He had also the *Thebanes*, and wente to *Thebes* to speake to the people. Thus he very rashly, in so great a war, put his trust in the *Aetolians*, *Thebanes*, and *Amynãder*. Then he consulted, whether it were better to inuade *Thessaly* out of hand, or to tarrie till Winter were past.

Annibal being at this consultation, and saying nothing, the king cõmaunded him to say his opinion first, and thus he spake.

Annibal sheweth his opinion touching the warre.

Thou mayest easilie ouercome the *Thessalians*, eyther now, or after winter, for the people, hauing bin much vexed, do turne to thee now, and so will doe to the *Romanes* if any innouation cometh. We be come with our owne power, giuing credite to the *Aetolians* persuasion, that the *Lacedemonians* and *Philip* will take our part, of the which, the *Lacedemonians* be our Enimies, as I heare, and so be the *Acheans*. As for *Philip*, I can not see, that he can be any great ayde vnto thee in this warre, being on thy side, nor make any great power whatsoeuer part he taketh: but this is mine aduise, that thou sendest for thine army with all speede into *Asia*, and not put thy trust in *Amynãder*, or the *Aetolians*: when the army is come, to send it into *Italy*, that being occupyed with troubles at home, they may leaue them vntoucheo, and being afraide of themselues, may not vexe other men. And now, that manner is not to be held of vs, that I spake of afore, for we must vse the one halfe of oure naule, to wast the coast of *Italy*, the other halfe we must haue a flote, to vse as occasion shall require, and thy selfe, with all thy footemen, must remaine in that part of *Grecia* that is next *Italy*, making a shewe of inuasion, and if nede be, to inuade indeede, and to induce *Philip* by all meanes possible, to agree with thee: for it shall much auaple, which part he taketh in this warre. If he will not be broughte in, thou shalt sende thy sonne *Seleucus* into *Thracia*, and molest him with euils at home, that he be not profitable to thine enimies abroade.

Thus *Annibal* said, and it was the best of all, but for enuie of his fame and wisedome, as well other, as the king himselfe, that

that *Anniball* shoulde not seeme to passe them all in the arte of warre, nor he haue the prayse of that shoulde be done. All hys counsell was reiected, sauing that *Polyxenides* was sent into *Asia* for the army. *Polyxenides.*

When the *Romanes* hearde of the entring of *Antiochus* into *Grecia*, and of the killing and taking of the *Romanes* at *Delus*, they determined warre. Thus *Antiochus* and the *Romanes* warre growing long before of suspition one of another, did now firste breake out in deede. And bycause *Antiochus* had the rule of many nations in high *Asia*, and of all that inhabite the sea coast, sauing a fewe, and for that he was entred *Europa*, and hadde a dreadfull name, and a greate preparation, and otherwise hadde done many notable things, by the which he had gotten y name of Greate, the *Romanes* thoughte this warre would be daungerous, and of long continuance. They had *Philip* of *Macedonie* in suspition, being ouercome of them not long before. And in the league with the *Cartheginians*, they had no great trust, *Anniball* being with *Antiochus*. And of their other subiects, they had some doubt, least the glory of *Antiochus* should make them seeke new attemptes. Therefore they sente garrisons to euery one, to gouerne them in peaceable manner, and sente Captaynes to the armyes, whome they call of fiue aries, bycause the Consuls hadde twelue, and twelue roddes, as the olde Kyngs vsed: and bycause these officers had halfe authoritie, they hadde halfe the shewe. And as in a greate feare, carefull for *Italy*, least some disturbance mighte happen to them, eyther by the violence, or fauour of *Antiochus*, they sente a greate bande of Gentlemen to *Tarento*, there to bee ready at all assayes, and a Nauie sayled ouer all the coast. So great a feare of *Antiochus* was at the first. The vvarre beginneth. Consuls. Proconsuls. Officers of fiue axes. Foresight of the *Rhodians*.

When they hadde thus at home giuen order in all things at the beginning, they gathered theyr army against *Antiochus*. Of themselues, they hadde twenty thousand, of theyr confederates twice so many, with the whyche, they woulde passe into *Ionia*. And in thys preparation they spente the whole Winter.

Antiochus wente into *Thessalia*, and being come vnto *Cyno-*

Cynochephalia is a place or people like a dogges head, *Antiochus* buyeth the dead.

chephalia, where the *Macedonians* hadde a greate ouerthrowe of the *Romanes*, he honorably buryed those that laye vnburyed, thynkyng thereby to winne the *Macedonians* to hym, and withdrawe them from *Philip* that hadde lefte hys Souldyoures vnburyed, that serued vnder hys Standerd.

Bebius.

Philip hearyng thys, was in a greate perplexitie wyth hymselfe whyche parte he shoulde take, but yet dyd cleaue to the *Romanes*, and streyghte sente to *Bebius*, a Captayne of the *Romanes*, lying not farre off, to come to hym to a certayne place, assuring hym, that hee woulde take the *Romanes* parte against the Kyng. For the whyche, *Bebius* thanking hym, was the more bolde to sende *Appius Claudius* out of *Macedonie* into *Thessaly* wyth two thousande fotemen. And when *Appius* was at *Tempe*, and perceyued where *Antiochus* lay wyth his army, he made many fyres to couer the fewnesse of hys armye. But *Antiochus* thynkyng, that *Bebius* and *Philip* hadde bene come togyther, was afrayde, and brake vp hys Campe, making Winter the pretence, and wente to *Calcida*. There hee was caughte wyth the loue of a mayde, beeyng aboue fiftye yeares of age, and hauyng so greate a warre in hande, hee woulde neoes marry hyr, and make pastymes, whereby hee broughte hys armye to greate idleneſſe and change that Winter.

Appius.

Tempe, is the pleasant place that is so muche prayſed of Poets.

Antiochus remoueth, and is caught in loue vvhen he vvas aboue fiftie yeares of age at *Calcide* novv *Negroponte.*

When the Spring was come, hée wente to *Acarnania*, where he perceyued that hys armye was vtterly vnprofitable through idleneſſe, and then repented hym of hys marriage and feastings: and when hee hadde gotten some of the Countrey to hys obedience, and subdued the reſt, hearing that the *Romanes* were passed into *Iouia*, hee returned to *Chalcide.*

Acarnania parte of *Epirus*, bringing foorth very good horses.

The *Romanes* wyth diligence, and two thousande good Horsemen, and thirtie thousande fotemen, and some Elephantes, *Acinius Manius Glabrio* beeyng Generall, from *Brunduſe* arriuing at *Appolonia*, wente to *Thessalie*, and delyuered the Cities of theyr enimies. And where they founde any garrisons of the *Macedonians*, they put them out, and *Philippus* of *Magalopolis* was taken prisoner, hopyng yet for the kingdome of

Acinius. Manius. Glabrio.

Appolonia novv *Vallona.*

Macedo-

Macedonia, and they toke three thousande of *Antiochus* men.

And whyles *Manius* did this, *Philip* inuaded *Athamania*, and made it all subiect, *Amynander* fleeing into *Ambracia*. Whyche when *Antiochus* hearde, and the speedy doyng of the thynges, hee was in feare, bycause of the suddayne change and alteration, and then vnderstoode that *Annibal* gaue hym good counsell. Therefore hee sente one after another to *Polyxenida* to stirre with all spéede, and hee gathered as many as hee coulde in all places, and thys done, hee hadde of his owne footemen tenne thousande, and fyue hundred horse, wyth the whyche, and some confederates, he toke *Thermopyle*, that hys enimies might haue the harder passage, and hee tarrie for hys armye out of *Asia*.

Thermopyle is a streighte, and a long passage, the whyche a rough Sea withoute portes, dothe partly compasse, and a fenne déepe and without way. *Thermopyle* is the long hill of *Grecia*, vvhere the streight passage is, and the hote vvaters, *Tichiunta*. *Callidromus*.

Two toppes it hathe in the rockes of the hylles, the one is called *Tichiunta*, and the other *Callidromus*.

The place hathe welles of hote water, and thereof is called *Thermopyle*.

Antiochus made a wall double at it, and placed engines at the wall, and sente the *Aetolians* to the toppes of the Mountaynes, that no man shoulde passe by that that was called *Atropos*, where *Xerxes* came agaynste *Leonida* the Captayne of the *Lacedemonians*, when no man kepte the hylles. *Xerxes*. *Leonida*.

The *Aetolians* placed one thousande in eyther toppe, and wyth the rest, beseeged the Citie *Heraclea*. *Heraclea*, many Cities of that name.

When *Manius* perceyued thys preparation of the enimies, hee gaue order to fyghte the nexte morning, and commaunded two of hys Tribunes, that is, *Marcus Cato*, and *Lucius Valerius*, that they shoulde assayle in the nyghte whyche of the hylles they woulde, and if they coulde, dryue the *Aetolians* from the toppes. *Lucius* was repulsed from *Tichiunta*, the *Aetolians* there béeyng too good for hym. *Marcus Cato* wente The order of the *Romanes*. *Cato* doth a great feate.

againſte *Callidramus*, and paſſed the enimies being aſléepe, to the laſt watche, and then hadde a greate conflict, ſtriuing to gette the high and rocky places, and the enimies to kéepe hym backe.

Manius ledde hys armye on the face of *Antiochus*, diuided into ſmall bandes, for ſo coulde he only doe in the ſtreightes.

The order of the Kings battell.

The Kyng commaunded the lighte harneſſed, and target men, to fyghte before the mayne battell, the whyche hée placed before the Camp.

On the righte ſide, he ſette the ſlingers and archers in the hygh places, and the Elephantes on the lefte ſyde, and the bande that was euer about hym, he wylled to ſtande at the Sea ſide.

Heere the Italian nuſſeth, and ſo doth the Latine.

The fyghte being begunne, the ſhotte running hyther and thyther, dyd muche trouble *Manius*, but hée reſiſting manfully, and gyuing backe, and agayne commyng on, hée putte them to flighte. Then the battell of the *Macedonians* opening themſelues, receyued them, and cloſed agayne, and thruſt forthe theyr long pykes, thycke togyther in order. By thys manner, the *Lacedemonians* vnder *Alexander* and *Philip*, dyd trouble their enimies that durſt not approche to the pykes ſo long, and ſo many. Then of a ſuddayne was ſéene the fléeing and crying of the *Aetolians*, dryuen to *Antiochus* Campe, the whyche at the firſte, was not knowen what it was, whyche ignorance cauſed trouble and doubte, till *Cato* appeared, followyng them wyth a greate ſhoute, and béeyng come to the Kyngs Campe, *Antiochus* menne that hadde hearde muche of the *Romanes* valiantneſſe, were afrayde, and acknowledged theyr owne ydleneſſe and delicateneſſe the Wynter paſſed, to be the cauſe why they thys time were the worſe to doe theyr office, and not ſéeyng perfitlye what number *Cato* hadde, and for feare thinking he had more than he had, and beyng afrayde of the Campe, they fledde to it out of order, to kéepe away the enimie. The *Romanes* comming vppon them, entred the Campe wyth them. Then was there another foule fléeyng of *Antiochus* menne. *Manius* followed them

This vvas called the Phalanx of the *Macedonians* as the legion among the *Romanes*.

The fight that vvas firſt made betvveene the *Romanes* and *Antiochus*.

to

to *Scarpheia*, killing and taking some: then comming from *Scarpheia*, he spoyled the kyngs campe, and he droue the *Aetolians* from the Romanes campe, which they had taken in his absence presently. In this fighte was slaine of the Romanes twoo hundred, with them that folowed the chase. *Antiochus* lost tenne thousand with them that were taken. The king himselfe at the first change ranne with fiue hundred horse to *Velatia* neuer staying, and from *Velatia* to *Calcida*, and to *Ephesus*, with *Eubia* his newe wyfe, for so was hir name: with his shippes he fledde, but not with all, for the admirall of the Romanes, had taken some that came to him laden with victuals.

Scarpheia an Ile. The kings campe spoyled.

The king flyeth

Velatia. *Eubia* the yong wyfe of olde *Antiochus.*

At *Rome*, when this victorie was heard, and seeming to be very happily and spedily obtained, they gaue thankes to God, all men beyng gladde that the firste triall had so good successe, in the warre that was so fearful to them for the fame of *Antiochus*. And to requite *Philip* for his true confederacte, they sent him his sonne *Demetrius*, that was pledge with them. *Marius* released the *Phoceans* and *Calcideans*, and other that followed *Antiochus*, of the feare they were in. But the *Aetolians*, togither with *Phillip*, he inuaded and ouerthrewe their Citties. He toke *Damocritus* their Generall that was hidden, and had threatned *Flaccus*, that he would encampe at *Tiber*.

The Romanes gratifye *Phillip.*

Damocritus.

Then he went to *Calipolis*, by the hyll called *Coraca*, the highest and hardest to be passed of al other, being verye rockye, with his army laden with spoile. Many fell from the harde way into the stony partes, and tumbled downe with their armor and burdens: And where the *Aetolians* might haue troubled them, they appeared not, but sent Ambassadours to *Rome* for peace.

Callipolis a cittie and an Ile also.

The Romanes passe the hilles laden to their losse.

Antiochus with greate diligence called hys armye from the land rulers, to the sea side, preparing his nauye, of the whyche, *Polixenides* an outlawe of the *Rhodes*, was Admiral, and sayled to *Cherronesus*, and fortified it again, and sent garrison to *Sestus* and *Abydus*, by the whiche, the *Romanes* muste passe into *Asia*. He made *Lysimachia* the store-house of the warre, bringing thither muche armoure and victualls, thinking the *Romanes* would some be there, with great power and nauy.

Polixanides admiral to their king

Lucius and *Publi. Scipio* be sent into *Asia*.

The *Romaynes* appoynted *Lucius Scipio*, brother to *Publius Scipio*, that ouercame *Carthage*, and was fyrste named *Affricanus*, successoure to *Manius* in thys warre, bæing then Consull: And bycause hæ was not practised nor experienced in the warre, they sente hys brother wyth hym as a Counselloure: and these brethren prepared themselues.

Liuius that hadde the charge of *Italy*, was sente successoure to *Atilio* in the nauye, and strayght wyth hys owne Shyppes, with the whiche hæ scowred the coaste of *Italie*, and with certaine that were lent of the *Carthagies*, and some other friendes, hæ sayled to *Pireo*. and receyuing the nauye of *Atilius* wyth fourescore and one armed Shyppes, *Eumenes* following hym wyth fyftye of hys owne, halfe of them bæyng armed, they arryued at *Phocida*, subiect to *Antiochus*, who for feare, receyued them, and the nexte daye, they weare forthe to the fight by sea.

Carthagies lende shippes to the Romanes. *Pireum*.

Polixenides the Admirall of *Antiochus* came forthe wyth two hundred Shyppes, lighter than the enimy, which was happy for them, the greate Shyppes of the Romaynes not bæyng yet practised.

The fight on the Sea.

Sæyng two of the *Carthagies* commyng before, hæ theim bothe wyth three of hys, but emptye, the *Lybians* bæing leapte into the Sea.

Liuius, with great vehemence gaue the fyrste charge vppon these three, wyth hys Admirall ship, goyng far afore the rest of the nauye. They not fearing thys one Shyppe, dyd caste theyr hookes of yron, & the Shyps bæing grapled togither, it seemed a fyght vpon the lande. The Romanes bæyng more valyant, they bourded and ouercame them, and wyth one ship, carryeng awaye two, they returned.

Thys was a skirmishe to the fyghte: For then the whole nauyes foughte togyther, the Romaynes bæyng the better in strength and courage. But bycause of the heauinesse of theyr vessells, they coulde not ouertake the other lyghte Shyppes, when they fledde, whyche they dydde wyth all spæde, to *Ephesus*.

The Romaines haue the victori by Sea.

phesus. And the Romanes went to Xio, whither seuen and twenty of the Rhodian Shippes, theyr friends, came to them.

When Antiochus heard of thys fyght by sea, hée sente Annibal into Syria, for other shyppes, from Phœnitia and Cilicia, and when he came, the Rhodians droue him into Pamphilia, taking parte of hys Shyppes, and lying in wayte for the other.

Annibal is sent for shippes, and loseth part of them.

Publius Scipio came into Aetolia with the Consull, and hauing the armye of Manius, hée disdayned to make siege to the Cities of Aetolia, as a small matter, and gaue them leaue to sende another Ambassage to Rome. Hée would trye it with Antiochus, before his brothers office shoulde ende. And so passed by Macedonia and Thracia, to Hellespont, whyche was a paynefull and harde waye vnto hym, notwithstanding that Phillippe of Macedonie did guide hym, making bryages, and preparing victuals for him. For the which, the two Scipions released hym of the reste of the money that he hadde to paye, for so they had order of the Senate, if they founde hym faithful.

Courage of Scipio.

Philip is released

Then they sente to Prusias kyng of Bythinia, declaryng howe manye kyngs the Romaynes hadde aduaunced, that were their confederates. And nowe to Philippe of Macedonie, whome they had ouercome of late, they graunted his kingdome, they restored his sonne that was pledge for him, and forgaue the mony he oughte them.

When Prusias hearde this, he ioyned with them against Antiochus.

Prusias ioyneth with the Romaines.

When Liuius the Admirall of the Romane naupe, heard that the Scipions were comming, he left Pausimachus the Rhodiane with the Rhodian ships in Aeolide, and parte of his owne nauy, & with al the rest, he sailed to Hellespont, to receiue the army. And Sestus, Rhetaion, the portes of the Acheans, yéelded to him. Abydon that disobeyed he besieged.

Sestus. Rhetaion.

When Liuius was gone, Pausimachus made manye diuises and inuentions, and sundry engines, and fastened vpon vessells carrying fyre, to long Shippe staues, to heaue vppe manye fyres in the Sea, and to caste it oute of hys

his owne shippes, when hée shoulde ioyne with his ennimyes.

A false countrey man.

Whiles he was thus deuising, *Polyxenides* the Admirall of *Antiochus*, a *Rodian* also, and banished from hys Countrey for certayne causes, went aboute to deceyue hym, promising to deliuer to hym *Antiochus* nauy, if he woulde helpe to restore hym to hys Countrey. He suspected this crafty subtil man, and toke good hæde of him. But when *Polyxenides* didde write a letter of hys owne hande of this treason, and departed from *Ephesus*, and sent the army a forragyng for a fashion, *Pausimachus*, séeyng hys departure from thence, and that not trusting any man with this treason, he woulde wryte it with hys owne hande, whych was not lyke to be done of a dissembler, he gaue credite to it, and kept lesse guarde, and sent his men to forrage abroade also.

When *Polyxenides* perceyued he had deceyued him, he gathered hys army, and sent *Nicander* a Pirate wyth a fewe to *Samos*, to come vpon *Pausimachus* on the backe by lande. At mydnyghte he set forwarde, and at the morryng watche, beyng asléepe, hée assayled hym. He being taken thus sodainelye and vnprepared, commaunded hys souldioures to leaue their shippes, and resiste the enimy by lande. But when *Nicander* came vpon him on the backe, thinkyng the land beset also, not onely of them whom hée sawe, but of many mo, beyng yet night, he returned agayne to hys shyppes wyth muche adoe, and was the firste that fought, and the firste that fell, vsing himselfe very valiauntlye. The other were eyther taken or suncke, sauing the seauen that carryed foye, wyth whome none durste meddle for the flame, which fredde. The rest *Polyxenides* ledde awaye as pryses to *Ephesus*.

The *Rodian* shippes are distroyed by falshode.

Cyme in *Aeolia*.

After thys victorye, *Phocea* once againe, *Samos* and *Cyme* reuolted to *Antiochus*.

Livius beyng nowe afraide of hys Shyppes that hée leste in *Aeolide*, sayled thither in haste, and *Eumenes* with hym.

The *Rodians* sent the *Romanes* twentye Shyppes more, making no delaye, all, wyth good courage, sayled to *Ephesus*, prepayring themselues to the fight.

But when none of the other came against them, they lefte the halfe of their shippes, a good time in the sea, and with the other

ther halfe, they spoyled the coaste of the enimie, tyl *Nicander* came vppon them from the lande, and taking their praye from them, droue them to their Shippes. They came again to *Samos*: and nowe was the time of *Liuius* office expired. The Romanes driuen to their Shippes.

At this tyme *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* his sonne, inuaded *Eumenes* lande, and besieged *Pergamo*, shutting the men within the Cittie. Wherefore *Eumenes* sayled wyth spéede to *Elæa*, whyche is the porte Towne of his Kyngdome, and *L. Aemilius Regulus* wyth him, that succéeded *Liuius* in the matters of the sea. There came to *Eumenes* from hys confederats, one thousand fotemen, and a hundred choise horsemen. Whose Generall *Diophanes*, when hée perceyued the Souldiours of *Seleucus* to play and drinke, he passed little of them, and required the *Pergameneans* to sally out with him vpon the enimy. *Eumenes* is besieged. *Diophanes*.

But when they durste not do it, he armed hys own thousand fotemen, and hundred horsemen, and leading them to the wall, stode there quietly, the enimies lokyng stil vpon them being so few, & yet durst not set vpon them. But when they were at dinner, he gaue ẏ onset vpõ ẏ warders, the other arming thẽselues, or taking their horses, or fléeing from them that followed, or béeing in confusion, durste not abide it. He hadde a noble victorie, the *Pergamenians* then crying oute of the wall, but yet durste not come forth. He, hauing slaine as manye as he coulde in that shorte onset, and carrying away some horses and men prisoners, he toke hys place, & the next day brought the *Acheans* to ẏ wal, when as the *Pergamenians* durste not yet come out. *Seleucus* with many horsemen drewe neare and prouoked hym, but hee stode stil at the wall, and kept his charge. The valiantnesse of the *Acheans*. The cowardise of the *Pergamians*

When *Seleucus* hadde tarryed tyll middaye, hée tourned and wente awaye. *Diophanes* set vppon the hindermost, and scattered and hurte many of them, whyche béeyng done, hée retired to the wall: And vsyng thys manner continuallye, and alwaies laying in wayte for them, when they went for forrage and wood, he so troubled them, as he made *Seleucus* to leaue *Pergamo*, and drone hym from the other place of *Eume-* *Seleucus* the kings sonne.

nes. Betwéene the Romanes and *Polyxenides*, not long after, was a fyght by sea, at *Myonesum*, in the whiche *Polixenides* hadde ten hundred armed shippes. *Lucius* the Romanes Admirall, haude .83. of the whiche fyue and twenty were of the *Rhodians*, whereof *Eudoxus* beyng capitaine, had the left wing.

Myonesus. is an Ile before *Ephesus.*

When he did sée the other of *Polixenides* to be much aboue the Romanes, he feared to bée incloſed, therefore he sayled aboute with his lighte shippes, and well practised in the Sea. And with his shippes that carryed fyre, he set vppon *Polixenides*, flaming on euery side with fire.

The fight by sea

They durste not deale wyth them, bicause of the fire, but in a circle sayled about them, and anoyding them, kéeping the sea, stroke the sides of them, till one *Rhodian* shippe fell vppon one of the *Sydonian* Shippes wyth suche a vehemence, as an anker fell from the *Sidonian* Shyppe in to the *Rhodian*, and helde them faste togither. So as there was a fight of shyppes not mouing, as it had bin vpon the lande. Then commyng of either side, very many to helpe their fellowe, there was a noble fyghte.

By this meane, themidde battell of the Shyppes of *Antiochus*, beyng lefte naked, the Romaynes sayled forwarde and encloſed theyr vnexperte enmimyes, whyche, when they perceyued, they turned and fledde, in the whyche, the King losse nine and twentye, whereof thyrtéene were taken, menne, and all.

The Romanes losse but two: *Polixenides* hauyng taken one *Rhodian*, went to *Ephesus*.

This was the fyghte by Sea, at *Myonesium*.

When *Antiochus* heard of this, he fortified *Cherroneſus* and *Lyſimachia* verye ſtronglye, thinking it a greate matter, as it was indéede, to kéepe the Romanes from passyng wyth theyr armye to the reste of *Thracia*, where they shoulde haue an harde and painefull way, except *Philip* did conuey them.

But *Antiochus* beyng alwaies lighte and sone chaunging, when he hearde of the losse at *Myonesus*, hée was vtterlye dys-

mayed,

mayed, and thoughte God was againste hym. For where the Romanes hadde the better on the sea, beyonde all reason, in the whiche, he thought himselfe very mighty, and *Annibal* shutte vpps in *Pamphilia*, and *Philip* conducting the Romaynes by the vnknowne wayes, whome he thoughte woulde rather haue remembred the hurte he hadde by them, by all these thinges beeing meruellously troubled, and God taking his wits from hym, as commonly happeth in all calamities, he left *Cherronesus* very fondly, before his enimies were in sighte, not regarding howe greate preparation there was of victuall, armoure, money, and munition, whyche hes dydde not burne, but lefte it whole to his ennimyes: and he forsoke the *Lysimachians*, as thoughe the Cittie hadde bene taken, whyche fledde vnto hym with theyr wiues and children weeping: onelye hys care was to keepe the Romaynes from *Abydus*, putting the reste of his hope of thys warre altogyther in it. Neyther dydde hee keepe this passage, God taking his sense from hym, but went to the midde lande in haste, to preuente hys ennimye, leauing no guarde there.

In calamities sense fayleth.

Antiochus giueth ouer.

Abydus in *Asia*, ouer against *Cesstus* in *Europe*.

When the *Scipions* hearde of thys departure, they went to *Lysimachia* in all haste, and toke all the armoure and money in *Cherronese*, and quickiye passed *Hellespont*, voyde of defence, and came to *Sardies*, where the kyng was, before he perceyued it.

Then hee was confounded and vtteriye deiected, and laying hys owne faultes vppon Fortune, hee sente *Heraclides* of *Byzance*, to the *Scipions* to make an ende of the warre, offering *Smyrna* and *Alexandria* at *Granico*, and *Lampsaco*, for the whiche, the warre beeganne, and halfe the expences of the warre. And hee willed him, if neede were, to graunte the Citties of the *Ionians* and the *Eoleans*, that toke the Romaynes parte in thys warre, and whatsoeuer thyng the *Scipions* woulde require, and thys he wylled *Heraclides* to speake openlye, but priuatelye to offer *Publius Scipio* promise of much money from *Antiochus*, and also the libertye of hys sonne:

Granico a flouod in little *Asia*.

Antiochus seeketh peace.

Here the Author seemeth to take one for another. *Scipio* the yonger prisoner to *Antiochus*.

For *Antiochus* had taken him in *Grecia* sayling from *Calcide*, to *Diametriade*.

And this son of *Scipios* was he that toke and destroyed *Carthage* the seconde time, and the seconde man that was named *Affricanus*, sonne of *Paulus*, that ouercame *Perseus* of *Macedonia*, beyng *Scipio* his sisters sonne by degrée, and hys sonne by adoption.

The *Scipions* openly made thys answere to *Heraclide*,

That if *Antiochus* will haue peace, he muste not only leaue the Cities of *Ionia* and *Aeolia*, but all the Countrey aboute *Taurus*, and defraye the whole charges of the warre, of the whiche he hath bin the cause. Yet priuately *Publius* saide thus to him.

If *Antiochus* had offered these conditions of peace, when hée hadde *Lysimachia* and *Cherronesus*, the *Romanes* woulde willingly haue accepted it, and peraduenture, if he hadde forbidde, onely to passe *Hellespont*. But nowe that they were vppon the lande, and in safe place, and hadde not onely the bridle, as they say, but also were mounted the horse, with the bridle, they woulde not accept suche conditions by wordes. And that he did giue the kyng thankes, for hys great offer, and woulde gyue hym greater, if he sent him his sonne. And for the present time, would wyth him to take the conditions, bëfore he were driuen to the proofe of greater burden.

The Romaines haue both the bridle and the horse.

When that *Publius* hadde saide thus, he went to *Elaa*, for his healthe, leauing *Cneus Domitius*, legate to his brother.

Antiochus, as *Phillippe* of *Macedonie*, thinking no more coulde be taken from hym by this war, than was propounded, gathered his armye in the plaine of *Thyatira*, not farre from hys enimies, and sente *Scipio* his sonne to *Elaa*, and hee counselled the bringers, that the kyng shoulde not fighte, tyll hee came againe to the Campe. *Antiochus* giuing credite to hym, encamped at the hill *Sipylo*, and defenced hys Campe wyth a strong wall, and put the floud *Phrygio* betweene him and his enimies.

Elaa an Ile in *Propontide*, and a towne in *Eolide*

Domitius being desirous to trie the fight by himselfe, passed the

the flood very boldly, and going within two myle and an halfe of *Antiochus*, encamped there foure dayes togither. Either of them set their men in order before their Camps, neyther of thē beginning the fight. The fifth day, *Domitius* set in order againe, and came forth very proudely, and when *Antiochus* came not against him, he remoued his Camp nigher to him. One day beeing past, he proclaymed in the hearing of the enimies, that hee would the next day fight, whether *Antiochus* woulde or no. Hee being troubled again, changed his purpose, and where he might haue kept within his Camp, or manfully resist these, till *Publius* had come, he thought it a shame to refuse the fighte, being more in number: wherefore he toke order for the battell, and both of them came forth at the last watch, being yet nighte, and eyther of them thus arayed themselues. Tenne thousand of the *Romane* footemen helde the left wing at the very floud, and with them were other tenne thousande *Italians*, in three seuerall bands.

Antiochus prouoked to fighe.

With the *Italians*, the army of *Eumenes* was placed, and the target men of *Achaia*, about three thousand. This was the left battell.

The order of the *Romanes*.

The right, was the horsemen of the *Romanes*, *Italians*, and *Eumenes*, and they no more but three thousand. There was mixed with them all the light armed, and the archers. And about *Domitius* was foure bandes of horsemen. All these made thirtie thousand.

Domitius ledde the right battell. In the middle he placed the Consull.

The left battell he committed to *Eumenes*.

The Elephants that he had out of *Libya*, he thoughte to be to no purpose, for they be lesse that be at *Libya*, and afrayde of the greater, and they were but few, and therefore sette them last of all. This was the *Romanes* order.

Elephants of *Libya* lesse than of *India*, and afraide of the greater.

Antiochus armye was.lxx.M. of the whiche, the surest was the *Macedonians* battaile, called *Phalanx*, conteining.xvj.M. men firste appointed by *Alexander*, and *Philip*. It standeth in the middest, diuided by a thousand and fiue hundred into ten parts, and of euery parte of these in the front, were fifty men, and in

The Phalanx of *Macedonia*.

the middest two and thirtie, and in ẏ side of eyther part two and twẽty. The sight of this *Phalanx* was like a wall, & the Elephãts sæmed like Towers. This was the midde battel of *Antiochus*.

The Horsemen were on eyther side of it. The men of armes of the *Galatians*, and the choyce horsemen of *Macedonia*, called of them *Agema*. These were equally on eyther side the greate battell. There were wings beside these. In the righte wing were light armed Souldioures, and other Horsemen with siluer shieldes, and archers on horsebacke two hundred.

Agema signifieth the exercised battell of horsemen or footemen that vvent before the Captayne.

The leste wing helde the nations of the *Galatians*, *Tectosagans*, *Trocmans*, and *Tolistouians*, and certaine *Cappadocians*, whome *Ariarathes* sente, and other strangers mingled.

Trocmi people of *France*, that did inhabit *Asia*. *Tolistobij* that vvent out of *Galatia* to *Bithynia*.

To these were ioyned another company of men of armes, and of hys confederates with lighte armour. This order made *Antiochus*, sæming to put his truste in the Horsemen, whome being many, he placed in the front, and very vnskilfully hee thrust the greate battell in a streighte place, in the whiche, he ought to haue put his truste, being moste strong.

There was also a greate number of slingers, archers, dacters, and target men, of *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cretes*, *Trallians*, and *Cilicians*, all armed after the manner of *Creta*. There were other archers on horsebacke to these, *Daceans*, *Museans*, *Aelymeans*, and *Arabians*, which being set vppon moste swifte Camels, they shote easilie from high, and when they be at hand, vse long and narrowe swords. The armed Chariots were placed at the beginning in the firste fronte, and were commaunded when they had giuẽ the first push, to giue backe. The fight was like two armies, the one to begin the battell, and the other to lye in waite. Either of them being made to as muche terror as coulde be, both in number and forme. *Antiochus* hymselfe ledde the horsemen of the righte wing. The left side, hys sonne *Seleucus* gouerned. Of the *Phalanx*, *Philip* the maister of the Elephants had the charge. Of the forewarde, *Medis* and *Zeuxis*.

Arabians fight vpon Camels.

The day being cloudy and darke, the sight was taken away of this preparation, and all the bowes were the worse, as in the aire moist and thicke. Which, when *Eumenes* considered, he pas-

Shot hindered by moyst ayre.

sed

led not of all the reſt, only he feared moſt the violence of the armed Chariots. Therefore he gathered togither the archers and darters, and other lighte harneſſe, commaunding them to goe againſte the Chariots, and to ſhoote agaynſte the Horſes, and not the men, for the horſe in the Chariot ſtriuing with hys yoke, the reſt of the Chariot is made vnprofitable, and many times breaketh the other battels, men being afrayde of the ſithes, as it came then to paſſe. For when the Horſes were ſtricken ſo thicke, and the Chariots carried backe of the horſes, the Camels felte the diſorder firſt, being nexte the Cartes, and after them the men of armes, whoſe horſe for the waighte of the armoure, could hardly eſcape the danger of the ſithes. Great was the trouble, and the confuſion diuers, which begamme chiefly of theſe, and wēt through the whole battell, and for ignorāce, was more than it nēded. For in a long rowe and thicke multitude of men, with a diuers crie, and greate feare, the truth was not perceyued of them that were nexte the hurt perſons, and ſuſpition made euery man thinke the thing greater than it was.

The Chariots vvere armed vvith ſythes.

When *Eumenes* did ſēe the firſte ſuccēde happily to him, and the forewarde, with the Chariots, that the Camels did couer, to be naked, he ſet his owne horſemen, and as many as he had of the *Romanes* and *Italians* againſt the contrary part of the *Galatians* and *Cappadocians*, and the other route of ſtrangers, exhorting thē with loude voice to diſpatch theſe ignorant men, being deſtitute of their defence. They were ready, & giuing a fierce onſet vpon them, they made thē turne, and ẏ men of armes that were ioyned to them, which were diſordred before of ẏ Chariots, & becauſe theſe coulde moſt hardly flēe or turne, by reaſon of theyr waight, they toke thē, and killed thē. And this was done at the left battell of the *Macedonians*. In the right wing, where *Antiochus* was, breaking the battell of the *Romanes*, he made them flēe, and followed them. The great battell of the *Macedonians* being ſette with the Horſemen in a ſtreight place and quadrate, and voyde of Horſemen on eyther ſide, receyued the ſkirmiſhers that fought at the front of them, dividing themſelues, and cloſing againe. *Domitius* with his Horſemen, and lighte harneſſe,

Antiochus at his ſide putteth the *Romanes* to flight.

easily

eaſilie compaſſed them, as a thicke ſquare, neither fitte to gyue onſet, nor enlarge themſelues being ſo broad. They manfully abode much force, and were greeued, that for all their experiēce they could do no good, but ſtand to receyue the ſtripes & wounds of their enimies on euery ſide. Only they ſtretched forthe their pikes in ſquare manner, and chalenged the *Romanes* to trie their manhode hand to hande with them, for the which they hadde ſo much prayſe: yet did they not march forth, being on fote & beaute harneſſed, and ſeing their enimies with horſe, chiefly that they ſhould not diſſolue their ſure aray. The *Romanes* came not vpon them, nor woulde fight with them, fearing the experience and ſtrength of ſo valiant men, but running aboute them, dyd ſhote and dart at them, and neuer miſſed, ſo many being cloſed in ſo little rome, for neyther could they auoyde the dartes, nor approch to them that threw vpon them. Wherefore when they had endured a long time, of very neceſſitie they gaue backe, and turned their way with threats, very orderly, and fearefull to the *Romanes*, for neither then durſt they ſette vpon them, but hurte them as they could go about them, till the Elephants brake vpon the *Macedonians* battell, whiche woulde not be ruled by their guides, and then there orderly retiring, was altered. In this, *Domitius* had the vpper hand, and paſſing to the Campe of *Antiochus*, forced them that kepte it. *Antiochus* chaced the *Romane* legions a great way, which had neither horſemen, nor light harneſſe to gard them, *Domitius* thinking they ſhoulde not neede becauſe of the floud, till he came to the *Romanes* Campe, where the Captaine that had the charge with freſh Souldiours reſiſted his violence, and to them ioyned they that fledde, and were the more bolder. So the king returned, being very proude and haulte for this victorie, nothing knowing yet of that was happened on the other ſide. *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, with many horſemen encountred with the king, through the whiche he paſſed, and hurte them, keeping his courſe with the loſſe of a few, not caring for them. But when he did ſee the loſſe, and all the field full of his dead people, men, horſe, and Elephants, and his Camp taken by force, he fledde without cealling, til he came

The mayne battell is diſordred by the Elephants.

Domitius entreth the kings Camp.

Antiochus chaceth one part of the *Romanes* to their Camp.

to

to *Sardeis*, aboute mydnight, and from *Sardeis*, to *Celæna*, whyche they call *Apamea*, whither hee vnderstoode hys some was fledde. *Celæna.*

The next daye he went from *Celæna* to *Syria*, leauing hys Captaines at *Celæna*, to receyue and gather togither them that fledde, and sent Ambassadoures to the Consull for to ceasse war, who was burying his dead souldiors, and spoyling his enimies, and gathering the captiues. Of the Romanes that were of the Cittie, there was slaine, foure and twentye horsemen, and three hundred fotemen, chiefly of them whome *Antiochus* slewe. *Eumenes* losse no more but fifteen horsemen. The Kyngs losse with hys confederates, was iudged to be fiftie thousand, which could not well be numbred for the multitude: all the Elephants were slaine, saue fiftæne, which were taken. After thys victorie so noble, & beyonde all reason, as some thoughte, not beyng lyke, that so fewe, in a straunge Country, should ouercome so many, especially, where the *Macedonian Phalanx* was furnished full of men, whiche for the valiauntnesse, was terrible, and thought inuincible, the friendes of *Antiochus* accused his rashenesse, in falling out with the Romaines, and his vnskilfulnesse, and foolishnesse from the beginning, that he lefte *Cherronesus* and *Lysimachia* oute of hys handes, full of munition and money, before the *Romanes* came alande to trye it, and neglected the guarding of *Hellespont*, the whiche the *Romanes* thoughte they could not easlye passe by force. They blamed also his last ouersight, making his chief strength vnprofitable, by placing it so streight, putting his trust more in mingled multitude of men that were fresh soldoures, than in men, that for experience and time, were acquainted with the warre, and by the continuaunce of the same, were endued with valiauntnesse and courage. These speeches were made of *Antiochus*. The errours of *Antiochus.*

The *Romanes* encreased in courage, and thought nothing too harde for them, bothe for their vertue, and the fauoure of the Gods. This did make to the opinion of their felicitie, that being so fewe against so many, in an expedition, and in the first fight, & in a straunge land, they should ouercome in one daye, so many

nations so princely a power, both for the vertue of the hired soldioures, and the glorie of the *Macedonians*, and for the great dominion of the King, as he hadde gotten the surname of Great: For in their speeche and talke, King *Antiochus* the Great, was a greate word among them. The *Romanes* thus gloried of themselues. The Consul, after his brother *Publius* was come recouered from *Elea*, answered *Antiochus* Ambassadors, which required to learne, what *Antiochus* shoulde do to be a friend to the *Romanes*. *Publius* answered thus vnto them.

Answere to the kings ambassadours.

Antiochus hathe bin the cause bothe of these and former troubles thorowe hys ambition, who hauing a greate kyngdome, and the *Romanes* suffring him to haue it, toke from *Ptolomie* hys kinsman, and friend to the *Romanes*, *Celesyria*, and inuaded *Europe*, where he had nothing to do: he subdued *Thracia*, he fortified *Cherronesus*, and builded *Lysimachia*. He came into *Grecia*, & made the *Grecians* bond, whom the *Romanes* had made free, til he was ouercome in battaile at *Thermopylei*, from whence though he fled, he lefte not his ambition, but being ouercome diuerse tymes of vs by sea, when we were passed *Hellespont*, he desired peace: The conditions whereof, throughe pride, he contemned, and gathered a mighty army, and with gret preparation he made war againe againste vs, and by compulsion was broughte to trye it with his betters, till he was ouercome, to hys greate losse. It were fitte that we should set a greater punishement vpon him, that so manye tymes hathe violentlye dealte with the *Romanes*, but we wil not be insolēt for our felicitie, nor aggrauate others calamitie. Therefore we giue the same conditions that we appointed before, adding a fewe more whiche be profytable for vs, and shall be commodious for his safety in tyme to come.

The conditions of peace.

That he refraine from al *Europe* and *Asia* on this side *Taurus*, and to these, limites shall be appointed.

That he deliuer al the Elephantes he hath, and as many ships as we shall commaunde.

That hereafter he haue no more Elephants nor more ships, than we shall appoint.

That he deliuer xx. pledges as the President shall prescribe.

That

That he giue for the expences of the warre, begun by hym, fiue hundred talents of *Eubœa*, presently, and when the Senate shal approue the league, .M.v.C. talents, and in .xij. yeares after, other xij. M.v.C. talents, parte whereof to be brought to *Rome* euery yeare. The least talent vvas lx.li.

That he giueth to vs all the prisoners and bondmen.

That he restore to *Eumenes* all that he ought to do, by a league betweene *Attalus* his father and him.

If *Antiochus* wil faithfully performe this, we giue him peace and friendship, when the Senate shal ratifie it. Thus did *Scipio* determine, and the Ambassadoures accepted it, and paide parte of the mony in hande, and deliuered twenty pledges, whereof, *Antiochus* the Kings yonger sonne was one, whome the *Scipions* sente to *Rome* with the Ambassadours. *Antiochus* sonne sent to Rome.

The Senate agréed to the conditions, and subscribed to the confirmation of the peace made by *Scipio*, and of some thynges that were not determined, they made a little addition.

That two forelandes called *Calycadnum*, and *Sarpedon* should be the limite of *Antiochus* Kingdome, and that he doe not passe them to make warre. These be in Cilicia.

That he kéepe twelue armed ships onely to rule his subiectes in obedience and if warre be made vpon him, to vse more.

That he harbourowe no *Romanes*, nor receiue fugitiues.

That he change his pledges euery iij. yeares, his sonne only excepted.

This was written and sette vppe in a table of brasse in the Capitoll, where other couenants of peace be placed, and a coppy was sent to *Manlio Volsoni*, successour to *Scipio*. He gaue othe to *Antiochus* Ambassadours, at *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, and *Antiochus* to *Thermo* a Tribune that was sente to hym. And thys was the ende of the warre betwene the *Romanes* and *Antiochus*, that was called Great. And it séemed that he obtained it only for the kindenesse hee shewed to *Scipio* in restoring hys sonne: and some there were that accused *Scipio* for it: and the two Tribunes noted hym of corruption and prodition, hée despysyng Manlius Volso. Scipio is accused

and contemning the accusation, after he was come to the Court that daye, that afore he had ouerthrowne *Carthage*, sent to make sacrifice in the Capitoll, and came himselfe into the Pallaice of Judgement with goodly shew, and not sad or mourning, like an accused man, euery man wondring at him, and fauouring hym as a worthye man, and of greate courage being cleare in conscience.

The courage of *Scipio.*

When he beganne to speake, he saide nothing of the accusation, but made a rehearsall of his life, his seruice and al his acts, howe manye warres he had finished for his countrey, whome he had ouerthrowne, howe ofte he had victorye, in so much he, as it was a pleasure to the hearers, for the noble declaration of his historie. And when he came to the warre of *Carthage*, most of all he delated the manner thereof wyth great vehemence, and audience of the people, saying: This daye, *Romanes*, did I conquere, and made *Carthage* to obey you, which til then, was most terrible vnto you. This day do I goe to sacrifice in the Capitoll, and as many of you as loue your Countrey, accompany me in the sacrifice that is made for you.

Hauing saide thus, he went forth to the Capitoll, not passing of his complainte.

The people followed him, and so did manye of the Judges, praysing him with open voice, and saide the like, whiles he was sacrificing. The accusers were discoraged & durst not prosecute the cause, as of no purpose, nor blame the peoples fauoure, perceyuing that his life was of more price, than their suspition and calumniation.

Aristides not so constant as *Scipio.* *Socrates.*

Scipio seemeth to me more wise, in the stoute behauioure and contempte of this accusation, than *Aristides*, beeing accused of fraude, and *Socrates*, in the thinges whereof hee was charged, neyther of them answering in the like discredite, sauing that *Socrates* speaketh as pleaseth *Plato*: Yea he was more couragious than *Epiminondas* that was ruler of the *Boetians*, with *Pelopida* and an other. The *Thebanes* hadde sente them, gyuing either of them an armye to helpe the *Arcadians* and *Mesenians*, that were at warre with the *Laconians*. And bycause thynges

Epiminondas.

were

were not done as they entended, they were accused and called home. They deliuered not their armies to their successoures in fiue moneths, in the whiche time, they expelled the *Lacedemonian* garrisons, & placed other of the *Arcadians*, *Epaminondas* compelling his companions to doe it, promising that the doyng therof shoulde not be hurtefull to them. When they were come home, their accusers prosecuting the matter againste euerye of them, they were condemned to dye. For the Lawe iudged hym to die, that by violence would rule in an other mans office. The other escaped, vsing lamentation and many wordes, and layeng al the blame in *Epaminondas*, for so he willed them to say, and he would affyrme it.

He being condemned to dye, saide: I confesse it is againste the lawe, to rule thys tyme, and that I compelled them, whome you haue deliuered nowe. I do not desire to be pardoned, hauing transgressed the lawe, but I beseeche you, that for the seruice I haue done, you woulde write thus. *Epaminondas* maner of answvere.

This is he, that gote the victorie of *Lenitra*, and that brought his Countrey to *Sparta* it selfe, whiche before coulde not abide those enimies, nor no straunger that ware a *Lacedemonian* hatte, he is condemned of his Countrey, offending the Lawe for the benefite of his Countrey. Hauing saide thus, he came from the Tribunes, and offered his bodye to them that woulde take it.

The Iudges, by the reproch of thys speeche, and marueil of the answere, and reuerence of the person accused, durste not abide the triall, but ran out of the Court. These euery man may iudge as he listeth.

Manlius the successor of *Scipio*, went to the lande that was taken from *Antiochus*, and gaue order for them, and the *Galathians* that aided *Antiochus*, called *Tolestonians*, fleeing to *Mysies Olympus*. He followed painefully thorough the Mountaines, and killed them in the chase, with suche a slaughter and bloudshed, as it could not be numbred for the multitude. He toke prisoners fortie thousand, he burned their armour, and solde their bodies to the nexte *Barbarians*, bycause he coulde not carry suche a com- *Tolestonij* were people that came out of *Spaine* to dwell in *Bithinia*.

pany aboute in the warre.

Manius in dãger. The *Tectosagans* and *Trocmans* put him in daunger by deceite, from the whiche he escaped. And returning againe vppon them, remayning and staying, bycause they were so many, he brought his shotte, commaunding them to discharge vppon them, neither all togither, nor too nighe the enimie, and where no arrow was shot in vaine, for the thickenesse of the enimies, he slewe eighte thousande, and chased the other to the floude *Alys*.

Alys a flood running out of Taurus.

Ariarathes kyng of *Cappadocia*, and a confederate of *Antiochus*, being afraide, and praying peace, and with his prayer sending two hundred talentes, he didde not ouerrunne hys lande, but wente to *Hellespont*, with greate riches, and infinite money, muche spoile, and armye laden: And surely he did very vnwisely, that being Sommer, he woulde not go by sea, not regarding the waighte of the carriage, nor how he coulde leade hys army to continewe and abide so long a iorney, not marching to war, but going home with spoyles.

The error of Manlius.

He went by *Thracia*, a streight, long, and harde waye, in the hote Sommer, neither did he sende to *Philip* of *Macedonie* to conducte him, neither diuided his army into many parts, that they might go the lighter, and be the more readye for all purposes, nor distributing the burdens into seueral bands, that they might be the better kepte, but caryed al togither on an heape, so long a way, that in the middest, so that neither they that went before, nor they behind, could helpe in time for the length and straightnesse of the way. Wherfore the *Thracians* setting vpõ the flanks of him euery where, he losse greate parte of the pray, and of the common treasure, and of his army, and with the reste, he saued himselfe in *Macedonia*. And then was it well perceyued, howe much pleasure *Philip* shewed the *Scipions*, and howe muche *Antiochus* erred in leauing *Cherronesus*. Thus *Manlius* wente from *Macedonia* to *Thessalie*, and from *Thessalie* to *Epirus*, and from *Epirus* sayled to *Brunduse*, where sending hys armye euery manne home, he went to *Rome*. The *Rhodians* and *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, aduauncing themselues for their seruice against *Antiochus*, *Eumenes* went to *Rome*, and the *Rhodians* sent Ambassadours.

The

The *Romanes* gaue to the *Rhodians Lycia* and *Caria*, the whyche, not long after, they toke from them, bycause, when they hadde warre wyth *Perseus* of *Macedonie*, they seemed more enclined to hym, than them. To *Eumenes* they gaue all the reste that they had taken from *Antiochus*, excepte the Grekes there: and to them that paide anye tribute to *Attalus* his father, they commaunded to pay it to *Eumenes*. The tribute that they paide before to *Antiochus*, they forgaue them, and graunted them to liue free. Reuvards gyuen to the *Rhodians*. Reuvard to *Eumenes*. Reuvardes to the Grecke.

Thus the *Romanes* diuided their conquest, and when *Antiochus* the Greate was deade, *Seleucus* hys sonne succeedyng hym, hee sente for his brother *Antiochus* that was pledge at *Rome*, and putte hys sonne *Demetrius* in hys place. *Antiochus* the great dieth.

When *Antiochus* was come to *Athens*, *Seleucus* was killed of one *Heliodorus* that was aboute him. And *Eumenes* and *Attalus* droue *Heliodorus* oute of the Kingdome whiche hee vsurped, and restored it to *Antiochus*, to haue hys friendshippe, for nowe they were growne into some suspition with the *Romanes*. *Seleucus* killed.

Thus *Antiochus* the sonne of Greate *Antiochus* was kyng of *Syria*, who of the *Syrians* was called the Notable, bicause whē his kingdome was rauished by others, he shewed to be their naturall king. Making league with *Eumenes*, he raigned ouer *Syria*, and the nations aboute it mightilye. He made *Tymarxus* lieutenaunt of *Babylon*, and *Heraclides* hys Treasourer, beyng brethren, and in great fauour wyth hym. He made warre vppon *Artaxes* King of *Armenia*, whome, when hee hadde taken, hee dyed, leauing *Antiochus* his sonne of nine yeares of age, whom, for his fathers vertue, the *Syrians* called *Eupater Lysias* brought vppe this child. *Antiochus* the Noble. *Antiochus* the second dieth. *Antiochus Eupater*.

When the *Romanes* heard that *Antiochus* was deade so sone, who in a little tyme had gote great fame, they were glad. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Seleucus*, brother to *Antiochus* the Notable, nephew to *Antiochus* the Great, & cousin to this child, being pledge at *Rome* and of three and twentye yeares of age, requyred to be admytted to the Kyngdome, as more neare to him, but it was denied

denyed hym, not thinking it good for them, that a lusty young man shoulde raigne in a childes place. And vnderstanding that there were many Elephantes in *Syria*, and more Shyps than was agreede, they sent Ambassadoures to kyll the Elephantes and burne the Shippes. It was a grieuous thing to see those beastes tame and rare killed, and the shyps to bee sette on fyre. Wyth the whiche fighte, one *Leptines* in *Laodicia*, beeng offended, finding *Cneus Octauius* that was chiefe of this Embassage in a Schoole house, kylled hym, and *Lysias* buried hym.

The ships and Elephants burned.

The Romaine Ambassadour is killed.

Demetrius comming againe into the Senate, desired onelye to be released of his Ostageship, being put there for *Antiochus*, and nowe *Antiochus* beyng dead.

Demetrius flyeth from Rome.

The whiche when he coulde not obtayne, he fledde awaye priuily, and being receyued gladlye of the *Syrians*, hee toke the Kingdome vpon him, and killed the child, and *Lysias*, and droue awaye *Heraclides*, and killed *Timarchus* resisting him, and euill vsing the *Babilonians*, for the whiche the *Babilonians* gaue him the name of *Soter*, and of them it had the beginning.

Rasiour.

Demetrius hauing the rule, sent a Crowne of tenne thousande Crownes to the *Romanes*, to thanke them for the tyme hee was pledge with them, and also, *Leptines*, that killed *Octauius*. They accepted the Crown, but would not take *Leptines*, reseruing that quarrell againste the *Syrians*.

Demetrius putteth out *Ariarathes*.

Demetrius droue *Ariarathes* oute of his kingdome, and putte in *Olofernes*, that was accounted hys brother, for a thousand talentes, the *Romanes* thinking it good, bothe brethren shoulde rule togither.

Occasion of the warre with Mithridates.

These being gone, and *Ariobarzanes* afterward ouercome of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, the warre of *Mithridates* followed of this and other occasion, the greatest and most variable, made with so many nations, and continuing fortie yeres. In the whiche time, there were many Kings of *Syria* in a little time, yet all descended of the royall bloude. There were many changes and tumults in that kingdome. The *Parthians* reuolting from the rule of *Seleucide* toke from them *Mesopotamia*, that was wont to obey them.

Seleucides, the royall bloud. Parthians.

Tigranes

Tigranes, the sonne of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, toke certayne nations aboute him that had their proper princes, thinking to be their King, and ouercame *Seleucides* subiectes that would not obey him. *Antiochus* the God, not able to resist him, he gotte all *Syria* to *Euphrates*, and all the generation of *Syria* to *Aegipt*. He gote also *Cilicia* that obeyed the house of *Seleucides*, making *Magadates* Lieutenante, who ruled them foureténe yeares: but when *Lucullus* the Romane Generall did follow *Mithridates*, fleing to *Tigranes*, *Magadates* wente with this army to help *Tigranes*, and so *Antiochus*, sonne of *Antiochus* the God, was broughte into *Syria*, whome the *Syrians* obeyed with good will. And *Lucullus* that firste made warre against *Tigranes*, and put him from the lands he had wonne, did not enuie the auntient kingdomes. But *Pompeyus* that followed *Lucullus*, and ouercame *Mithridates*, and compelled *Tigranes* to rule in *Armenia*, did cast out *Antiochus* from the kingdome of *Syria*, hauing not offended the *Romanes* in déede, bycause it was an easie thing with such an armye to spoyle a king that had no army, but in pretence, bycause the *Seleucidians* were expelled of *Tigranes*, it was not reason they should rule *Syria* any longer, *Tigranes* being ouercome of the *Romanes*. And thus the *Romanes* got *Cilicia* and *Syria* the midde region, and *Celosyria* and *Phœnitia*, and *Paphlagonia*, and all other partes of *Syria*, from *Euphrates* to *Aegipt*, and to the Sea coast, without any fighte. The nation of the *Iewes* only remaining, *Pompey* conquered, and sent their King *Aristobulus* to *Rome*, and beate downe their greatest and holyest Citie *Hierusalem*, which *Ptolomeus* the firste King of *Aegipt* did ouerthrowe also, and *Vespasianus* agayne destroyed it, after it was reedifyed, and in my time *Adrianus*, and therefore the *Iewes* haue a greater tribute set vpon euery body, than their substance is worth. The *Syrians*, and the *Cilicians* also, payed euery man the hundred part. And *Pompey* put seueral kings and Princes in the realmes, that obeyed the bloud of *Seleucus*, as he did to the *Galathians* in *Asia*. To these Princes he confirmed the iurisdiction of a fourth part, that serued him against *Mithridates*. And not long after, they fell to the *Romanes* in *Cæsars* time, and chiefly

Tigranes.

Lucullus fauoured the auntient Kinges.

Pompey seeketh cause to put the kings from *Syria*.

Iews conquered.

Vespasianus.

Adrianus.

Pompey maketh Kings and Tetrarches.

to *Auguſtus* as the caſe ſtode. *Pompey* appointed *Scaurus* to rule *Syria*, who had bin a Treaſourer in his camp. And after *Scaurus* the Senate ſent *Philippus Marcius*, nd after *Philippe*, *Marcelinus Lentulus*, being of the degrée of Prætors. Bothe theſe ſpent theyr tyme in ſubduing the *Arabians* that were tumultuous. And for this cauſe Lieutenants were ſent afterward into *Syria*, of them that ruled in the city, that they might haue power, both in peace & war, as the Conſulls had. The firſt of theſe was *Gabinius* that came with an army to make war. And *Mithridates* king of *Parthia* being driuen out of his kingdome by *Herodes* his brother, came to *Parthia* againe by the *Arabians*. And *Ptolomie* the eleauenth King of *Egipt*, being alſo put out of his kingdome, obtayned by much money, that he would inuade *Alexandria* in ſteade of *Parthia*: and ſo *Gabinius* making war vpon them of *Alexandria*, reſtored *Ptolomie* into his kingdom, wherefore he was baniſhed of ẏ *Romane* Senate, for that he made a war without cõmiſſion, that was thought vnlucky to the *Romanes*. For it was forbidden by *Sibylla*. After *Gabinius*, I thinke, that *Craſſus* ruled *Syria*, & making war vpon the *Parthians*, receyued a great loſſe. And *Lucius Bibulus* gouerning *Syria* after *Craſſus*, the *Parthians* inuaded it. And *Saxa* ruling after *Bibulus*, they ranged as farre as *Ionia*, the *Romaines* being moleſted with ciuil warres one againſt an other. But theſe ſhalbe declared perfectly in ẏ booke of ẏ *Parthians* war. In this booke, being of *Syria*, ſhal be ſhewed how the *Romanes* got *Syria*, and helde it, as they do nowe. It ſhall not bée amiſſe to ſhew how the *Macedonians* got *Syria*, and raigned there before the *Romanes*. For *Alexander* the King had *Syria* beyonde *Perſia*, and was king of al ẏ he won. When *Alexander* was dead, leauing children, one very yong, another in his mothers womb, the *Macedonians* for the loue of *Philips* houſe, choſe *Aridem* to be their king, that was *Alexanders* brother, although he was thoughte not to be wel in his minde, calling hym *Philip* in ſteade of *Aridem*, *Alexanders* children being yet with tutors, & the mother with child diligently kept. The friends diuided the nations, & *Perdiccas* was ẏ diuider, vnder king *Philip*. And the kings being dead not long after, the great men were made Kings. The firſt

Scaurus. Philippus. Marcelinus. Lentulus.

Gabinius baniſhed for making warr vpõ *Egipt.*

Craſſus. L. Bibulus. Saxa.

The race of the kings of Syria.

Perdiccas.

prince

prince of *Syria* was *Laomedon* of *Mitilene*, set in by *Perdiccas*, and after by *Antipater* that were kings. *Ptolomeus* sailed to *Laomedon* that was ruler of *Siria*, and perswaded him by muche money, to lette him haue *Syria*, being an entrie to *Egipt*, and a defence to *Cipres*, the whiche he denying, he toke hym. And he deceyuing his kéepers, fledde to *Alceta* into *Caria*. And a certaine time *Ptolomie* had *Syria*, and when he had left garrisons in the Cittie, héé sayled into *Egipt*. *Antigonus* was prince of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*. & *Pamphilia*, being left ouerséer of all *Asia*, of *Antipater*, when he sailed into *Europe*, to make warre vppon *Eumenes* that was Prince of *Cappadocia*, being iudged to be an enimy of the *Macedonians*, he fled and got *Media* for himselfe. But *Antigonus* followed and killed hym, and proceéding, was royally receyued of *Seleucus* prince of *Babilon*. But when *Seleucus* had punished one of the Captains, & not made *Antigonus* of counsell, being present, he was angrye, and called him to accompte both of money and substaunce. Héé béeyng too weake for *Antigonus*, fledde to *Ptolomie* into *Egipt*.

Laomedon the first prince in *Syria*.

Ptolomie taketh *Laomedon*, who escapeth.

Antigonus straight after the fléeyng of *Seleucus*, remoued *Blitoria* from his office, that ruled in *Mesopotamia*, bicause he furthered *Seleucus* in his departure, and toke to himselfe *Babilon*, *Mesopotamia*, and other nations of the *Medeans* to *Hellespont*. *Antipater* beeing deade, he was by and by suspected to al the other prouinces, hauing so much land. Therfore by the persuasion chiefye of *Seleucus*, *Ptolomie*, and *Lysimachus* Prince of *Thracia*, and *Cassander* son to *Antipater* and ruler of *Macedonia* after his father, they confederated togither, and sent a common Ambassage, requiring hym to diuide the lande and money, that héé had gotte, among them and the other *Macedonians* that had losse their prouinces.

Blitoria.

Antigonus laughing at the matter, they made a common war against him. He prepared agaynste them, and threwe oute al the garrisons that *Ptolomie* had in *Syria*, and seyzed to himselfe, *Phœnitia* and *Celosyria* that yet obeyed *Ptolomie*. Then he wente to the straights of *Cilicia*, and lefte his sonne *Demetrius*, two and twenty yeares of age, in *Gaze* with an armye, to resist *Ptolomies* inuasions from *Aegipt*. But *Ptolomie* ouercame him at *Gaze* in a great fighte, and the yong manne fled to hys father. *Ptolomie* sente *Seleucus* by and by to *Babylon*, to recouer his rule,

A common warre against *Antigonus*.

Gaze a Cittie in *Persida*.

and gaue him a thousande fotemen, and three hundred horsmen.

And with these fewe, *Seleucus* wente to *Babilon*, where he was gladly receyued of the inhabitantes, and in shorte time hadde a mighty dominion.

Antigonus was reuenged of *Ptolomie*, and ouercame him in a greate fighte by sea, at *Cyprus* in the whiche *Demetrius* his sonne was Admirall, by the whiche being muche renoumed, the armye called them both Kyngs, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the Kyngs being deade, *Arrideus Philips* sonne, and *Olimpiades*, and *Alexanders* children. And *Ptolomeus* armye called him King, that he shoulde seeme not to be inferiour to them that had the victorye: and thus a like effect folowed of a contrarye cause. The other straight followed these, and of rulers they were made Kynges. So was *Seleucus* king of *Babylon*, and King of *Media*, *Nicanor* being killed of hym, who was lefte Gouernoure of *Media* by *Antigonus*: he made manye warres againste the *Macedonians* and *Barbarians*, and two chiefye against the *Macedonians*. The laste whereof was against *Lysimachus* king of *Thracia*, and the first, against *Antigonus* at *Ipsum* in *Phrygia*, where *Antigonus*, beyng foure score yeares of age, playde the parte bothe of a Captaine and Souldiour, and being slaine at that field, as manye Kings as toke parte with *Seleucus* agaynste *Antigonus*, diuided his kingdomes betweene them.

Ipsum.

The valiantnes of *Antigonus* an olde prince.

Nowe hadde *Seleucus* all the rule of *Syria* beyonde *Euphrates*, to the sea, and of the midde lande of *Phrygia*. And euer he laide for the nighe nations, and being able bothe by force to compel, and by worde to perswade, he got *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia* called *Seleucida*, and *Persia*, and *Parthia*, and *Bactua*, and *Arabia*, and *Tapyria*, and *Sogdia*, and *Araxosta*, and *Hyrcania*, and all other nighe nations to the floude *Indus*, whiche *Alexander* ouercame, so that he, after *Alexander*, hadde moste regions in *Asia*. For, from *Phrygia* to the floude *Indus*, all the highe lands obeyed *Seleucus*, and going into *Indus*, he made warre vpon *Sandracoto* king of those *Indians* that dwelt aboute it, till alliaunce being made, they came to peace. Some of these thinges hee did before the death of *Antigonus*, and some after hys death. They saye

The greate dominion of *Seleucus.*

Sandracoto.

saye, that being a souldiour, and following the King into *Persia*, he sought the Oracle in *Didumæo*, to knowe of their returne into *Macedonia*, and it was aunswered. Make no haste to *Europe*, *Asia* is much better for thee. And in his fathers house in *Macedonia*, the harth did caste forth a great fyre, no man touchyng it, and his mother had a dreame, to gyue a ring that she shoulde finde, to *Seleucus*, for he should be a King where that ring should fall from hym, and she found a ring of yron, with an anker grauen in it, and he loste his signet at *Euphrates*, and it is saide also that going to *Babilon* an other tyme, he stumbled on a stone, and the stone being remoued, an anker was seene: and where the Soothsayer contended that it was a token of delay, *Ptolomeus Lagus* that went wyth hym saide, an Anker was a token of safety and not of delay. And for this cause, *Seleucus* beyng a king, vsed an Anker for his Signet, some thinke also, that *Alexander* being aliue, and beholding it, another token was shewed to *Seleucus* of his kingdom. As *Alexander* returned frō *India* to *Babilon*, and sailed the Fens of *Babilon*, bicause *Euphrates* had ouerflown ꝑ land of *Syria*, a sodain wind did blow off his *Diademe* into a place ful of reedes, where was a Sepulchre of an old king, whiche was a token also of *Alexanders* death. And that a mariner did swimme to it, and set it vpon his heade, to bring it dyre to *Alexander*, and for his good seruice, the King rewarded him with a talent of siluer, the Soothsayers counselling *Alexander* to kill him, and some saye *Alexander* did so, and some saye no. And some affyrme, that the Mariner did not swimme for it, but *Seleucus*, and that he put it vpon his heade, to bring it dyre, and that it was a token of bothe their fortunes. For *Alexander* died at *Babilon*, and *Seleucus* had the greatest part of *Alexanders* lands of any of his successors. Thus much haue I vnderstanded of the tokens of his felicitie.

Token of *Seleucus* his kingdom

Anker, token of safetye.

Alexanders Crovvn blovvn o. Fhis heade.

Immediatly after *Alexanders* death, he was made captain of the Guarde of horsemen, whiche *Ephestion* had in *Alexanders* time, and after him, *Perdiccas*. After this office of horsemen, he was Gouernour of *Babilon*, and of a Gouernoure was made a kyng, and bycause he was victorious in his wars, he was called

Nicator is a conqueroure.

Nicator, and therefore (I thinke) he had this name, rather than for killing of *Nicator*. He was of a great and mighty body, in so much as when a wild Bull did breake his bandes at a sacrifice that *Alexander* made, he only stopped him, and with his hands only staid him, therefore they put hornes vpon his Images. He

Cities builded by *Seleucus*.

builded Cities al ouer his kingdomes, sixteene, named *Antiochia*, of his father, and fiue *Laodicia*, to his mother, nine of hys owne name, four for his wiues, three named *Apamea*, and one *Stratonicea*, of the whiche, two remayne most noble to this day, *Seleucia* at the Sea, and *Seleucia* at the floud *Tigris*, of his owne name, and *Laodicia* in *Phœnitia*, and *Antiochia* at the hill *Libamo*, and *Apamea* of *Syria*. He named other of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, eyther of some feate, or in the honor of *Alexander* the King, whereby there be in *Syria*, and in the barbarous Countreys beyond them, many Cities of the *Greeke* and *Macedonian* names, as

Greek names to diuerse Cities.

Berroia, *Aedessa*, *Perinthus*, *Maronea*, *Callipolis*, *Achaia*, *Pella*, *Orotos*, *Amphipolis*, *Arethusa*, *Astacos*, *Tegea*, *Chalcis*, *Ecatõpolis*, *Achaia*, in *India*, *Alexandrinopolis*, in *Scythia*, *Alexandrescata*, and after his victories, *Niceporæon* in *Mesopotamia*, *Nicopolis* in *Armenia* that is next *Cappadocia*.

Seleucia at the Sea.

They saye, that when he builded *Seleucia* at the Sea, there was a token of a lightning, therefore nowe they sacrifice, and sing Hymnes to the lightning, bycause it was then sente as a token from God.

Seleucia at *Tigris*.

When he builded *Seleucia* at *Tigris*, he commaunded the Southsayers to appoynt a good day, and an houre of that day, when the worke shoulde beginne. The Southsayers tolde a false houre, bycause they would not haue that worke to prosper, and *Seleucus* sate in his tente, tarrying for the houre, when the armie of themselues, on a suddayne, hauing tarried with silence for the houre that *Seleucus* appoynted, beganne the worke at the happie houre in deede, thinking some man had commaunded them, and wrought so vehemently, as no Proclamation coulde call them backe, tyll they hadde made an ende.

The wonderful chaunce in building a Citie.

Seleucus being very sory, asked the Southsayers what

shoulde

shoulde become of this Citie: they craning pardon sayde: O king, the destinie that is appointed, be it good or badde, neyther man nor Cittie can auoyde. For there is a destinie of Cities, as well as of men. And this Citie shal be of moste long continuaunce by the appointment of God, being begon at this houre. We, fearing this building would haue bene a byrdle to vs, went about to put by the destinie: but that is of greter force than eyther the subtiltie of the Soothsayers, or the ignorance of the king: For god gaue the happy time to the army, and by that only, you may learne, and thinke we can not nowe deceiue you. For thou the king biddest set with thyne armye, and thy selfe biddest commaund they should tarry. And where they haue alwayes bin most obedient to thee in perils and paines, they could not now holde nor stay at thy commaundement, but went to it, not by partes, but altogither with their captaynes as they had bin commaunded, and they were commaunded in deed, for when thou commaundedst to the contrarye, they would not heare it: what is there then greater among men, than a king, but God, who is the ruler of thy will, and thy guide of this citie in steade of vs, and being offended with vs, and al our nation here about, for how can our things stande, when a stronger generation riseth vpon vs: This citie shall be happy, mighty, and long continuing. Confirme thy pardon to vs, that haue erred for feare of the losse of our priuate goods. When the wisemē had sayd thus, *Seleucus* was glad and pardoned them. And this muche haue I learned of *Seleucia*.

God guideth kings.

Seleucus being aliue, made his sonne king of all the high landes. And although this may appeare a princely and royall acte, yet more princely and moderate was the taking of hys sonnes loue, and the tempering of the affection therof.

Antiochus loued *Stratonica* wife to *Seleucus* and mother in lawe to hym, and had borne a childe to *Seleucus*. *Antiochus* being ashamed of this straunge passion, neyther prosecuted so euill a thing, nor vttered it, but was sicke, pyning away, & gladly procured his own death.

The

The marueilous loue of *Antioch*.

The notable phisition *Erasistratus*, of counsell wyth *Seleucus* in moste waightye affaires, coulde not coniecture the disease, till he had perceyued that his body was sounde in all partes, then he iudged the disease to be of the minde, by the loue or affection of the whiche, the body is afflicted. Sorrow, anger, and care, be commonly discouered, but loue is kepte secreate in a modest mynde. Of the whiche, *Antiochus* woulde vtter nothing to hym, thoughe hee vsed all gentle meanes to learne it secretly. He sate by him and obserued all the mutations of hys bodye, howe they stode when any came in, and finding that at all other hys body was quiet and feeble in like sorte. But when *Stratonica* the Greate came in, to see him, his minde was vexed with shamefastnesse and conscience, and he then moste disquiet and silent, and his pulses of it selfe, more liuely and mouing, and when she was gone, feeble againe. The Phisition therefore tolde *Seleucus* that his sonne was sicke of an incurable disease.

The King asking howe, and crying out for griefe, he sayde, the sicknesse was Loue, and the loue of a woman, but it was impossible to haue hir. *Seleucus* maruelling, that there shoulde bee anye, that her, being King of *Asia*, could not persuade to marry with his sonne, either for fauour, for money and gifts, and for his whole Kingdome, which shoulde descend to the sicke prince, the whiche he woulde giue him presently, if any would preserue his healthe, and only praide him to tell him whose wife it was. Then saide *Erasistratus*, it is my wife that he loueth. Then *Seleucus* spake thus: O good *Erasistratus*, for the friendshyp and benefites that thou hast receyued of vs, for the rare wisedome and vertue that is in thee, wylte thou not saue a young man and a King, and the sonne of thy friend and a King, vnfortunate and temperate, hiding his euill, and more ready to dye? wilt thou so little passe of *Antiochus*? wilte thou so little regard *Seleucus*? He framing still hys matter, saide, It is a thing by reason, that cannot be auoyded, for though you be his father, you would not let him haue youre wife, if he loued hir.

A singular Phisition.

When *Seleucus* heard this, he sware by all the kingly Gods, that

that he woulde willingly and gladly let him haue hir, and be a noble example, of the loue of a good father to a sonne, sober, and continent in affliction, and vnworthy such aduersitie. Speaking many such things, he began to be greeued that he could not be a Phisitian to the sicke man, but that he must haue neede of *Erasistratus* in the matter.

When he perceyued the king to be so earnest in deede, and not to dissemble, he declared the case, and shewed how he founde it out, for all his hiding of it. *Seleucus* being maruellous glad, had yet two things to do, the one to persuade his sonne, and the other to persuade his wife. When he had so done, he called the armie togither, which peraduenture had heard somewhat of the matter. He rehearsed vnto them the actes that he had done, and the great dominions that he had gotte aboue any of *Alexanders* successoures, he sette out at length. And bycause it was to muche for an olde man to gouerne, I will (quoth he) diuide the greatnesse of it, for your better assurance in time to come, and I will giue part to them that I loue best. It is reason that all you do ioyne with me in all things, who haue bin enercased to so great rule and power vnder me, after *Alexander*. The chiefest things that I haue, and most worthy my kingdome, is myne eldest sonne and my wife. They shall not be long without chyldren, being yong, and so shall you haue more stayes of this state. In your presence I ioyne the togither in marriage, and I sende them to be kings into the vpper regions. And I institute, that not rather the custome of the *Persians*, or other nations, be a lawe among you, than a common law to you all, that it is euerwist, that is ordeyned among you by the king. Thus he sayde. The armye made acclamations, that he was the most noble king since *Alexander*, and the most worthy father.

A rare example of a princely fatherly loue to an afflicted modest sonne.

When *Seleucus* had said as muche to *Stratonica* and his sonne, he celebrated the matrimony, and sent them to their kingdoms, an acte more glorious and victorious, than all that euer he had done in the warres. He hadde vnder him threescore and twelue Princes, of so greate a Countrey was he king. Hauing gyuen the most part to his sonne, he kept only ỳ sea coast at *Euphrates*.

A most glorious acte.

The laſt warre that he hadde, was with *Lyſimachus* in *Phrygia*, nexte *Helleſpont*, in the which he ouercame *Lyſimachus* that was killed in the fight. He paſſyng *Helleſpont* and going to *Lyſimachia* was killed. For *Ptolomie* followyng kylled him. He was called *Ceraunus*, the ſonne of *Ptolomeus Soteros*, and *Eurydices*, daughter to *Antipater*. He fledde oute of *Egipt* for feare, bycauſe he ſuſpected that *Ptolomie* woulde giue the kingdome to his yongeſt ſonne. And *Seleucus* receyued him and kept him, as the ſon of his friend, and ledde hym aboute with hym that ſhould kyll him.

The noble king *Seleucus*, is killed by treaſon, of *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, vvhom he kept from his fathers fury.

Thus dyed *Seleucus* at. lxxiij. yeares of his age, and. xlij. of his raigne. And I thinke the ſaying was meant of hym. Make no haſte to *Europe*, *Aſia* is better for thee: for *Lyſimachia* is in *Europe*, and this was the firſt time that he ſailed into *Europe* ſince he followed *Alexander* in the warre. They ſay that aſking once of his death, it was aunſwered by Oracle:

If thou auoydeſt *Argos*, thou ſhalte haue thy naturall age,
But if thou goeſt to *Argos*, thou ſhalt dye before thy time.

Argos.

Diomedes.

There is *Argos* in *Pelloponeſo*, and *Argos Amphilochion*, and *Argos* in *Oreſtiade*, of the which come the *Macedonians* called *Argeades*, the which *Diomedes* did build when he fled into *Ionia*. And whatſoeuer *Argos* was named in any place, he foughte for it, and toke hede of it. But when he went to *Lyſimachia* from *Helleſpont*, there was an Altare in his ſight greate and goodly, and when he vnderſtode the name was *Argos*, he bidde aſke if the *Argonants* made it, when they ſayled into *Colchos*, or the *Achaians*, when they went to the battell of *Troy*, and, if therfore the inhabitants call the Altare *Argos*, or for that the ſhyppe was periſhed there, or for ỳ it was the Country of *Atrida*. And whiles he was aſking theſe queſtions, he was killed of *Ceraunus* comming behinde hym and diſpatchyng hym. *Philetærus* ruler of *Pergamo*, bidde bring *Seleucus*, buying his bodye of *Ceraunus* for a great ſumme of money, and ſent the aſhes to hys ſonne *Antiochus*, who bidde make a Sepulchre for him at *Seleucia* nerte the Sea, with a temple and a Chappell, and named the Chappell

Ceraunius is a name giuen for boldnes and ſwiftneſſe of wytte.

Philetærus bought the dead body of *Seleucus* to bury it.

Nicatorius

Nicatorio. We learn that *Lysimachus* was one of *Alexanders* gard and on a tyme runnyng by him a greate whyle, as faste as hæ rode, being weary, he helde hys hoꝛse by the taple, and ranne on, and being hurte in the foꝛeheade with the ende of the kinges speare, and bleeding, the king, foꝛ lacke of other cloth stopped the wounde wyth his Crowne, whereby the Crowne was full of bloude: and that *Aristander*, that was *Alexanders* pꝛophete, sæyng thys chaunce of *Lysimachus*, saide, he should be a king, but he shoulde raigne with great difficultie.

Token of *Lysimachus* raigne.

Aristander southsayer.

He raigned .xl. yeres, with them that he was a ruler, and raigned with great paines: and being .lxx. years of age, fought a field and was slaine, *Seleucus* that killed him, liuing not long after him. His body lying on the grounde, a dog of hys kepte a long time, defending it safe from foules and beastes, till *Thorax* of *Pharsalie* found it and buryed it. Some saye that *Alexander* his son, did bury it, fleeing foꝛ fear to *Seleucus*, bicause *Lysimachus* had killed *Agathocles* an other son of his, lõg seeking his body ỹ was kept of the dog, & finding it putrified. His bones were buryed in a Temple of *Lysimachia*, & called it the temple of *Lysimachus*. This ende had either of these Pꝛinces, moste valiaunt of minde, and bigge of bodye, the one beeyng .lxx. yeares of age, and the other thꝛee moꝛe, fighting with their own handes to the death. When *Seleucus* was deade, his childꝛen succeeded him in the kyngdome of *Syria*, after this soꝛte. Fiꝛst this *Antiochus* that loued his mother in lawe, who was called *Soter*, dꝛiuing awaye the *Galatians* that came out of *Europa* into *Asia*, the secõd, another *Antiochus*, gotten in this mariage, whome the *Milesians* called fiꝛst a God, bycause he killed *Timarchus* their Tyꝛanne. But this God hys wife killed with a potiõ. He had two wiues, *Laodice*, and *Berenice*, being despoused foꝛ loue, both the daughters of *Ptolomie Philadelphos*. *Laodice* killed him, and after him *Berenice* and hir childe. And *Ptolomeus* the son of *Philadelphus* in reuenge, killed *Laodice*, inuaded *Syria*, and toke *Babilon*. And the *Parthians* didde begynne to reuolte from the kingdome subiecte to the *Seleucidans*, bycause it beganne to be molested. After hym that was called God, reigned *Seleucus* his sonne by *Laodice*, named *Callinicos*.

The faythfulnes of a dogge.

Thorax.

Two noble princes.

The succession of *Seleucus*.

Antiochus Soter that is sauioure.

Antiochus Deus.

Laodice. *Berenice*.

After *Seleucus*, two children of *Seleucus* in order, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. *Seleucus* being weake and feeble, and hauing a disobedient armie, was poysoned of his friendes, after he had raigned two yeares. Then *Antiochus* the Great, of whom I haue written, who was ouercome of the Romanes. He raigned xxxvij. years. Of him and his children I haue spoken before, both being kings, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, *Seleucus* twelue yeares weak and doyng nothing for his fathers misfortune: *Antiochus* not fully two yeares, in the whiche, he ouerthrewe *Artaxia* of *Armenia*, and inuaded *Egipt* againste *Ptolomie* the firte, who, with his brother, were left *Orphanes*. And whiles he was in camp at *Alexandria*, *Popilius* the Romane Ambassadoure came, bringing a decree, in the whyche was written, that *Antiochus* shoulde not make warre vpon the *Ptolomies*, whiche when he vnderstode, he saide he woulde take deliberation. Then *Popilius* made a circle with a rodde, and saide: In this take thee aduisement. He being afraide, brake vp his camp, and spoyled the Temple of *Venus* of *Elymæa*, after the which he died of a consumption, leauing a sonne of nine years of age, *Antiochus Eupator*, of whom I haue spoken, and of *Demetrius* his successoure, who being pledge at *Rome*, fledde and was King, and called also *Sotor* of the *Syrians*, the second after *Seleucus Nicators* son. *Alexander* counterfaiting hymselfe to be of the house of *Seleucides*, rose against him, whom *Ptolomeus* King of *Egipt* maintained for hate of *Demetrius*. And *Demetrius* losing his kingdome by *Ptolomie*, dyed, but *Demetrius*, sonne to hym that was called *Sotor*, expelled *Alexander*, & bicause he did ouercome a bastarde by birth, he was called *Nicator* of the *Syrians*, the second after *Seleucus*. He also, after *Seleucus*, made warre vppon the *Parthians*, where being Captiue, he liued with *Phraarta* the kyng, whose sister *Radogine*, he marryed. For want of a king *Diodotus* a seruaunt of the kings, brought in *Alexander*, sonne to *Alexander* the bastard, & *Ptolomies* sister, & made him king, then he killed the childe, & raigned himself, changing his name into *Tryphon*. But *Antiochus*, brother to *Demetrius* the captiue, hearing of his captiuitie at the *Rhodes*, with muche ado killed *Tryphon*, after he was come into the Countrey. Then her

Seleucus Calinicus.

Seleucus Antiochus Magnus.

Artaxia king.

The Senate of *Popilius*.

Elymæa at the coast of *Eupater*.

Alexander the counterfaite getteth the kingdom of *Syria*. *Nicator*.

Diodotus bringeth in the bastards son *Riphon*

he made war againſte *Phraartes*, requiring his brother, *Phraartes* was afraide of him, and deliuered *Demetrius*. *Antiochus* neuertheleſſe fighting with the *Parthians*, was ouercome, & killed himſelfe. And when *Demetrius* was returned to his kingdome, *Cleopatra* his wife killed him, for ielouſie of his other wife *Radogine*, for the whiche cauſe he was marryed to *Antiochus Demetrius* brother. She had two children by *Demetrius*, *Seleuchus* and *Antiochus* called *Grypus*: by *Antiochus*, ſhe had *Antiochus* called *Cizicenus*. She ſent *Grypus* to *Athens*, *Cyzicenus* to *Cyzico*, to be brought vp. *Seleucus*, ỳ ſucceded after his father, ſhe killed with an arrow, either fearing ỳ reuengement of his father, or ỳ ſhe vſed a furious hate in al things. After *Seleucus*, *Gripus* was king, who cauſed his mother to drinke ỳ poyſon that ſhe had prepared for him. Thus was ſhe puniſhed. *Gripus* was a fit ſon for ſuch a mother, for he laide waite for *Cizicено*, though they were both of one mother, which, when he perceiued, he fought with him, & droue hym out of his kingdom, & raigned in his ſtede in *Syria*. But him did *Seleucus* ỳ ſon of *Grypus* ouerthrow, though he was his vncle, & bi cauſe he was a very cruel tyran, he was burned in a ſchoolehouſe at *Mopſueſtia*, *Ciliciа*. *Antiochus*, ſō of *Cyzicenus* ſucceded him, who ỳ *Syrians* thinke eſcaped the traines of his couſin *Seleucus*, for his godneſſe, therfore they call him the God. But his woman ſaued him, being in loue with his perſon. Yet I thinke the *Syrians* gaue him this name in deriſiō. For this *Euſebes* maried *Selene*, ỳ was firſt his fathers wife, & then *Gripus* his vncles wife. Therfore by the wil of God, he was expulſed his realme by *Tigranes*, who ſent his ſon ỳ he had by *Selene*, to be brought vp in *Aſia*, and therfore was called *Aſiaticus*, whom *Pompey* put from ỳ kingdom of *Syria*, as we haue ſaid, being ỳ, r viſ. K. of *Syria* of the houſe of *Seleucus*. For I leaue out *Alexander*, & *Alexanders* ſon as baſtards, & their ſeruāt *Diodotus*, raigning but one yere, whiles *Pōpey* was about other buſines. The rule of *Seleucus* race cōtinued 270. yeres. And if a man loke from *Alexander* to the Romaynes time, he muſte adde to theſe 270. yeares. 14. of *Tigranes*.

Antiochus killeth himſelfe.
Demetrius is killed of his wife.
Seleucus is killed of his mother.
Grypus killed his mother to ſaue himſelfe.
Cyzicenus driueth out *Grypus*.
Seleucus driueth out *Cyzicenus*.
Mopſus is a free Citie in *Cilicia* vvhich *Strabo* calleth *Mopſueſtia*. *Euſebes* good or deuout.
Pompey taketh the kingdome of *Syria*.

This I thought good to write of the *Macedonians*, ruling in *Syria*, as in a treatiſe by the way.

The ende of the *Romaces* vvarre vvith *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*.

¶ The Romaines warres with the Carthaginenſes: by Appian of Alexandria.

THe *Phœnitians* did builde *Carthage* in *Libya*, fiftie yeres after the taking of *Troy*, the builders of it, *Xarus* and *Carchedon*. But as the Romanes and ẏ *Carthagineās* themſelues think, *Dido* a woman of *Tyria*, whoſe huſbād *Pygmaleon* a Tiran of *Tyrus* had killed, and kept the act ſecret. She knowing it by a viſion, uedde with a greate deale of money, and as manye as hated the Tirannie of *Pygmaleon*, and ſayled to *Libya*, where nowe is *Carthage*, and beeyng driuen away by the *Libyans*, they deſired ſo muche place to inhabite, as they coulde compaſſe with the hyde of a Bull. A laughter was made of this triflyng ſpæche of the *Phœnitians*, who were aſhamed to denye ſo little a matter: but chiefly they maruelled howe a Cittie could be made in ſo little a ſpace, and being deſirous to ſæ the ſubtilty, by oth they promiſed to giue it. They cut the hide into one thinne thong, and compaſſed that part, where nowe the caſtle of *Carthage* is: and of this it was called *Birſa*. In time touing from thence, and fighting with their neyghbours, for whom they were to good, and by the vſe of their ſhippes, keping the ſea after the *Phœnitian* manner, they buylded the Cittie that is without *Birſa*, and waxed ſo mightie, as they were Lordes of *Libya*, and a great parte of the ſea. Then they made warres in farre Countries, in *Sicelie* and *Sardinia*, and other Iles, that bee in the ſea, and in *Spaine*. They ſent out many inhabitations, and had a dominion in power comparable to the *Grecians*, and in riches to the *Parthians*. 700. yeares after the beginning, the Romanes toke from them *Sicelie* & *Sardinia*, and in the ſeconde war *Spaine* alſo. Thus they inuading one another with gret armies, the ẏ by the conduct of *Annibal*, xvj. yeares togither waſted *Italie*, the other *Cornelius Scipio* the elder being Captaine, afflicted *Libya*, til they toke from *Carthage*, rule, nauie, and Elephāts, and apointed them to paye mony by daies. Then the ſecond peace being made betwen the *Romanes* & them, continued .50. yeres, til being broken, they made the third & laſt war betwæn thē. In ẏ which

The proper name of *Dido*, vvas *Eliſa* vvho killed hirſelfe rather than ſhe vvould mary vvith a *Barbarian* king.

Tyrus is nowv called *Porta di Sur*. It vvas an Iland. *Alexander* ioyned it to the land.

Pygmaleon ſon to *Belus* king of *Tyrus*, killed *Sycheas* his ſiſters huſband.

Byrſa is an hyde or a skinne.

Phœnitia is in *Syria* nexte the *Iewes*. In uenterice of letters and nauigation, theyr tvvo chief cuties vvere *Tyrus* and *Sydon*.

whiche, the *Romanes* ouerthrewe *Carthage*, *Scipio* the yonger being Generall, & determined it shoulde neuer be inhabited. Yet they sent an habitation thither of their owne people, verye nighe the former place, to be a fitte defence againste *Libya*. The matters of *Sicelie*, be tolde in that Treatise: The doings of *Spaine*, in the *Spanishe* Historie: And what *Annibal* did, when he inuaded *Italie*: in the warre of *Annibal*. This booke doth comprehēd all that was done in *Libya* from the beginning. The *Romanes* entred this warre, after that of *Sicelie*, & with .v. C. & xxx. ships, sayled into *Libya*, and toke many cities, & left *Attilius Regulus* with a power, General there, who toke .ij. C. cities more, whiche being wearye of *Carthage*, yelded to him, & he went on, & wasted their land. The *Carthagineans* sent to the *Lacedemonians* for a Captaine, thinking that they were ouercome for lacke of a good leader, they sente *Zantippus* vnto them. *Attilius* encamped at a Fen, & in the hote tyme, went about the Fen against his enimies, laden with heauy harnesse, and vexed with thirst, heate, and hardnesse of way, & beaten with the shot from the high places. When it was almoste night, he drewe nigh, & a floude did diuide them, therefore he passed the flood, that so he might affray *Zantippus*. But he hauing set his army in order, brought it forth of his cāp, thynking to ouermatch them that were hote & weary, & that the night should help his victorie: and he was not deceyued of this hope, for of .xxx. M. men which *Attilius* led, a fewe hardly escaped to the citie of *Aspis*, the rest were al slaine or taken, & with them *Attilius* the General & Consull was captiue. The *Carthaginians* being weary, sent hym not long after, with their Ambassadors to *Rome*, to worke theyr peace, or to returne, & he, in secret, with the best of the *Romanes*, persuaded them to continue the warre earnestly, & returned willingly to the sea. The *Carthaginians* put him in a Caue beset with yron pricks, & killed him. This felicitie of *Zantippus*, brought his own calamitie. For the *Carthaginians*, pretending to send him home honorably with manye giftes to *Lacedemonia*, in certaine galleys, commaunded the Captaines to drowne him and them that sayled with hym. This reward hadde he for his well doyng. And these were the good and euil happes that the *Romanes* had

The Greeke vvord is ἐπάρατον, vvhich signifieth accursed or a place that may not be inhabited. The habitation vvas ledde by *C. Gracchus* and *Flaccus*, vvhen the citie vvas troubled for the lavv of landes but not then allovved.

The *Carthagies* send to *Lacedemonia* for a Captaine.

Santippus is sente frō *Lacedemonia*.

Aspis or *Clupea* of the likenesse of a buckler, is a Citie in *Affrica* in the promontorie of *Mercurie*. *Regulus* dissuaded eth peace in *Rome*, and is tormented to death at *Carthage*.

The ingratitude of the *Carthaginians* tovvard *Santippus*.

had in the first war in *Libya*, til the *Carthaginiās* gaue place to thē in *Sicelie*: and how they gaue place, it is declared in the warre of *Sicelie*, after the whiche there was peace betweene Rome and *Carthage*.

After 24. yeares vvar, the *Carthagiās* vvere driuē out of *Sicelie* C. *Lutatius Catullus* being Consul.

The *Libyans* that were vnder *Carthage* and serued them in *Sicelie*, and the French, that were hyred, had a quarell against the *Carthaginians*, for with-holding their wages, and made them sharpe warre. They of *Carthage* sente for helpe to Rome, as to their frendes. The Romaines onely graunted them to gather men of *Italy* for this warre. For this also was doubtfull in the capitulations: and they sent some to pacifye the matter, whom the *Libyans* would not heare, but woulde make their Cities subiect to the Romaines if they would, but they did not accept thē.

The *Carthagies* kill the Romaine merchāts.

The *Carthaginians* with a great nauy molested their Cities, and kept victuals from them by sea, and being in want also by lande, as is wont in warre, the *Libyans* were ouercome, and the merchauntes that passed, were spoyled of the needy sorte: and such of the Romanes, as they killed, they threw ouer borde, that it shold not be seene: and it was not knowen a great while: and when it was knowen, denying to make recompence, warre was decreed against them by the Romanes, in the whiche they gaue *Sardinia* for a pryne, and it was written in the former conditions. Not long after the *Carthaginians* inuaded Spain, and gote it by little and little, till the *Saguntines*, fearing the Romaines, the limites of *Carthage* in *Spaine*, was not passe the floude *Hiberus*. These agreements the *Carthaginenses* brake, and went beyonde, *Annibal* being their Capitayne, leauyng *Iberia* to be kept by other Captaines, he went into *Italie*.

Iberus now *Ibro* a flood in *Spaine* that diuideth *Aragon*.

The Romaines Captaines in *Iberia*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Connelius Scipio*, being brethren, and hauing done many noble actes, were both slaine of the enimies, and the Captaines after them did but euill, till *Scipio*, the sonne of *Publius Scipio* that was slaine in *Iberia*, sayled thither, and putting an opinion in all men, that he went in gods name, and vsed a diuine counsel in all his doings, he had a glorious victorie, and being therfore of great renoume, he deliuered his army to them that were sent to be his

An opinion of diuine inspiratiō in *Scipio*.

suc-

successours, and went to Rome: he obtayned an army to be sent into *Libya*, to driue *Annibal* out of *Italie*, and to plague the *Carthaginias* in their own countrey. Some of the rulers of the citie, spake against it, that bicause *Italy* was troubled wᵗ so gret war, *Annibal* yet walking of it, & *Mago* in ẏ sides of it, hyring strãge souldiers in *Ligurie* & *France*, it was not good to make war vpon *Libya*, nor to inuade another Country, til the present hurt were healed at home. Some thought that the *Carthaginians*, whyche now without feare, did ouerrunne *Italie*: bycause they were not vexed at home, if warre were made vppon them, woulde sende for *Annibal*. Thus it was obtained to sende *Scipio* into *Libya*, not suffering him to gather men in *Italy*, being yet wasted by *Annibal*, but graunting him to leade such, as would willingly goe with hym, and to vse them that were yet in *Sicelie*, gyuing him leaue to prepare tenne gallies, and to make supply for thē, and to take them that were in *Sicelie*. Money they gaue him none, except any man for friendshippe would contribute vnto him. So slenderly began they this warre at the first, which after redounded to their great honour. Thus *Scipio*, inflamed as from God, against *Carthage*, and gathering. vij. thousand horse and fotemen at the most, sayled into *Sicelie*, hauing with hym for his guarde thrée hundred chosen yong striplings, whom hée commaunded to folow without armoure. He appointed thrée hundred of the wealthy *Sicilians*, to come at a day assigned, furnished with as good armour and horse as they coulde. When they were come, he graunted them, if they would, to giue other to serue in their place: wherewith being all content, he brought forth the thrée hundred that were vnarmed, and willed them to chaunge with them, they willinglye deliuered both horse and harneste: & so *Scipio* had 300. *Italians*, for as many *Sicilians*, very well furnished with goodly horse and armoure, who gaue him great thanks, and he had thē continually most ready in seruice.

Contention in the Senate for *Scipio* going to *Carthage*.

The slender setting forth of *Scipio* to so great a vvarre.

The pollicie of *Scipio* to arme 300. *Italians*.

The *Carthaginians* hearing this, sent *Asdrubal Giscones* son, to hunt for Elephants, and sent to *Mago*, that made men in *Liguria*, fyre thousande fotemen, eight hundred horse, and seauen Elephãts, commaunding him with as many more as he could,

Liguria is that part of *Italie* vvhich nowe belongeth to the *Genowais*.

to scoure the *Tuscane* sea, and to kepe *Scipio* frō *Libya*. *Mago* made no hast, bicause he could not ioyne with *Annibal* being so farre of, & also for that he euer foresaw the end. *Asdrubal* cōming frō the hunting, gathered of the *Carthaginians* and *Libyans* sixthousand fotemen of either sort, 6000. horse, and he bought 500. slaues, to row in the gallies, and 2000. horsemen of the *Numidians*, and hyred strangers, and trayned them all, 200. furlongs from *Carthage*. The Princes that were in *Libya*, were of seuerall dominions, of al the which, *Syphax* was of greatest honour with al men. *Massinissa* also the sonne of a noble king of high bloud of *Massulia*, was nourished and brought vp in *Carthage*, of goodly body & good behauiour. *Asdrubal Gisgo*, inferiour to none in *Carthage*, had dispoused him to his daughter, though she were of *Carthage* and he a *Numidian*: when he had ensured them, he carryed the yong man with him into *Spaine*, where he was Captaine. Now *Syphax* that was in loue with the mayde, inuaded the *Carthaginiās*, and made league with *Scipio*, comming from *Spaine* to inuade *Carthage*. The *Carthaginiās* hearing of it, and thinking it a great furtherance to the Romanes war, to haue *Syphax* ayde, they gaue the Virgin to him, vnknowen to *Asdrubal* & *Massinissa*, being in *Spain*. *Massinissa* disdayning at this, did also confeder with *Scipio* in *Spaine*, keping it secret, as he thoughte from *Asdrubal*. Who vnderstanding of it, was grieued at the iniury that was made to his daughter and the yong man, yet thought it beste for his Countrey, to dispatche *Massinissa*, and where he should go into *Libya* from *Iberia* after the death, of his father, he sent some to conducte him, commaunding, as secretely as they coulde, to kil *Massinissa*. He perceyuing it, fledde, and gotte hys fathers kingdome, and gathered horsemen with continuall exercise day and night, vsing them wō much shot on horsebacke, to giue onset and retire, and to charge againe, all their fight consisting in flying and chasing. And hauing gathered twentye thousande of them, he ledde them to huntings or prayes of other nations, by the which he thought to make them endure payne and labour. For the *Numidians* can abide hunger, and vse herbes in steade of corne, and drinke water altogither. Their horse neuer

Massinissa is made sure to *Sophonisba*.

Syphax in loue with *Sophonisba* maketh warre vpon the *Carthaginians* and allieth with *Scipio*.

Massinissa allieth with *Scipio*.

Sophonisba is giuē to *Syphax*.

Massinissa escapeth traynes.

Massinissa trayneth his men.

The hardnes of the *Numidians*.

neuer taſt barley, but alwayes eate graſſe, and drinke but ſeldome.

The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, thinking this exercise that this yong man made, was againſt them, for they were not ignorante wherein they had offended him, determined firſte to make war, and ouercome him, and then to méete with the Romanes. *Syphax* & the *Carthaginiãs* were many moe, with chariots and cariage for aboundaunce. *Maſſiniſſa* would himſelfe begin the labour, hauing only horſemen, no cariage nor forrage, that he might the more eaſily flie and turne again vpon his enimies and retire to ſtrong places, and being many times circumuented, diuided his armie, that they might the better flée by partes, he hiding himſelfe with a fewe, till they might come to him by night or day, as was appointed. He being the thyrde man, dyd once lye hidde in a caue, the enimies camping about it. He neuer ſtayd in campe, but euer led his army, to be vnknown wher he was, ſo as the enimies coulde not come to hands with him, but only kepe him backe, when he came to them. His fode was euery day, what he could get at night, were it in field, town or Citie, catching and ſpoyling euery thing, and diuiding it to hys companions. Wherefore many *Numidians* came vnto him, no wagies being appointed, but to take the gayn, that was much better. Thus did *Maſſiniſſa* warre with the *Carthaginians*. Whẽ *Scipio* had made all thing ready in *Sicilia*, he ſacrifiſed to *Iupiter* & *Neptune*, & came toward *Libya* with. 52. long ſhips 400. ſhips of burden, and many pinesſes and foyſts followed. He led an army of ſixténe thouſand footemen, a thouſand fiue hundred horſemẽ, he caried alſo much armour and munition, and much victuall, and ſayled on. The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax* hearing of it, purpoſed to deceyue *Maſſiniſſa*, and to draw him to ſocietie, till they had ouercome *Scipio*. He not being ignorant of their deceites, layde the like for them, & cõmunicated al with *Scipio*, & as he had bin reconciled, came to *Aſdrubal* with his horſemen. And being all in camp not farre aſunder at the Citie of *Vtica*, vnto the whiche, *Scipio* being brought by the wynde, dyd encampe there alſo.

The manner of *Maſſiniſſa* in the warre.

Vtica was the fayreſt citie in *Affrica* next *Carthage*, thirtie miles of, in the which *Cato* killed himſelfe when *Cæſar* followed him.

Asdrubals campe was not much from him, hauing twenty thousand fotemen. viz. thousande horsemen, and a hundred sixtie Elephantes. *Syphax* eyther afrayde, or being distrusted of both pretending his kingdom in diuerse parts to be molested of his neyghbours, went to his countrey. *Scipio* sente to skirmish with *Asdrubal*, and toke some of his Cities. In the night *Massiniſſa* came secretly to *Scipios* campe, and giuing him his hande, wished him the nexte day to send v. M. to lye close at a place. iii. furlongs from *Vtica*, where is a tower, that *Agathocles* Tiran of *Syracusa* did make, and by day he perswaded *Asdrubal*, to send *Hanno* the Cappitaine of his horsemen, to espie the number of the enimies, and to ride to *Vtica*, that they made no mutation when the enemie should be at hand, and he, if he would so commaund, would follow. *Hanno* toke a thousand choyse horsemen of *Carthage*, and a number of *Lybians*: and *Maßiniſſa* led his *Numidians*. When they were come to the tower, and *Hanno* roade towarde *Vtica* with a fewe: part of the ambushe appeared, and *Maßiniſſa* then commaunded him that hadde the charge of the *Carthaginian* horsemen, to set vpon them being but fewe, and he followed straight as to helpe them. The *Libyans* being in the middest, and still more of the traynes appearing, they were all killed on both sides, of the Romaines, and *Maßiniſſa*, except iiij. C. which were taken prisoners. When this was don, *Maßiniſſa* went to *Hanno* as his friend, and toke him, and brought him to *Scipio*, and chaunged him for his mother, that was with *Asdrubal*. *Scipio* and *Maßiniſſa* spoyled the lande, and deliuered the Romaines that were bound, and dygged the fields, being sente of *Annibal*, from *Iberia* and *Sicilia*, and from *Italie* it selfe. They besieging a greate Citie called *Locha*, & had muche trouble at it, when the assault shold be giuen, the *Lochaians*, signifying to yeld vpon conditions. *Scipio* called the retire. The souldiours for anger of the businesse they hadde about it, would not heare it, but mounting the wals, killed women and children. *Scipio* let them go safe that were left, and toke the spoyle from the souldiours, & the Captaines that had offended, he toke by lot out of all, and thæ he punished with death, and this done, wasted the country.

Syphax goeth from the campe

Agathocles was Tiranne of Syracusa and builded his tower when he made warr against the Carthagies.

Scipio getteth a day by the policie of *Maßiniſſa*.

Maßiniſſa taketh *Hanno* and claymeth him for his mother.

Locha is spoyled by souldiours furie.

Asdrubal

Asdrubal had traines for them, sending *Mago* with the horse before, hée folowing behinde with the rest. The *Romanes* beeyng in the middest, diuided themselues, and eyther of them giuing charge vppon the other, they killed fiue thousand *Numidians*, and toke a thousand eight hundred prisoners, the reste they drouue to the ground headlong. A second victorye of *Scipio*.

Nowe *Scipio* besieged *Vtica* both by sea and land, and sette a Tower vppon two gallies, from the which he threwe dartes of three cubits, and great stones vpon the ennimies. Muche did he anoy them, and was muche annoyed himselfe: hys ships beeyng crushed, he made greate trenches, and beat the walles with hys rammes, and pulled with his hookes al the hydes and lether couertes that they hadde vpon the walles. They within vndermined the rampires, and caught the hookes with strings, and brake the force of the rammes, casting beames against the breastes of them, and sallied oute againste the engines with fire, when the winde bare the force to them. Wherefore *Scipio* despayring so to get the Citie, determined to win it by long siege. The siege of *Vtica*. These hookes vvere like sithes to pul the stones out of the vvall.

When *Syphax* hearde of this, he came with his army, and lodged not farre from *Asdrubal*, dissemblyng to be friend to both, and delaying the warre of purpose, till the other ships that were come, were arriued at *Carthage*, and the hyred Souldiors of *Liguria* and *Lumbardie* were come also, and practised a peace, thinking it iuste, neyther that the *Romanes* should warre vpon *Libya*, nor the *Carthaginians* vppon *Italie*. That the *Romanes* shoulde haue *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, and the other Ilands, and *Iberia*. And them that did consent hereto, he would helpe, and be against them that did not. He practised also to winne *Massinissa* vnto him, offering, to confirme him in the Kingdome of *Massilia*, and of his three sisters, to giue him whiche he woulde in marryage. Hée that was the messenger, carryed golde with him, that if he coulde not perswade hym, he shoulde gyue it to one of hys seruauntes, that woulde promise to kyll him. When *Massinissa* had refused these offers, the messenger gaue the golde to one to kyll him. He that toke it, shewed it to *Massinissa*, and bewrayed the gyuer. *Syphax*, thinking he could not any longer delay, openlye ayded *Syphax* cõmeth against the field. *Syphax* dealeth for peace. The practise of *Syphax*. A practise to kil *Massinissa*.

the *Carthaginians*. He toke a citie in the vpland called *Tholunta*, hauing the *Romanes* munition and victualles by treason, and killed the keepers of it, bycause they woulde not go awaye vppon truste, and he sent more great aide of the *Numidians*.

Syphax taketh *Tholunta*, in the vvhiche vvas the Romaynes prouision.

Nowe were the *Merceanrie* souldiors come, and the Shippes wel appointed, when they agreed of the battel that *Syphax* should set vpon them that were at the siege, that *Asdrubal* should force *Scipio* his campe, and Shippes shoulde fight with Shyppes, and all at once the nexte daye, that the *Romanes*, bycause they were so fewe, shoulde not be able to resiste. At night *Massinissa* vnderstanding of it by certaine *Numidians*, tolde it *Scipio*. He being in doubt and afrayde, least, if his armye were muche diuided, it shoulde be too weake in all pointes, he called the Captaines that night to a counsell, and when he sawe them in some doubte, he saide:

The determination of the enimie againste the *Romanes*.

Massinissa saueth the *Romanes* frō a greate danger.

Boldenesse and spéede, (O friendes) and fight of desperation, nowe beseemeth vs. Let vs go and set vpon our enimyes. What we shall winne thereby, now learne. Our sodayne comming vpon them, shal amaze them, and the strangenesse of the feate, that a fewe woulde auenture vppon so many. We shall not diuide oure army into manye partes, but vse it all togither. Nor wee shall not set it againste all the enimyes, but agaynste the firste that wee shall chose. They are lodged seuerallye, and we shal be equall to euerye parte of them. Let vs onely preuent them with boldenesse and good lucke, and if God graunte vs to ouercome the firste, we shall contemne the reste. But who be first to be set vpon, and what time and manner of our assault we shall take, if you thinke good, I will tel you mine opinion. When they al agreed to him: The time is (said he) to do the matter, as sone as we go from this meeting, beyng yet nighte, by the whiche, the thyng wyll be the more fearefull, and they the lesse prepared, and none of their confederates able to helpe them in the darke. Let vs preuent their purpose in inuading vs to morrowe all at once. And where they bée three Campes, their Shyppes are farre off, and it is no fighte wyth Shyps by night. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* be not farre asunder. *Asdrubal* is the

The oration of *Scipio*, touching the sodaine assaulting of the enimye.

heade

heade of the warre. *Syphax* shall dare do nothing in the nighte, a man barbarous, full of daintinesse and feare. Then let vs go against *Asdrubal* with all oure armye. We shall appoint *Massinissa* to lye in wayte for *Syphax*, if he hap to come forth, contrarye to oure opinion. Let vs goe a foote to *Asdrubals* campe, and assaulte it round about, wyth good hope and lusty courage: This for the preſēt, is most fit for the horsemen, for we cannot vse thē in the night: I wil place them farre off, to compasse the Camp of our enimies, that if wee be driuen backe, they may receyue vs, and we flee to oure friends, and if we do ouercome them, they may chase and destroy them.

Hauing thus saide, he sent away the Captaines to arme the hoste, and he sacrificed to Boldenesse, and Feare, and that no sodaine feare without cause shoulde happe, but his armye continue bolde. The rest of the thirde watche, was signified wyth the Trumpet, and with a maruellous deepe silence, so greate an armye went, till the horsemen had compassed the ennimies. The fotemen went to their Trench. Then a broken showte being made, and manye soundes of trumpes and hornes to make the more terror, they droue the watche from their place, they toke the Trench, and pulled down the rampire. Some of the boldest ranne in, and set the Tents afyre. The *Libyans* beyng waked of their sleepe with terror, and running out of order, to their order, and taking their armor, and not obeying the commaundements for the confusion, neither the Generall himselfe certainly knowing what was done, the Romanes toke them that leapte oute, and were arming themselues in great turmoile, they set manye Tents on fyre, & killed some of them as they came, and some being made afrayd with the crye of the enimie, and with the fight and moste fearefull businesse, being in the nyghte, and ignorant of the euill indeede, thinkyng the Campe hadde beene taken, and fearyng the fyre of the burnyng Tentes, leapt of themselues from them, and wente into the fielde, as into a more sure place, where as they came by partes, they were miserably killed, and as they fell into the Romaine horsemen that had compassed al, they were dispatched.

This feare is πανικὸς such as cōmeth of a cause vnknowen, and can not be staied, as *Iupiter* put among the *Titans*.

Feare in the *Carthagies* camp.

Syphax

An other victorye of the Romanes.

Syphax hearing this crye in the nighte, and seeyng the fire, came not forth, but sent certaine horsemen to helpe *Asdruball*. Uppon whom *Massinissa* came sodainely, and killed out of hand. When daye was come, and *Syphax* hadde learned that *Asdruball* was gone, and that part of his army was destroyed, and part taken of the ennimye, and some dispersed, and that the *Romanes* had his campe with all the munition, he departed and fledde to the middle land for feare, leauing all behinde hym, thinking that after this ouerthrowe of the *Carthaginians*, *Scipio* would followe him: so his Campe and all the furniture *Massinissa* toke. Thus the Romanes, in a little part of one night did take two campes, and ouerthrew two armies greater than themselues. There died of the Romanes aboute an hundred, and of the enimies, little lesse than thirty thousand: and of prisoners, two thousande fyre hundred were taken, and fyre hundred horsemen yelded to *Scipio* as he retourned. The Elephants, some were wounded, and some were killed. *Scipio*, of the golde, siluer, armoure, and much puorie, and horses, as wel of the *Numidians* as other whiche hee hadde gote, and by one victorie moste noble, casting the *Carthaginians* on their knees, gaue gifts to the souldioures, and sent the moste precious thinges to *Rome*, and exercised hys souldioures chearefullye, thinkyng that *Annibal* woulde shortelye come oute of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*. And thys dydde *Scipio*.

Syphax fleeth.

Scipio rewardeth hys souldioures.

Asdruball the Generall of the *Carthaginians* in the fighte by night, being hurte, fled to *Anea* with fyue hundred horsemen, where he gathered some of the hyred souldioures that were escaped from the fight, and the *Numidians*, and called bondmen to libertye. And when he heard the *Carthaginians* had determined his deathe, as an euill Generall, and had chosen *Hanno*, *Bomilcharet* sonne, in his place, he made an army of hys owne, and receyued all malefactours, and ledde them where he mighte haue relefe, and trayned them, hauing three thousande horse, and eight thousand fotemen, as hauing his truste onely in fight. In doing this, he kepte it long hid from both from the Romanes and *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* led his army to the walles of *Carthage*, and boldlye

Asdruball fleeth and is condemned, and ryseth againste hys Countrey.

Anea.

called

called them to fight, but none came forth.

Amilchar Admirall of *Carthage*, with an hundred shippes came vppon the naue of *Scipio*, thinking to destroye it in his absence, hoping easily to take twenty gallies with an hundred.

When *Scipio* sawe him vnder sayle, he sent to shut the mouth of the Porte, and that the greate Shippes shoulde lye at anker with a distaunce one from another, that the gallies might come by them, as out of a gate, when neede shoulde require, and that they shoulde fasten and tye the ships togither wyth their sayle yardes, that they might be as a wall: and he came to them and furthered their worke.

Scipio saueth the *Romane* shippes.

The *Carthaginians* were receyued both by sea and lande, and from the wall with shot and artillerie, their shippes were bruised, and other being weary, went away at night. And when they were going, the *Romane* galleis wente out of the spaces, as was appointed, and sette vpon them, and when they were too weake, they retired, one they toke boyde of men, and broughte hit to *Scipio*. Then they went both to their wintring harbours. The *Romanes* had plenty from the sea: the *Vticenses* and *Carthaginians* being in want, robbed the Merchantes, till other *Romane* shippes were sent to *Scipio*, whiche, in set places, kepte the enmimie from robbing. They were more and more in hunger. Toward the end of Winter, *Syphax* being neare, *Massiniſſa* desired the thirde part of the *Romanes* armye to be ioyned to hys, the which he receiued, and by the leading of *Lelius*, pursued *Syphax*, he fleeyng till hee came to a floude, and there stayed to fight.

Massiniſſa and the *Romanes* against *Syphax*.

The *Numidians* (as their manner is) made shotte very thick one againste an other. The Romanes being couered with theyr shieldes, went to the fight. *Syphax* came with fury vppon *Massiniſſa*, who went cherefully against him, and the fight being greate betweene them, *Syphax* men fleeing, he passed the floude, whose horse being hurte, ouerthrewe his Maister. Then *Massiniſſa* ran vpon hym, and toke him, and one of his sonnes, and sente them straight to *Scipio*. There were slaine ten thousand of *Syphax* side: of the *Romanes*. lxxb. of *Massiniſſa* three hundred: of *Syphax* foure thousand were taken prisoners, whereof two thousand fiue hun-

The fight betweene two Kings, *Syphax* and *Massiniſſa*.

Massiniſſa taketh *Syphax*.

ored were *Massulians*, whiche fled from *Massinissa* to *Syphax*. *Massinissa* desired them of *Lelie*, whom, when he had receyued, hee killed. Then they ouerranne the *Massulians* and the land of *Syphax*, parte wherof they appointed to *Massinissa*, parte they receyued by submission, and the disobedient sorte they destroyed. There came Ambassadoures to them from *Cyrta*, to deliuer the Palaice of *Syphax* to them. And some came priuately to *Massinissa*, from *Sophonisba*, *Syphax* wife, to excuse the necessitie of that mariage. *Massinissa* receyueth hir gladly, and went againe to *Scipio*, leauing hir at *Cyrta*, to see what was best to be done hereafter. *Scipio* sayd to *Syphax*: 'What Spirite tolde thee, when thou wast a 'friend to me, & praying me to come into *Libya*, to breake thy faith 'with God, by whom, thou diddest sweare, & after God, to breake 'it w̄ the *Romanes*, & to chose to make warre for *Carthage*, against 'the *Romanes*, seeing the *Carthaginians* not long before were thyne 'enimies. He said: *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdruball*, whome I 'loued to my losse, she louing hir Country so dearly, & able to per'swade a man to what she list, turned me from you, to hir coūtry, 'and from so greate felicitie, hath brought me to so great misery. 'Therefore I counsell thee (for none being yours, and put from 'Sophonisba, I ought to be sure vnto you) to keepe *Sophonisba*, least 'she turne *Massinissa* to what she wil: for it cannot be hoped that 'she wil take the *Romanes* part, so greatly doth she loue hir Citie. This he spake eyther truly, or for gelousie of *Massinissa*, to hinder him as much as he could. *Scipio* perceyuing *Syphax* to bee wise, & expert in that coūtry, led him about with him, & made him priuy of his mind & counsel, as *Cyrus* vsed *Crœsus* king of *Libya*. When *Lelius* was come, & said he heard as much of *Sophonisba* to bee of many reported, *Scipio* commanded *Massinissa* to deliuer *Sophonisba* *Syphax* wife. He refusing it, & excusing that was done afore, *Scipio* commanded him more sharply not to withholde by violence a Romane prisoner, but to bring hir forth, & then to alleadge and say what he could. Then went *Massinissa* with the *Romanes* to deliuer *Sophonisba*. But priuily he came firste to hir, & brought hir a poyson, & told hir she must presently drinke it, or remayne a slaue to the *Romanes*: speaking no more, he tooke his horse. She

Cyrta, nowe Constana, where *Ingurth* killed *Adherbal*.

A priuie message frō *Sophonisba* to *Massinissa*.

Syphax biddeth *Scipio* beware of *Sophonisba*.

Scipio vseth *Syphax* friendlye as *Cyrus Crœsus*.

Massinissa is loth to leaue *Sophonisba*.

shewing

shewing the cuppe to hir nurse, prayed hir not to bewaile hir noble death, and dronke the poyson. *Massiniſſa* shewed hir to the *Romanes*, and when he had buryed hir honorably, he retourned to *Scipio*. He prayſed hym, and tolde him he was rid of an euill woman, and crowned hym for his seruice against *Syphax*, and gaue him many gifts. When *Syphax* was come to *Rome*, some thought good to saue hym, bicause he had bin a friend to the *Romanes*, in *Iberia*: some thought to punish him, bycause he had made warre against his friendes: but he being sicke for sorrow, dyed. *Asdrubal* hauing wel exercised hys soaldiors, sent to *Mago* ỹ was generall of the *Carthaginians*, that he would make him his fellow in ỹ warre, shewing that there were many *Iberians* with *Scipio*, whom if a man woulde corrupte with golde & promise, they might burne *Scipio* his Campe: and he, if the time were prescribed, would be at the feate. Whē *Hanno* heard this, he wrought wiles against *Asdrubal*, yet he dyd not refuse the enterprise, but sente a faithfull man with gold, as a run away into *Scipios* Campe, who perswading suche as he found, corrupted many, & the day being appointed, he returned to *Hanno*, who sent to *Asdrubal* of the day. Whē *Scipio* sacrificed, euident danger of fire was signified, who sent aboute the campe, to see if there were any great fire, and to put it oute. And thus he sacrificed many dayes, and alwaies the sacrifice shewed fire: wherefore he was grieued, and determined to change his campe. An *Iberian*, seruant to a horseman of *Rome*, being tolde of ỹ conspirators, fained as he had bin made priuie, & so learned al. & told it to his maister, who brought him to *Scipio*, & bewrayed al. *Scipio* killed them, & threwe their heads oute of the camp. *Hanno* perceyued it some, being so nighe, & came not at the daye appointed. But *Asdrubal* being ignorant, came, & when he saw the number of ỹ dead, hee suspected the matter & retired. Whē did *Hanno* greatlye accuse hym to the multitude, that he shoulde come to *Scipio* to betray him, & he woulde not receyue him. And *Asdrubal* after this was in more hate at *Carthage*.

Shee dyeth like a noble hatted Ladye.

Syphax is sent to *Rome*.

Syphax dyeth in prison.

Practise against *Scipio*.

Sacrifices signifying fyre.

The conspiracy bewrayed.

Asdrubal is accused falsly.

About this tyme, *Amilchar* secretlye sayling vppon the Romane Nauye, toke one galley, and fire Shyppes.

Romane shyps taken.

Hanno came vpon them that besieged *Vtica*, and was repulsed.

Scipio leaueth the siege at Vtica

Scipio hauing bin so long at the siege of *Vtica*, and doyng no good, dissolued his campe, and sent his munition against the Citie of *Hippon*, and doing no good there, burned his vnprofitable engins, and ranged the Countrey, some he receiued to amitie, and some he destroyed.

Hippon, this seemeth to bee the country of saint Austen.

The *Carthaginians* being weary of so many displeasures, made *Annibal* Generall, and sent an Admirall with a nauy, to haste hys commyng, and in the meane tyme, they sent Embassadors to *Scipio* for peace, thinking to obtaine one of these either to haue peace, or delay of time, till *Annibal* came. *Scipio* gaue them a truce, and taking the costes of his Campe, gaue them leaue to sende messengers to *Rome*. They sent and yet kepte warde in the Cittie, as they hadde bin still enimies.

Expenses.

Beeyng brought into the Senate, they desired forgiuenesse of their faulte. The Senatoures partely accused the *Carthaginians* of their infidelitie, whiche they had so oft made and broken, and what hurt *Annibal* had done the *Romanes*, and their confederats, the *Iberians* and *Italians*. Part of them thought this peace was as profitable for them, as for the *Carthaginians*, *Italie* beeyng wasted wyth so manye euills, and vttering their feare of things to come, *Annibal* saylyng out of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*, and *Hanno* from *Carthage*, wyth greate armies against *Scipie*. Vppon the which, the Senate doubting, sent counsellours to *Scipio*, with whom, he might from henceforth conferre, and do that should seeme expedient. He made peace with *Carthage* with these conditions.

A treatie of peace.

Diuerse opinions in the Senate.

1 That *Mago* shoulde saile from *Liguria* out of hande, and from henceforth leade no straunge armies.

2 That they should haue no more but thirtie gallies.

3 That they shoulde not meddle beyonde the ditche called *Pharitian*.

4 That they should deliuer all the prisoners and run awaies to the *Romanes*.

5 That they should pay them in tyme 1600. talents of siluer.

6 That *Massinissa* should haue the *Massilians*, and what he could get of *Syphax* lande.

These

These were the conditions, and ambassadours sayled to *Rome* to sweare to them before the Consuls, and so did some from *Rome*, to haue them sworne at *Carthage*.

The Romaynes rewarded *Massinissa*, wyth giftes of confederacie: they sent him a crown of gold, and a signet of gold, and a Chayre of Iuorie, and a purple garment, and a robe of *Rome*, and a horse trapped with golde, and an armour for hys whole body. When this was done, *Annibal* sayled to *Carthage* against hys will, suspecting the vnfaythfulnesse and disobedience of the people to their rulers, and thinking the peace would not be made, and if it were made, would not long hold, he went to a Citie of *Libya*, *Adrumete*, and gathered victuall, and bought horses. And he made friendshippe with a prince of *Numidia*, called *Areacides*. Foure thousand horsemen that fled vnto hym, frō *Massinissa*, that had bene *Syphaces*, as suspected he shot to deathe, he deuided their horse to his souldiours. And *Mesotulos* another prince, came vnto hym with a thousand horsemen, and *Vermina* one of *Syphax* sonnes, hauing the most part of his fathers kingdome.

Annibal in *Affrica*.

Adrumeta is so far from *Carthage* as *Annibal* rode in post, two dayes and two nightes.

Areacides.
Mesulas.
Vermina.

The Cities of *Massinissa* hee gotte, some by yelding, and some by force. *Narces* he got by treason after thys sort: hauing want of victuals, hee sente to them as his friendes, and when he sawe it frame, he sent many with secret weapons, commanding to deale iustly with the sellers, til they heard ỹ trumpets, then to kill euery man, and kepe the gates: and so was *Narces* taken.

Annibal getteth *Narces* by treasō.

The people of *Carthage*, lately making peace, and their ambassadors not yet come from *Rome*, and *Scipio* still present, spoyled the victuall of *Scipio*, that was driuen to *Carthage* by windes, and bound the bringers of it, the Senate of *Carthage* sore threatning them, and warning them not to breake the league lately made. They blamed the league, as vniustly made, and sayd ther was more feare to bee had of famine, than of breaking league. *Scipio* would not beginne warre againe, after the peace, but desired, as of his friendes, that the offendours might be punished.

People of *Carthage* do spoile the Romanes in time of peace.

They would haue stayed the ambassadours also, till theyr

came from *Rome*. But *Hanno Magnus*, and *Asdrubal Eriphus*, did take them from the multitude, and sent them awaye with two gallies: other perswaded *Asdrubal* the admiral, to go to the tower of *Apollo*, and when the gallies did returne, to set vpon *Scipios* shippes, and he was perswaded. So some of the ambassadours were shotte to death, other wounded of them, got to the port of their power, and leapt out of the ship ready to be taken: some were they to be taken prisoners. When the Romaines in the Citie heard this, they commaunded the ambassadours, that yet were ther about the peace, to depart as enimies. They in their iourney were driuen to *Scipios* nauy. When the admirall asked *Scipio* what was to be done with them, he sayde, not as the *Carthaginians* haue done with vs, and let them goe vntouched. When the olde men of *Carthage* saw this, they rebuked the people of their rashnesse, and counselled them to desire *Scipio* to kepe the league, & to receiue punishment for their offence of ẏ *Carthaginians*. They being offended with the Senate for ẏ long euil gouernment, & being stirred of ẏ cõmon sort, as not loking wel to ẏ cõmon profitte, & being deceiued with vaine hope, called *Annibal* with his army. He considering the greatnesse of ẏ war, caused them to cal home *Asdrubal* with his power. Thus *Asdrubal* being quit of his offence, deliuered his armor to *Annibal*: yet durst he not appeare at *Carthage*, but hid himself in the citie. *Scipio* placing his shipe before *Carthage*, kept victual from them by sea. At this time was a fight of horsemẽ betwẽn *Scipio* & *Annibal* at *Zama*, in ẏ which, *Scipio* had ẏ better: & there was dayly skirmishes betwixt thẽ, til *Scipio* heard ẏ *Annibal* was in great wãt, & loked for his fraygers to come, & in the night sent *Thermus* against ẏ bringers of it. *Thermus* toke anbil in a streight passage, & killed 3000. *Libyans*, & toke as many, & brought ẏ victual to *Scipio*. *Annibal* being driuen to extreme want, & diuising how he might help ẏ preset necessitie, set ambassadors to *Massinissa*, remẽbring to him his norishing & bringing vp in *Carthage*, & desired him to moue *Scipio* to come to accord again, for ẏ offence was of the people, & of ẏ foolisher sort of ẏ people. *Massinissa* remẽbring in dẽd, ẏ he was brought vp in *Carthage*, hauing ẏ

Modestie of *Scipio*.

Zama.

A fight of horsemen.

Victual taken from *Annibal*.

Annibal maketh meane to *Massinissa* to escape present famine.

worthinesse

worthinesse of the citie in reuerence, & many friends yet there prayed *Scipio*, and brought them again to accord after this sort.

1 That the *Carthaginians* should deliuer the shipp es, men and victuals, that they had taken of the Romanes, and all that they had taken beside, or the price of it, as *Scipio* should value it.

2 That they should pay a. M. talents, for a fine, for the fault.

This was agreed, & truce taken, til the *Carthaginians* shoulde heare them, & so *Annibal* escaped beyond al hope. The Senate of *Carthage*, allowed wel of the accord, and exhorted the people to stand to them, remembring the long aduersity that they had, had, and the present neede in the army both of meate and mony: but they, as rude people be wont, foolishly thought their gouernours agreed with the Romanes for their owne commodities, that by them they might rule their countrey, as *Annibal* dyd nowe, and *Asdrubal* had done afore, betraying the armye to ỹ enimies in ỹ night, not long after meaning to yeld to *Scipio*, & then comming to the campe, and now lurking in the citie, vpon the which, a crye and tumult being made, some of them wente out of the assemblie to seeke *Asdrubal* round about. He preuented them, flying into his fathers Sepulchre, and killed himselfe with a poyson: they dragged out his carcasse, and cut off hys heade, and put it vppon a speares point, and bare it aboute the Citie. Thus *Asdrubal*, first vniustly iniuried, and secondly falsly accused of *Hanno*, & then thus brought to death by the *Carthaginians*, was spyted after his death in this wise. They sente to *Annibal* to breake the truce, and to make warre vppon *Scipio*, & to try it out by speedy fight, because of wāt. He brake the truce. And *Scipio* taking a great Citie called *Parthos*, camped neare to *Annibal*, and he remoued, sending three spies to the Romanes, whome *Scipio* toke, and did not kil them according to the law of armes, but commanded them to be led about the campe, to see the state of armor & munition, & then let them go to tell *Annibal* of euerye thing. He desired to come to talke, whit he being graunted, he sayd the *Carthaginians* were grieued with the first peace, for the money, if that might be remitted, & the Romanes contented with *Sicilia*, *Iberia*, & ỹ Iles which they haue, ỹ peace

Annibal escapeth famine.

The rude people of *Carthage*

The malice of the people against *Asdrubal*.

Asdrubal killeth himselfe.

The spight of the people against him.

The peace broken.

Parthos.

Scipio causeth *Annibals* espies to be led about his army.

Talke betwen *Scipio* and *Annibale*

should

shoulde be sure. *Scipio* aunswered *Annibal* shoulde gette a greate rewarde, by flying out of *Italie*, if hee myght obtayne thys of *Scipio* and forbadde him to sende anye more to hym.

And so threatning one another, they departed to their seueral campes. There was a Cittie nygh called *Cilla*, at the whiche was an hil, fytte for the campe, the which *Annibal* perceyuing, sent to take it vp, and folowed with his army, but finding it taken before of *Scipio*, he was left in the playne field without water, and spent that night in digging of water pittes. The army pickte out the heapes of sande, and dranke little water full of sande, and was grieued without meate or rest, and some were in their armoure all night. Which *Scipio* perceyuing, came vpon them by day, they being weary of their way, watch and thyrst.

Cilla.
Annibal in straightes.

The order of *Annibals* battell.

Annibal was loth to come to fighte, yet bycause he shoulde wante water if he tarryed, and, if he fledde, his enimie woulde take courage and set vpon hym, considering all this, he thought it good for the necessitie, to try it. He put in order fifty .M. and lxxx. Elephants. He placed them before the battel with spaces betweene to make them most terrible. After them was the third parte of the armye, the *Celtians* and *Ligurians*: with these were myxed archers and slyngers of *Marrusia* and *Gymnasias*: after the was the seconde army, whiche was of *Carthagians* and *Libyans*. The third were of them that folowed him out of *Italie*, in the which, he trusted most, bicause they feared their case. The horse men were aboute the wings. And thys was *Annibals* order.

Gymnasij be the Ilands called *Baleares* now *Maiorca* and *Nicorca*. *Lacanas.*

Scipio had about. xxiij. thousande, and horsemen of *Italie* and *Reme*, a thousand fiue hundred. *Massinissa* was there with many horsemen of *Numidia*, and *Lacanas* another prince with fyre hundred horse. He set his fotemen in three battels as *Annibal* did: he made a partition betweene the bandes, that the horsemenne might passe easily by them: he made to euery bande a defence at the front with strong pertches layde ouer with yron of two Cubits long and very thicke, to kepe backe the Elephantes as an engine, and he warned them and the other fotemen, to gine place to the furie of those beastes, and to cast their dartes vpon them as fast as they coulde, and when they were nigh, to cutte

Scipio his order.

their

their sinowes if they coulde. Thus were they placed of *Scipio*. The *Numidian* horse he placed in the wings, being acquainted with the sight and fury of the Elephants. The *Italians* horse, because they were not vsed to them, he set last of all, to be readye to passe by the distances, when the fomemen had bidden the first violence of the Elephants. Both sorts of horsmen, had companies of shotte ioyned to them, to annoy the beastes. Thus were his horsemen set. The right wing he gaue to *Lælius*: the left, to *Octauius*: in the middest, was both he and *Annibal*, to kepe their glorie, hauing horsemen attending vpon them, to helpe where nede should be. *Annibal* had three thousand, *Scipio* had two thousande, and the three hundred *Italians*, whom he armed in *Sicelie*. When all was ready, both of them encouraged their men. *Scipio* called the Gods to witnesse, before his army, against whom the *Carthaginians* had offended, as ofte as they brake their promise, and required hys army not to loke to the number of their enimies, but to their owne vertue, whom, being more in number they had ouerthrowen euen in that lande: and if they that ouercome, haue anye feare or doubte, muche more of necessitie must they haue that haue bin ouercome. Thus did *Scipio* encourage and stirre his fewe number. *Annibal* recorded to them the feates that he hadde done in *Italie*, as an enterprise of moste great renoume, not among the *Numidians*, but among all the *Italians* in *Italie*, and shewed how fewe the enimies were now, and exhorted them, not to be worse than a fewe, they being moe and in their own countrey. Both of them did declare vnto their souldiours the daunger and greatnesse of the present fight.

Scipio to his souldiours.

Annibal to his souldiours.

Annibal shewed that *Carthage* and all *Libya* was to be tryed in thys fighte, whether they shoulde be slaues being ouercome, or rule hereafter ouer all they had wonne. *Scipio* tolde hys, that if they were defeated, they had no safe returne: if they dyd ouercome, a great dominion shoulde fall vnto them, and a rest of their present paynes, a going home to their country, and a renoume for euer.

Thus eyther of them encouraging other, they went to the fight: *Annibal* sounded first: *Scipio* commaunded to aunswere

him.

The Elephants put backe at the wyngs.

The Elephants beganne the fight in moſt terrible manner, being ſpurred with prickes of the riders. The *Numidian* horſemen ranne about them, and threwe their dartes thicke vppon them, ſo as being wounded, they fledde, and troubled their own parte, that their kepers led them away: and this was the firſt enterprize with the Elephants at the wings of the army, but in the midde battel of the Romaines, they trode downe the ſotemē, being vnacquainted with this fight, and ſo heauy harniſed, that they could hardly giue place, or goe forewarde, tyll *Scipio* broughte forth the *Italian* horſemenne that were placed behynde, and with them the ſhotte, commaundyng them to leaue their horſes that were afrayde, and to goe aboute and ſhote at the Elephants. He was the firſt that alighted, and wounded the Elephant that came afore.

The Elephants trouble the Romanes fotemen, in the battel

Scipio leaueth his horſe to fight vvith the Elephants.

The other ſouldiours encouraged therby, and hurtyng the beaſtes, made them alſo to go out of the battel. The fighte being cleared of the beaſts, and nowe only of men and horſes, the right wing of the Romaines whyche *Lælius* ledde, putte to flighte the *Numidians* that were agaynſte them, when *Maſſiniſſa* had wounded *Maſſintha* their prince, and *Annibal* comming quickly vnto them, ſette them againe to fight.

Maſſiniſſa vvoūdeth *Maſſintha*.

The left battayle, whyche *Octauius* gouerned, had very much adoe with their enimies, the French and *Ligurians*.

Scipio ſente *Thermus* to helpe them wyth choyſe men. *Annibal*, hauing ſtayde his lefte battayle, roade to the *Ligurians* and Frenchmen, bryngyng another bande of *Libyans* and *Carthaginians*. Whiche when *Scipio* ſawe, he came againſte them with another band.

Scipio and *Annibal* fighte.

When theſe two moſte noble captaines dyd thus contend, there was euidente emulation and care on both ſides, no diligence was lefte on eyther parte: the labour was no ſharper, than their exhortations were vehement. The fight beyng long doubtfull, and the Captaines hauing pittie of their wearie ſouldiours, coupled togither, that by them, the ende might be the ſhorter. They threw one at another. *Scipio* hytte *Annibals*

bals shielde, *Annibal* stroke *Scipios* Horse, and the Horse, for the wounde, ouerthrewe *Scipio*. He was mounted agayne, and threw at *Annibal*, but missed him, and hurt the Horse was nexte him.

Massinissa vnderstanding, came thyther, and the Romaynes seeing theyr Capitayne fighting lyke a Souldiour, toke the more courage agaynst theyr enimies, and putte them backe, and chased them, *Annibal* ryding aboute in vaine, prayeing them to staye, and perswading them to turne agayne to the fight.

Massinissa commeth to the danger that *Scipio* vvas in.

Annibal being in greate doubte, brought the *Italians* that came with hym, and not yet syrring from the place of succoure, into the fighte, hoping to breake the Romaynes araye the more easily, bycause they were folowing the ennimye: but they seeing that deuise, called one another diligently from the chase, and put themselues againe in order for the fighte. Nowe hauing no Horse, and their shotte being spent, they fought togyther with their blades. Great was the slaughter, and manye were the woundes and the grones of them that fell, and the shoutes of them that dyd kyll, tyll the Romaynes putte them backe and made them flye also.

The Romanes skil in fight.

Then was the victorye euident. *Annibal* seeing the *Numidian* Horsemen stande styll, ranne to them, and prayed them not to forsake hym, whom when he had perswaded, he brought them againste them that chased, thinking to do a notable feate againe.

Annibal renevveth the fight.

Firste he mette with the *Massulians* and fought with them: and this fighte was onely betweene *Massinissa* and *Annibal*. They fiercelye going to it, *Massinissa* stroke *Annibals* target, he hitte *Massinissas* Horse, who being a foote, fle we vpon *Annibal*, and killed his Horse, comming vppon hym before all other. The dartes of the other he receyued vppon hys shielde, and drewe one of them that stucke vppon it, and threw it at *Annibal*, missing him, and killed the nexte Horse.

Massinissa and *Annibal* fighteth.

Then drawing out another, he was wounded on the arme, and went oute of the battell for a whyle. When *Scipio* heard of it, he was afrayde of *Maßiniſſa*, and came to the fraye, and found *Maßiniſſa* horſed and going to the field againe, hauing tyed his wound.

Scipio commeth in reliefe of *Maſſiniſſa*.

The fight was equall agayne, and very ſore on both ſides, eyther being afrayde of their capitaynes, tyll *Annibal* dydde ſee the *Iberians* and Frenchmenne ſtaying vppon an hill, and roade to them to bring them forth againe. They that foughte, not knowing the cauſe, thinkyng his going had bin a flying, lefte the fighte willyngly, and fledde diſorderedly, not lokyng toward *Annibal*, but euery man where he coulde. Thus they brake, and the Romaines, as the fielde hadde bene fully gotte, purſued them out of order, neyther they vnderſtanding of *Annibals* purpoſe, who returned with the Spaniards and Frenchmen.

Terrour in the battel.

Wherefore *Scipio* called his men againe from the chaſe with ſpéede, and ſet them in order, being more than they that came from the hyll, wherefore he mighte the more eaſily reſiſt them. *Annibal* being deceyued of this laſte hope, fledde, now vtterly diſpayring of all things.

Annibal flyeth.

Many horſemen followed him, ſpecially *Maßiniſſa*, beyng grieued with his wounde, euer at hande, and deſirous to haue brought him priſoner to *Scipio*: but the night diuided them, and *Annibal* in the darke, with twentie horſemen, that could folow him, fled into a Cittie called *Thonne*, whither, when he vnderſtoode that many horſemen of *Brutia* and *Iberia* were come from the field, and fearing the *Iberians* as barbarous and cruel, and doubting the *Brutians* being *Italians* and countrey men to *Scipio*, leaſt they woulde leade him to *Scipio*, to be forgiuen their faulte againſt *Italie*, priuily he fled with one horſeman, whom he truſted beſt, and running thrée thouſand furlongs in two nightes and two dayes, he came to a Cittie at the ſea called *Adrumete*, where parte of his armye was for victuall, ſending aboute, and gathering them that fledde, he made armoure and munition.

Annibal flyeth to *Thonne*.

Annibal cõmeth in haſt to *Adrumete*.

Scipio

Scipio hauing got so noble a victorie, burned the vnprofytable spoyle, beyng gyrded, as the Romanes Generalls be wont. He sent to Rome ten talents of golde, and.ij.M.v.C. of siluer, and wrought Iuorie, and the most noble prisoners, *Lælius* being the messenger of the victorie. The reste he toke to honor his souldiours, and gaue giftes to them that did beste, and to *Massinissa* a Crowne, and then he went, and toke the Cities. And this was the ende of *Annibal* and *Scipios* fighte in *Libya*, and the first time that they fought togither. There dyed of the Romaynes two thousand fiue hundred, and of *Massinissas*, more: of the enimies, fiue and twenty thousand: of prisoners were taken eighte thousande fiue hundred: of the *Iberians* three hundred yelded to *Scipio*: of the *Numidians* eight hundred to *Massinissa*. Neyther the *Carthaginians*, nor the Romanes yet hearing of it, they of *Carthage* sent to *Mago*, gathering yet Frenchemen, to inuade *Italie* if hee coulde, or to sayle into *Libya* wyth hys hyred souldioures. The Romanes intercepting these letters, sent to *Scipio* an other army of horse, and fotemen, and shyppes and money. *Scipio* sent *Octauius* by lande to *Carthage*, and hymselfe went by water. When they of *Carthage* vnderstode *Annibals* ouerthrow, they set Ambassadours in a pynnesse, of the which *Hanno Magnus* and *Asdrubal Hædus* were chiefe. They set vp a banner of peace on the stemme, and held vp their hands to *Scipio*, desiring pardon. Hee willed them to go to the Campe, where he being placed vpon an highe seate, gaue them audience.

Scipio sendeth *Lælius* vvith the newes to Rome.

Carthage sedeth to *Scipio* for peace.

Carthage sueth for peace.

They, with teares fell to the grounde, and being taken vp of the officers, were commaunded to say what they woulde. Then *Annibal Hædus* spake.

It is my parte (O *Romanes*,) and this *Hanno*, and as manye, as be wise in *Carthage*, to cleare oure selues of this faulte that you put vppon vs. For your Embassadoures, whom oure people, being driuen by hunger, offended, we saued and sent home, yet wee muste not blame all *Carthage*, for some desired peace firste, and they had it, and kepte it firmely. Cities be some drawne to the worst, & that whiche is pleasant, preuayleth euer with the multitude, whiche we haue proued, beyng neither able to perswade

People in free cities disobedient.

them,nor to stay them. For they that did accuse vs,and take frée speeche from vs,do not iudge vs (O Romanes) of our obedience or counsell:but if it seemeth a faulte to be slowe to obey, blame hunger and the necessitie that droue vs to it,for it was not a cõstrained act of them,to desire peace before,and gyue so much money,and to deliuer al our long ships, saue a fewe, and to yelde a great parte of oure dominion,and to sweare to them,and to send our othe to *Rome*,our Ambassadors being yet with you, and willingly to offend. But a manne may blame God chiefly, and the storme that droue your corne to *Carthage*. Beside the storme, hũger take you, (that cannot consider well of other mens things) beyng in nede of all thinges, nor require good reason of a rude and myserable multitude. But if you iudge vs to do vniustlye, & not to be in miserye,we confesse and pray forgiuenesse. Iustification is of them, that do not offend,and submission of them that do offende, to the which, the mercy of them that be in prosperitie ought to be the readier, beholding the chaunces of men, and considering the sodaine mutations,that now we do crie for pardon, that yesterday were able to do hurte:as the citie of *Carthage*, the greatest and mightiest of *Libya*,both in shippes,money and Elephants, and in army of foote and horsemen,& many subiects haue flourished these.700.yeares,and ruled al *Libya*,and other nations and Ilandes, and so great a part of the sea, & comming against you many times in contention, and nowe neyther in Shyppes nor Elephants,nor horse, nor subiects, (all the whiche you haue taken from vs) haue any hope of helpe,but in you,whom we haue euill vsed before. The whiche you considering,and marking the alteration of them,ought to vse your felicitie the more temperately, and doe that shall séeme worthye for your magnanimitie(O Romanes) and the fortune that *Carthage* sometime had,& to put the mutations of fate in our misfortunes voide of enuy,you may be without blame afore God,and deserue prayse of all men. There is no feare nowe that the *Carthaginians* wyll rebel, whom so great repentance and paine of their former follie,doth fall vppon . Good counsell is the keeper of Innocen-

Iustification. Submission.

tie

cie to wise men, to offendoures to repent them, for that they
haue suffered, whom, it is like to be the more constant in theyr
duties, than they that had neuer suche experience. Neither is it
fit for you to folow the *Carthaginians*, whome you accuse of cru-
elty, and wickednesse. For in them that be in misery, want and
calamitie, is the beginning of offence: to them that be in prospe-
ritie, it is at their pleasure to vse humanitie. It shall be as ho-
norable, as profitable for your authoritie, rather to saue than to
kill so greate a Cittie: you bee nowe the better Iudges of youre
commodities. Wee bring but two thynges to the assurance
thereof: the worthinesse of dominion that *Carthage* somtime
hath had, and youre moderation towarde all men, which beyng
ioyned wyth armes, hath brought you to so great Empire and
power. What conditions you will gyue vs of peace, we will
take them, of the whiche, we can say no more, committing all to
you.

When *Hedus* had saide thus muche, he ceased. *Scipio* willing
them to auoid, conferred with the officers a while, and when he
had determined, he called them, and said:

Scipio to the Embassadoures of Carthage.

You be worthy no pardon that so ofte haue broken peace,
and lastely defiled oure Embassadoures, so manifestly and wic-
kedly offending againste vs, that you can neyther purge youre
selues, nor shewe any matter to the contrary, but that you are
worthy extreame punishement. What neede I to accuse them
that confesse: you flee to prayer, that woulde not haue lefte the
name of *Rome*, if you had got the victory: but we haue done no
suche thyng to you, your Embassadours being yet in *Rome*, af-
ter you had broken the league, and violated oure Embassadors,
our Cittie deliuered, and beeyng dryuen to myne armye, I sente
vnhurte to you, when you made warre on vs. Therefore you
ought to thinke it gaine, whatsoeuer you receiue, hauing condē-
ned your selues, I will saye what I thinke good, and the Senate
shall determine what shal please them.

Wee giue you peace once agayne (O *Carthaginians*) if
you gyue all youre long shyppes vnto the Romaynes,

except,

ercept ten, and all the Elephants you haue, and those you toke before, and pay for thē that be lost, I being iudge of the doubts, and all the prisoners and run-awayes, and so many, as *Annibal* brought out of *Italie*: and thus within thirty dayes after the peace is made. And that in threescore dayes *Mago* shall departe out of *Liguria*, and that you take your garrisons oute of the Cities, whiche be wythout the ditche of *Phœnicia*, and deliuer the pledges you haue of them.

And that euery yeare you shall bring two hundred talentes, of *Eubœa*, for fifty yeares.

That you shall hyre no more Frenchmen or *Ligurians*.

That you shal make no warre vpon *Massinissa*, nor any other friend of ours, nor any of *Carthage* war against them by the common consent.

That you shall haue your citie, and so muche lande, with the *Phœnicians* ditche, as you had when I sayled into *Libya*.

That you shal be friends to the Romaynes bothe by sea and lande, if the Senate do confirme it: and if they do confirme it, that the Romanes shall go out of *Libya* in a hundred and fiftye dayes, and if you will haue truce, to send to *Rome*.

You shall giue vs out of hand, an hundred and fifty Ostages, of such children, as I shall chose.

And you shall giue to the expences of the warre, a thousand talents more, and victuall for the army, and when the peace is concluded, you shall receiue your pledges.

When *Scipio* had said thus, the Embassadours bare the saulte to *Carthage*.

The people resorting manye dayes to the counsell, the beste sorte thought it good to accept the conditions, and not to putte al in hazarde, in sticking for somewhat.

People resiste peace.

When the corne shoulde go away, the people not considering more the present perill, than the taking awaye of that they had, did resist, and were grieued, that the rulers should take away their corne for the Romanes, in their famine, and giue it them in steade of Citizens, during the truce. They stode aboute euery of them, and threatned to burne their houses, and spoyle them.

them.

In the ende knowing that *Annibal* hadde gathered fyre thousand fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, staying at a Citie named *Marthma*, they called him to be of counsell in these matters. He came, and the sober sorte being afraide, that he, being a man of warre, woulde haue stirred the people. He perswaded verye gravely to receiue the peace. The people outragiously spake euill of him, and threatned all, till the noble men fledde, some to *Massinissa*, and some to the Romanes willingly, despayring of the Citie. The *Carthaginians* vnderstanding that *Annibal* hadde gathered corne plentifullye into a Store house, they made muche adoe for it, tyll they gote it, and diuided it among them. *Annibal* perswadeth peace.

In this meane time, was newes come to *Rome*, of the newe peace, that *Scipio* had made with them of *Carthage*. And the matter being debated in the Senate house, one of the Senatoures saide thus: In this place the Greeke texte is vnperfect.

If wee shoulde not agree to this peace, it were both iniurious and vniuste to *Scipio*, the whiche he suspecting, as it seemeth, when he had declared his minde vnto vs. He added: That if wee made delay, he woulde make peace. It is like that hee considereth the matter better than we, and seeth more in it, bycause he hath al before him: if wee doe otherwise, we shall offende hys estimation, a good Citizen, and a noble Capitayne, who prouoked vs vnwilling to sende into *Affrica*, and hauyng no army of vs, did gette one himselfe, and hathe promoted vs so farre as we could not hope. Therefore it is to be wondered, that you that were so faint at the beginning in the warre, are nowe so earnest and vehement. Nowe if any man thinketh all to bee well, and yet feareth that the *Carthaginians* will breake thys league, it is nowe moste like they wyll keepe the peace, being so ofte afflicted for breaking of it, and that henceforth they will keepe Iustice better, beyng fallen on the knee, by vnrighteousnesse. It is not a like counsell, nowe to despise the *Carthaginians*, as of no power, and againe to feare, that they might rebell. It is more easie for vs to keepe them, that they shall no more, Discorde in the Senate house touching the peace.

rise, than to destroy them presently. For nowe they wil fighte of desperation, whom we might kepe vnder with feare. They haue euils ynow without vs, wyth whome all their neighbours are grieued for their cruelitie. And *Massinissa* a man moste faithfull to vs, shall euer lye in wait of thē. But if any man do contemne al this, and thinketh only how he may succæde *Scipio*, and of hys owne commoditie, and to haue the like successe that hee hath had in the ende, what shall we do with the Citie if we happe to take it? shall we destroy it vtterly, bicause they spoyled our ships and victualls whiche they are content to deliuer with muche more? but we wil not do this, to auoide the anger of Gods, and hate of men. Shall we giue it to *Massinissa*? thoughe he be our friend, yet is not he to be made too strong, but to let him and them contende togither, for the common weale of *Rome*. Wil wee make a rent of the Country? The armye that we shall kæpe there, will spende all the reuenue, for we shall stand in feare of manye of the nighe nations, and of all the *Barbarians*. But we will send inhabitants in the middest of the *Numidians*, they beyng most strong of the *Barbarians*, will alwaies worke oure woe, and if they get the better hande, they shall be terrible and hatefull to vs euer after, hauing so gret a land, and much better than ours. The whiche *Scipio*, as I iudge, perceyuing, thoughte good for vs to heare the prayers of *Carthage*, therefore let vs consent to their prayers, and our Generall. Thus he said.

Contention in *Rome* for peace with *Carthage*.

VVhat is to be considered in warre.

P. Cornelius, *Cornelius Lentulus* kinsman, being then Consull, and thoughte good to succæde *Scipio*, spake agaynste it in thys sorte.

P. Cornelius speaketh against the peace that *Scipio* offered to the *Carthaginians*.

In warres onely profite is to be considered: and bicause it hathe bin declared, that this citie being yet of power, is to be maintained, we ought to take away their vnfaithfulnesse, together with their power and might: but their vnfaithfulnesse we shall neuer take away. There is no tyme so fit for vs to be deliuered from the feare of *Carthage*, as thys present, in the which they all bee poore and weake, before they growe to strength againe: yet doe I not swarue from consideration of Iustice, nor th inke

thinke oure Cittie shall seeme to deale sute of reason with the *Carthaginians*, who when they be in weale, doe iniurie and despite to al men: in their wo, they fal to prayers: if they obtaine, they forsake their agreement againe: neyther haue they regarde of promise, nor respect of othe, whome wee muste saue for the feare of God and enuy of men. I thinke the Gods themselues haue brought the *Carthaginians* to that point, to suffer for their wickednesse, which violating the peace they made with vs in *Sicilie*, *Iberia*, and *Italie*, and in *Libya* it selfe, and with all other haue wrought great mischiefe and trouble to vs, of the which I will shewe some examples of strange nations, before I come to ours, that you may see that all will agree that *Carthage* shoulde be punished. They destroyed *Sagunt* a noble citie of *Iberia*, confederat to them, and a friend to vs, sparing no age without cause.

Sagunt is nowe called *Murnedre*

When they hadde taken *Nuceria*, a Citie subiect to vs, vppon conditions, and swearing that euery man shoulde departe wyth two garmentes, they shut the chiefe of them within the Baths, and set the Hot-houses afyre, and killed them, and when the people went forth, they shot them to death. They putte the Senate of *Acerra*, after they hadde giuen their faith, into pittes, and ouerwhelmed them with earth. They brought *M. Cornelius* oure Consull, vppon their othes, to see their Captaine that was sicke, and carried him out of *Sicilie* into *Libya* with .xrij. shippes. They killed *Regulus* with torments, an other Captaine of ours, returning to them to keepe his othe. What *Annibal* hathe done, by force, by deceites, by periurie, againste our Cities and armies, and at length againste his owne confederates, ouerthrowing cities, killing his confederates, it were too long to tell. They defaced foure hundred of oure cities, oure prisoners they putte in ditches and riuers, and vsed them for bridges: some they threw to their Elephants, some they commaunded to fighte togither, matching brethren againste brethren, & fathers againste sonnes. Shortly after this, they sent hither Ambassadors for peace, they made request, and gaue their othe, and they spoyled our ships in *Libya*, and putte our Souldoures in prison, whiles their Embassadours

Examples of the *Carthaginians* crueltie and vnfaithfulnesse.

Nuceria, nowe *Nocera*.

Acerra. one in *Vmbria*, an other in *Campania*.

Foure hundred cities destroyed in *Italy* by *Annibal*.

'ſadoures were here preſent, to ſo greate madneſſe dide their
'cruelty driue them. What pittie or moderation is to be vſed
'with them of others, that vſe modeſtie or courteſie with none,
'who, if they might ouercome vs (as *Scipio* ſaieth) woulde not
'leaue the name of *Rome*? But Faith and Promiſe to ſure. What
'faith? what promiſe? what oth haue they not broken? what coue-
'naunt or pardon haue not they violated? but they ſaye we may
'not folowed them. What couenaunt doe we breake, whiche yet
'haue made none? but we may not followe their crueltie, there-
'fore we muſte make moſt cruell men, oure friendes and confe-
'derates: neyther of theſe is conuenient. But let them yelde vn-
'to vs after the lawe of them that be ouercome, as manye haue
'yelded themſelues. We will conſider of them, and what wee
'giue them, let them thanke vs, and not thinke it to come of a-
'greement, for thoſe two differ thus: As long as they couenant
'with vs, they will breake, as they haue done afore, alwayes
'making ſome pretence for theyr purpoſe, as not wel vſed in the
'conditions, for there are euer deuiſes to be made to call a matter
'in queſtion. When they giue themſelues, wee ſhall receiue them
'and their armoure, and their bodies ſhall be with vs, they ſhall
'ſuppoſe nothing to be theirs, and ſo their pride ſhall fall. They
'ſhall loue whatſoeuer they ſhall receyue of vs, as of a thing not
'theirs. If *Scipio* thinketh otherwiſe, you haue to iudge by ſeeing:
'if hee agreeth with the *Carthaginians*, wythout vs, why ſendeth
'hee vnto vs? I haue ſaide my minde to you that be Lords, whi-
'che I thinke fitte for the Citie. This ſaide *Publius*. The Senate
'gaue their voices ſeuerallye, and the more parte agreed wyth
'*Scipio*.

Thus the thirde league was made betwéene the *Romanes* & *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* ſéemed to moue the *Romanes* hereto, either for ỳ reaſos declared, or becauſe he thought ỳ *Romane* felicitie to be ynough, if they toke away the rule of *Carthage*. There be ỳ think, that he woulde haue this nighe Citie, and an enimy to be left to keepe the *Romanes* in good temperaunce, leaſt they ſhoulde grow inſolent thorough great felicitie, & ſecuritie. The which conſide-
ration of *Scipio*, not long after, *Cato* reherſed to the *Romanes*, being

Cauſes that made *Scipio* to make peace wyth the Carthaginians.

Rhodes, is a goodlye Iſlande in the *Carpathian* ſea, adioy-ning to *Creta*.

grieued

grieued þ they were incensed against the *Rhodians*. When *Scipio* had set order, he sayled to *Rome* with all his armye, and entred with a triumph, more gaudy than had bene before time. And the manner of it, whyche they nowe vse also, was this:

All ware garlands. The trumpetours goe before, and the wagons laden with the spoyle. Towers are borne with the Images of the Cities taken, and pictures and figures of the things done. Then the gold and siluer vncoyned and coyned, and other things of that sorte, and so many Crownes as the Cities confederats, or armies, had giuen ỳ generall for his vertue. Then the whyte kyne and the Elephantes. Then the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* that were taken. Before the generall, the Macebearers went in purple garmẽts, and a company of musitiãs & Satyres, after the *Tuscane* maner, being gyrded and wearing a Crowne of gold, they go in order againe with song and daunce. They call them *Ludi*, bycause as I thinke, the *Thescanes* be an inhabitance from *Lydia*. In the middest of them, one in a robe of purple, decked with rings & bracelets of gold, maketh diuerse shewes to moue laughter, as flouting of enimies. After him a multitude of Perfumers, and the generall among these Perfumers in a chariote, diuersly garnished, for it was set with gold and stone of great price. He was clad with a purple robe with barres of gold, after his Countrey maner, and a Sceptre of Ivorie, and a laurel, which the Romane thinketh a token of victorie.

τ' πορίσαι. The Greeke word sometime signifyed pypers but here it is Latin after the *Tuscane* manner.

Laurel or Bay, dedicate to triumphes and to the gates of Emperours houses.

In the same Chariot be carried boyes and gyrles, and on eyther side going men that be of kin. Then follow they that haue bin scribes, ministers, and pages in the warre. After them the army in bandes and companies, with garlands and Laurell, euery man with his giftes according to his worthynesse: some of the rulers they prayse, some they mocke, and some they taunt. For the triumph is priuileged, and lawfull to say what they will.

Priuiledge of triumph.

When *Scipio* was come to the Capitol, the triumph ceassed, and he feasted his friendes as the manner is, at the Temple.

cc. ith. This

Thys ende had the seconde warre betweene the Romaynes and *Carthage*, begonne in *Spaine*, and ending in *Libya*, with these conditions, about the hundred fourtie foure Greeke *Olympiade*.

Massiniſſa falleth out with the *Carthagieus*

Maſſiniſſa falling out with the *Carthaginians*, and trusting to the Romaines, toke a great part of the *Carthagies* lande, as belonging to him.

Partialitie of the Romaines.

The *Carthaginians* desired the Romaynes to agree *Maſſiniſſa* and them. They sente arbitrours, with instructions to helpe *Maſsiniſſa* as much as they might. So *Maſsiniſſa* hadde the lande, and a league was made betwene them for fiftie yeares, in the whiche, the *Carthaginians* hauing peace, growe into great power and welth by the plentye of their ground, and trafficke of the sea: and againe, as men be wonte in prosperitie, were diuided, some for the Romaines, some for the people, and some for *Maſſiniſſa*. Of euery of these the chiefe in fame and vertue gouerned: for the Romaines, *Hanno Magnus*: for the people, *Amilchar Sānis*, and *Carthalo*: for *Maſsiniſſa*, *Annibal* called *Opsar*.

Factions in *Carthage*.

Celtiberia is that part of Spaine vvhich nowve they cal *Aragon*. *Boetarch* vvas an office of the state hyest as appeareth in *Plutarch*.

They wayting the Romaynes being at warre with the *Celtiberians*, and *Maſsiniſſa* at debate with other *Iberians*, perswaded *Carthalo* the *Boetarche*, and for that office going aboute the countrey, to make a fray vpon such as kept the land for *Maſsiniſſa*. He killed some of them, and chased the other, and stirred the *Libyans* of that Countrey againste *Maſsiniſſa*, and many conflictes were betweene them, till the Romaines sent other ambassadours to agree them, to whome was sayde the like, that they should secretely fauour *Maſsiniſſa*: & they confirmed to *Maſsiniſſa* al that he had taken by this craft. They said nothing, nor they heard nothing, least *Maſsiniſſa* should haue had the worst: but being in the middest betweene thē both, they held vp their hands: and thys was the cōmaundement, and the Attonement.

The Romaines partial.

To hold vp hands in the greeke phrase is to decide and determine.

Tyſca a country of fiftie Cities.

Not long after, *Maſsiniſſa* called into controuersie the greate lande and playnes, of fifty Cities, which they cal *Tyſca*, in the whiche the *Carthaginians* fledde againe to the Romaynes.

They

They promised to sende ambassadours, and deferred so long, till they thought *Massinissa* had the better. Then they sent the Ambassadours and *Cato*. They comming to the bateable land, required both partes to stande to their arbitrement. *Massinissa* was cotent, because hee trusted the Romanes and got by them: The *Carthaginians* suspected, as them that before hadde iudged not rightly. They sayde the league made by *Scipio* needed no iudgemente nor correctours, bycause there was no breach of them. *Cato, Arbiter.*

The ambassadours not allowed to iudge of parte, wente their waye, and diligentlye marked the grounde, berye well laboured, with great preparation, and when they went into the Citie, perceiued of what strength it was, and howe the people was encreased since *Scipio* hadde ouercome them, whiche was not long. Being come to *Rome*, they sayde they had not suspition ynough of *Carthage*, a Citie aduersarie, and a neighbour, that was exceedinglye increased. And *Cato* chiefelye sayde, that *Rome* coulde not be sure, nor in libertie, till *Carthage* was destroyed. The Senate vnderstanding it, mynded to make warre on the *Carthaginians*, but tarried for an occasion, and kepte their iudgement close. And *Cato* continuallye from that tyme, sayde in the Counsell, that *Carthage* muste not stande. But *Scipio Nasica* saide the contrarye, that *Carthage* muste be suffered, to kepe the *Romanes* in feare and good order. *Cato* against *Carthage.* *Scipio* contrary to *Cato.*

The peoples parte preuayling in *Carthage*, putte out the friendes of *Massinissa*, aboute the number of fourtye, and they made a decree of banishmente, and sware the people, that they shoulde neyther receyue them againe, nor suffer any speeche to be hadde of their restoring. They being banished, fledde to *Massinissa*, and prouoked him to warre. Tumult in *Carthage.*

He sent his two sonnes, *Gulossa* and *Mistipsa*, to require them to receiue the banished men. The ruler shut the gates against them, leaste the kinsemen of the banished, might moue the people with their teares. Two sonnes of *Massinissa* sent to *Carthage.* *Amilcharis Samnis*

And

And *Amilchar Samnis* laye in wayte for them, and set vpon *Celossa*, and killed some of his mē, and made him afrayd. Wherfore to giue occasion of warre, *Massinissa* toke the Citie of *Orscopa*, couering it aboue the conditions.

Orscopia.

The *Carthaginians*, with fiue and twenty thousande footemen and four hundred horsemen of the Citie, the ruler of ỳ prouince being Captaine, made warre against *Massinissa*, and encamping nigh *Asasis* & *Sybas*, Captaines of *Massinissa*, contendyng with the kings children, fledde from him, and ledde awaye fiue thousand. *Asdrubal* encouraged by this, camped nearer *Massinissa*, and in the skirmishes had the better. *Massinissa* to deceyue him, went backe by little and little, as though he had fledde, vntill he had brought him into a desart field ful of hils and rocks, and voyde of victual. Then he turned and camped in the playn, and *Asdrubal* ranne to the hils as the more surer, and then entended to come the next day to fight.

Captaines of *Massinissa* remoue to the enimies.

Scipio the yonger that afterwarde toke *Carthage*, seruing vnder *Lucullus* in *Celtiberia*, came to *Massinissa* to desire him to send Elephants, *Massinissa* preparing his body for the fight againste the next daye, sente horsemen to receiue him and diuerse of his sonnes. He, by breake of day, ordered his army being.lxxx. yeares of age, ryding yet very strongly, and leaping vppon the bare horse, as the manner is of the *Numidians*, bring a good captaine, and a fighting souldiour.

Scipio the yōger.

The age, strēgth and valiantnesse of *Massinissa*.

The *Nnmidians* be most strong, and among them that liue long, of moste long life. The cause is peraduenture, that they haue no sharpe winter, by the which euery thing is destroyed, nor the sommer so hotte as the *Aethiopians* and *Indians*, therefore this region bringeth forth moste strong beastes, and the men be alwayes in the ayre and in laboure. they drinke little wine, and their diet is very simple and thinne.

Numidians of long life.

Massinissa on horsebacke, directed hys armye, and *Asdrubal* brought his people, which were very manye, against him, for manye were come to hym out of the Countrey.

Scipio beholdeth the fight betwene the *Carthagies* and *Massinissa*.

Scipio behelde the fighte from an hygbe place, as from a Theatre. He was wont to say that he had sene manye fieldes,

but

but neuer none with suche pleasure, for he alone without care sawe a hundred and tenne thousande menne fighting togyther, and he sayde that only two beside him, had seene the lyke warre at *Troy*. *Iupiter* from *Ida*, and *Neptune* from *Samothracia*. This fight continued from morning till night, and after many slayne on both sides, *Massinissa* seemed to haue the better. *Scipio* met with him as he returned, and reioyced with him: he receyued him as an auntient friende, and shewed him all pleasure he coulde.

Ida an hill in *Troade*.

When the *Carthaginians* heard that *Scipio* was come, they prayed him that he woulde make an ende betweene *Massinissa* and them: he brought them togither, and for the agreement, the *Carthaginians* offered *Massinissa* the lande they had at *Emporium*, and to giue him two hundred talents of siluer presentlye, and eight hundred in time: and when he desired the outlawes to be restored, they coulde not abyde to heare it. And so they departed doing nothing. *Scipio* returned to *Spain*, with his Elephãtes. *Massinissa* laye aboute the hyll of his enimies, wayting that no victual should be brought them. There was none nygh hande, and to himselfe, a great way off, it was brought with muche ado, and very little. *Asdrubal* at the firste, might haue passed thorow his enimies, hys armye beyng strong and sounde: but bycause he was better stored of victuall than *Massinissa*, hee thought he would haue sued for peace: and he tarried also, hearing that Ambassadours came from *Rome* to make peace: To whome it was sayde: That if *Massinissa* were ouercome, they should ende the matter, but if he had the better, they shoulde encourage him. And so they did.

Scipio is made *Vmper* betvvixt *Massinissa*, and the *Carthagies*.

Partialitie of the Romaines.

Priuie instructions giuen the ambassadours.

The famine consumed *Asdrubal* and the *Carthaginians*, who were so weake in bodie, that they could not force the enimie. First they eate their beastes, then their horses of cariage, then they sodde their horse gyrthes and eate them. Many diseases toke them, as well for their euill sustenaunce, as for their lack of labour, and heate of the yeare. For a multitude of men in a campe was thronged togyther in a little space, and heate of *Libya*, and when woode failed them to seeth their meate, they

Famine in the *Carthagies* camp.

burned their Targets. The dead men were not carried away, for *Maßinissa* would not suffer it, nor they were not burned for lacke of wode. The pestilence was greate amongst them, and daunger, for the sauours and corrupted bodyes. The moste part of the army died, and the reste had no hope of liue. Therefore they promised to restore to *Maßinissa* his runawayes, & to pay him 5000. talents of siluer in fifty yeres, & to receiue their banished men contrary to their othes, & they to passe throughe one gate, by their enimies, only in their coats. *Celossa*, being yet grieued with them for the iniurie they did him, whither by his fathers consent, or of himselfe, sent the *Numidian* horsemē vpon thē as they wente away, to be reuenged of them, they neyther hauing armour to defend, nor strength to flye, so that of. 58000. men fewe came safe to *Carthage*, and with them *Asdrubal* the captaine, and other of the noble men. This was the ende of the warre betweene *Maßinissa* and the *Carthagies*. Then followed the thirde and last warre of the Romaines in *Libya*. When the *Carthaginians* were thus weakened by the ouerthrow of *Maßinissa*, and their Cittie in most feeble state, they were afrayde of *Maßinissa*, being at hande with so great an army, and of the Romaynes, euer their heauy enimies, and seeking occasion, for ỹ was done against *Maßinissa*, in neyther of the which they were deceyued: for as sone as the Romaynes hearde of it, they appointed an army ouer all *Italie*, not shewing to what vse, that they might be ready when they shoulde be called. The *Carthaginians* thinking to put away this occasion, cōdemned *Asdrubal* that was Captaine of the warre against *Maßinissa*, and *Carthalone* the *Boetharch*, and all other that were occasions of it, putting the blame of the warre vpō them. They sent ambassadors to *Rome*, that accused *Maßinissa*, and also accused these men, that so rashly and sodenly made the businesse, and brought the Cittie into daunger of enimitie. One of the Senatours asked them, why they did not punishe the authours of the warre at the beginning, but after they were ouercome, and had good will to make war again vpon vs, and sought occasion of it: to him they answered, that the *Carthaginians* in deed had not yet satisfied the

The *Carthagies* yelde to *Maßinissa*.

The *Carthagies* slaine.

The third warre with *Carthage*.

Asdrubal is condemned.

Boetharch was a chiefe office in *Thebes*, and *Beotia*.

Ambassadours from *Carthage* to *Rome*.

Romaines.

Romaines. Therefore being troubled againe, they asked if they were thought to offend, what they might doe to make amendes? They layde thus, to this word: If you shal satisfie the Romaynes. Some thoughte, in debating what this satisfaction should be, that the Romaines would adde more money to that *Scipio* had appointed. Some thoughte to graunte *Massinissa* the lande that was in controuersie. Then they sente ambassadours againe to *Rome*, to knowe expreslye, what would satisfie the Romaynes, to whom it was aunswered, that the *Carthaginians* knew well ynough, and so sent thē away. Then they were in doubt and feare of thys matter. *Vtica* was the greatest Citie in *Libya* next *Carthage*, hauing fayre portes, and a countrey plentifull to sustaine an army, lx. furlongs from it, & fit to make war against thē: being in doubt of *Carthage*, & uttering their old hate against thē in time, sent ambassadours to *Rome*, to yeelde *Vtica* to the Romaines. The Senate that before was enclined and prepared to this warre, by the comming of so myghtie and conuenient a Citie vnto them, opened theyr mynde, and being assembled in the Capitoll, where they were wont to consulte of warre, decrēde the warre againste *Carthage*. They sent out of hande the Consuls, *Marcus Manilius* with the footemenne, and *Lucius Marcius Censorinus* with the nauy, to whome was giuen in secrete, that they shoulde not leaue the warre, till *Carthage* were taken.

The doubtful dealing of the Senate vvith the *Carthagies*.

Vtica is giuen to the Romanes.

The third vvar vvith *Carthage* is determined.

When they hadde sacrifised, they sayled into *Sicelie*, to goe from thence to *Vtica*. They had fiftie gallies, a hundered foysts, & many Crayers, Barkes and Hoyes. They had an army of .xc. thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, al of the best sort, euery citizen & confederate, being desirous to go to so noble a voyage, and many willingly put their names in the roll. Warning, and war it selfe was giuen the *Carthagies* by one messenger. For he carried the decrée of warre, and shewed the ships that sailed againste thē. They wer amazed & in despaire, for want of ships, & so great a losse of their youth, neyther hauing confederates nor hired souldiers, nor victuals to endure a siege, nor any thing els in war soden & not proclaimed,

VVar made vvithout proclamation.

nor being able to resist the Romaines and *Massinissa* two. They sent other ambassadors to *Rome* with ful autoritie, to satisfie for the present, as well as they could. The Senate sayd to them, if the *Carthaginians* within .xxx. dayes shall deliuer to the Consuls that be yet in *Sicelie*, three hundred of your most noble children for pledges, and shall do in other things as they shal wil them, it is lawefull for *Carthage* to be free and of it selfe, and haue all their lande in *Libya*. Thus they decreed openly, and gaue the *Carthaginians* the decree, to cary to *Carthage*: but in secrete they sent to to the Consuls, to keepe their former instructions. The *Carthaginians* suspected this determination, that the peace wold not bee firme, though they deliuered their children: but beingin such a danger, nor hauing where to put their trust, but with diligence to shew their readinesse, they caried their children to *Sicilie*, their parents and their friends lamenting, specially their mothers, the which, like madde women folowed their children and the shippes, and helde the souldiours and the Anores, and pulled the tackle, and stopped the Marriners, and stayed the sayles: some followed swimming a great way in the sea, weeping that they were taken from their children. Some vpon the lande, did teare their haire and beate their breasts, as they are wonte in a funerall. For it seemed in worde, a deliuerie of children, for a confermitie, but in deede, it was a verye yelding of the Citie, their children being deliuered vpon no certaine condition: and many did prophesie in the deliuerie of their childrē, that it shoulde not profitte the Citie. This was the manner of the conueying of the children at *Carthage*. When they were come to *Sicelie*, the Consuls sente them to *Rome*. And there it was sayde vnto them, that they shoulde heare the ende of the war in *Vtica*.

The Senate sayeth one thing and meaneth another.

Euident double dealing of the Romanes.

The Romaynes arriue at *Vtica*.

The Romaines being come thyther, laye with their armye, where *Scipio* did before, their naupe harboured in the ports of *Vtica*. The ambassadours being come from *Carthage*, the Consuls satte on high seates, the Colonels and Marishals standing about them. The army on eyther side, in a greate length, apparelled with fayre armour, their ensignes they holde vppe, that the

the Embassadoures might see the multitude of them. Then the Consulls commaunded silence with a Trumpet. The Trumpet called the *Carthaginians* to come neare. They were led thorough the long army, not very nighe the seate of State, but at a barre in the middest. The Consuls commaunded them to saye theyr message. They spake muche to moue pitie, and diuers things, touching the leagues made betweene them and the Romanes, & of *Carthage*, a Cittie of so long continuaunce, of people and power, & both by sea and land of most great dominion, which they spake not, (they saide) to extoll themselues, for in aduersitie it is no tyme to baunte: but you (O Romanes) may be moued to reason and modestie by our sodaine mutation. They be beste that pitie them that fall, for they make their owne hope the better, that do not deale euil with them that be in misfortune. This is a thing fit for you & your modestie, to haue chiefly consideratiō of men, But if wee haue founde you sharpe ennimies, the misfortunes we haue suffered, maye satisfie you, whiche are spoyled of the power we had by sea and land, and haue gyuen our ships to you, and made no more, and haue refrained from hunting and possessing of Elephants, & haue giuen our best pledges both beefore and now, and haue payed our tributes truely, whiche were wont to receiue of other. And this was sufficient to youre fathers, with whom we made warre, who, when they hadde made peace with vs, vsed vs as friends and confederates. The othe that is made in a league, is alike to both: and they were faythful to vs in peace, after we had made an end of war. But you, with whome we haue not contended, what can you alledge for breaking of couenants, or that you should so sodainely decree war, & come vppon vs, before it was proclaymed? haue we not payed you our tributes? haue we ships or Elephants to be enuied? are we not to be pitied, that of late losse fiftie thousand men by famine? but we haue made war vppon *Massiniſſa*, who is encreased by it, and all we haue suffered for you, for beyng rigorous and iniurious to vs, and to the soyle in which he was nourished and brought vppe. He gote from vs oure lande at *Emporie*, whiche when hee hadde, hee inuaded more, till agreement was

Embassadoures of *Carthage* to the Consuls at *Vtica*.

Aduersitie.

Mutation of Fortune.

Auntient *Romanes* kept couenauntes.

Othe in league.

Emporie.

made betwéne hym and vs, by you: if this be the pretence of this warre, we condemned the offendours of him by proclamation, and sent Ambassadoures to you, that myght purge vs, and others after that, with ful power to make peace, as you would. What nedeth then, ships, and nauy, and army against me nne, not only confessing to haue offended, but yelding themselues vnto you? That we meant no deceite to you, nor refuse to suffer anye paine that you woulde put vppon vs, it appeareth plainelye, when we sent our best children in pledges to you, as you required, and that within .rrr. dayes, as the decree commanded. The tenor of whiche decree is, that if we deliuer oure pledges: that *Carthage* should be free, and of it selfe, and enioy the land we haue. Thus said the Embassadors. Then *Censorinus* stode vp and said: What néede we shew the causes of war to you (O *Carthaginians*) séeing Ambassadors to *Rome*, and learning that of the Senate? what ye sayde vntruly of vs, that I will reproue. For the decree is manifest, and we saide before vnto you in *Sicilie*, when we receiued youre pledges, that you should haue the reste of oure commaundements at *Vtica*. For the choice and spéedye bringing of your pledges, we praise you. What néedeth armour to them that kéepe peace purely? Deliuer all youre publike and priuate armoure that euery man hathe: Bring to vs youre shot and munition. Thus he saide. The Ambassadoures saide, that they woulde obey thys also, but were afraid, that *Asdrubal* béeing condemned by proclamation, and leading .rr. M. men, and encamping at *Carthage*, woulde resist it. The Consulls saide, that the Romanes would sée to that. Then they promised to deliuer this also: There was sent with them *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *Caeus Cornelius Hispalus*: they brought forth .ij. C. M. harnesses, arrowes, & darts an infinite number, & slings that threw headed arrows, and stones 2000. The sight of this cariage was faire & strange, so many wagons being carried of the enimies. The Ambassadours followed them, and the best of the auntient sorte in the Citie, the priests and other of estimation, and all to moue the Consuls to chaunge, or to mercy. Being broughte with that order to the Consulls, *Censorinus* that was more eloquent than hys

Decree, if pledges were deliuered.

The Romane Consull to the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians deliuer their armoure.

his fellowe, stode vp, and with a seuere countenaunce, said thus: We praise you of *Carthage* for your obedience, and readinesse in deliuering both your pledges and your armour. To men in necessitie, shorte spæche behoueth. Forsake you *Carthage*, and dwel where you wil, four score furlongs from the sea, for we be determined to deface *Carthage*. Whiles he was saying thys, they held vp their hands with a crie to the heauens, and called vppon the Goddes, as men decepued, and wished all euils vppon the Romanes, as mē that would die, or were beside themselues, or prouoke the Romanes into hate of the Embassadors. They fel vpon the earthe, and with their hands and heads did beate it, some tore their garments, and defiled their bodies, as driuen beside themselues. When the passion was passe, a great silence and astonishmēt appeared, as though they had bin dead. The *Romanes* were amazed, and the Consulls knew they were stricken wyth the strange commandement, & wold be in that passion for a time, perceiuing very well, that greatest griefs doe strike most vehemently at the first, but in time, necessitie causeth boldnesse to obey.

The *Carthaginians* are commanded to forsake the Citie.

Sodaine passion

Thus were the *Carthaginians* afflicted, and with their silence fæling greater matter, they ceased their disdainefulnesse, & fel to wæping and lamenting themselues, and their children, and their wiues by name, and their Country, as though it hadde heard them, as a man, speaking many lamentable things. The priests called vppon their holy things, and their Gods, as thoughe they had bin present, laying their destruction vppon them. There was a confused and miserable mourning of them that broughte both publique and priuate things, that it made the *Romaynes* themselues to wæpe. The Consulls were also stricken wyth suche humaine mutation, and with seuere manner abode the fulnesse of the matter.

When they had ceased wæping, they waxed silent again, considering that their city was naked and vnarmed, hauing neither ship, sword, dart, nor engine, nor mē sufficient to resist. I. M. being destroyed of late: straungers ayde had they none, nor friend, nor confederate, nor tyme. Their enimies had all, their children,

their

their armour, their land, and came armed againſte their Citie with Shyppes, ſoldiers, engines and horſe. *Maſſiniſſa* another enimye, was at their ſides. They refrained from rage and choler, as nothing profiting in calamities. They turned againe to reaſō. And *Hanno* that is called *Gylla*, obtaining licence to ſpeak, ſaid thus:

Hanno Gylla, to the Romanes.

« If there be any regarde with you, (O Romanes) of oure former ſpæches, we would ſpeake, not as they that can bring forth « any thing to iuſtifie vs, for there is no reſiſtaunce in tyme to the « afflicted, but that you maye learne, it is not without reaſon or « cauſe that you ſhoulde haue pittie of vs. We hauing dominion « in *Libya* and the ſea, haue manye times contended with you for « the Soueraintie, and at length gaue place to *Scipio*, when we de« liuered our ſhips and Elephants to you, and agreed to giue you « tribute, and gaue them in time. Then for the Goos that be iud« ges, ſpare vs, ſpare vs alſo for the othe that *Scipio* made vs, that « the Romanes ſhould be friends and confederates to the *Carthaginians*. There is not, wherein we haue offended: we haue nei« ther ſhips nor Elephants, nor haue lefte oure tributes, but wee *Philippus.* *Perſeus.* *Antiochus.* « haue taken your part againſt iij. Kings, and it ought not to diſ« pleaſe you, if wee ſaide thys before, when we deliuered you our Miſery cauſe of muche ſpeache. « armoure. For miſery maketh men ſpeake muche: nothyng is « more ſtrong in ſupplications, than couenaunts made, nor wee « haue any other thing for our refuge but words, ſæyng we haue « deliuered to you all oure ſtrength. Of theſe former thinges, Miſery. « *Scipio* (O *Romanes*) was our aſſuraunce. Of the preſent, you Conſuls be Authours and witneſſe with vs. You requyred pledges, « and he brought them to you of the beſte ſorte. You requyred ar« moure, and you haue it al, which they that are taken with ſiege, « wil not willingly deliuer: we haue truſted the Romane cuſtome « and manner, for the Senate commaunded vs, and you when « you required pledges, ſaide that *Carthage* ſhoulde be free, when « you hadde them, but if it were added, that we ſhoulde receyue « the reſte of the commaundements, it is not right that you, « affyrmyng in plaine ſpæche, that oure Citie ſhoulde bee free af« ter the receit of the pledges, to appointe the ouerthrowe of *Car-*

thage

thage it selfe. If you thinke you may destroy it, howe can you giue it libertie, or to be of it selfe, as you say? This wee haue to saye of the former league, and of that your selues haue done. If thys will not be accepted of you, wee gyue ouer all, and that which is onely lefte to men in miserye, we flee to complainte and prayer: Much prayer is requisite for the multitude of euills. Wee beeseeche you for the auntient Citie, inhabited by the Oracle of the Gods, and for the great glorie that it had, and the name that is spred ouer all the earth, and for the holy things that be so manye in it, and for the Goddes that haue not offended, whose solemnities, pompes, and feastes do not spoile, nor the sepultures and funeralls, since none of the deade men haue done you anye iniurie. If any pitie be in you, saying, you pitie vs, if you suffer vs to haue dwelling place, spare the place of publique assemblye, spare the Countrey Ceremonies, spare the God of Counsell, and all other that to them that be aliue be fruiteful and honorable. What neede you haue anye feare of *Carthage*, when you haue oure Shippes, armoure, and our Elephantes that be enuied? Touching our habitation, if you will so comfort vs, is it impossible for men that haue liued in the sea, to dwel in ỹ maine land? of them an infinite number doth occupy the sea. We giue you a choice more for our contentation, and your glorie. Suffer the Cittie to stande, that hathe hurte none of you, and kill vs, whom you would haue remoue. So shall you seeme to be angry with men and not with holy things, Gods and Sepulchres, and the Cittie that hathe not offended. You Romanes haue had regard of good fame, and rightwiseneese in all your workes, and you shewe modestie in prosperitie, add this you vse toward all that you take. Remembre *Iupiter* and the other Goddes, that yet haue *Carthage*, and doe not bring euills vppon you and youre children, do not blotte your good fame first vppon vs, nor deface youre glorye wyth suche an acte, euill to be done, and euill to bee hearde of, and begon first of you afore all other lyuing. There haue beene manye warres betweene the *Gretians* and the *Barbarians*, and manye betweene you *Romanes* and others, yet was there neuer anye that defaced a Ci-

‘tie, giuing their handes afore fight, and deliuering their armour and children, and if there be any hurte in the worlde, to suffer it patiently: Bringing to you the Goddes sworne, the fortune of man, and the moste fearfull Goddes of reuengeaunce, to them that be in felicitie. Wee beseeche you not to dishonoure your selues vpon our state, that hath prospered, neyther to bring youre felicitie into infamye: giue vs leaue, if you will not suffer vs to haue oure Cittie, to sende Embassadoures againe to the Senate, to make intercession. You see a little distance of time, but bringing an heape of long torments in a shorte while, for the ducty of the thing to come: For it is in youre power to doe what you will, either nowe or shortly after: Let pittie and humanitie be present with you. This said *Hanno*.

Reuengement belongeth to God.

The Consulls euidently seemed sad all the while he spake, because they could graunt them nothing, and when they had made an end, *Censorinus* said.

‘Of that the Senate hathe commmaunded, what neede wee ‘speake much? for that it hathe commaunded, it must be obeyed, ‘neither can we staye that they haue commaunded to bee done. ‘For what we commaunde oure enmimyes to do, wee doe but ‘speake it, and it muste be done. And bycause the common profit ‘is in talke, bothe ours, and muche more yours, (O *Carthaginians*) I will not refuse to speake to you by reason, if you can be ‘perswaded rather than compelled. The Sea putting you in ‘mynde of your power and dominion, stirreth you to offende, and ‘by that to fal into aduersitie. For by that, you haue ouercome ‘*Sicilie*, which being done, you sayled into *Spaine*, and toke it, in the ‘tyme of truce: ye robbed all Merchaunts, and chiefly oures: and ‘that it might not be knowne, ye drowned them, till ye were taken, and paide *Sardinia* for a penaltie. So you loste *Sardinia*, by ‘the Sea, whiche naturally prouoketh all men to couet too much, ‘bicause of the speedy commoditie of it. The *Athenienses* by being Sea-men, didde winne muche and loste all. For the Sea is ‘like marchauntes gaines, it hathe great encrease, and is loste ‘at once. You know that they whome I nowe named, dilating

The *Romane* Consull to the *Carthaginians*.

Sea occasion of offence.

Sicilie.

Spaine.

Sea like Marchauntes.

they

theyr dominion from the *Ionian* sea, to the Ile of *Sicilie*, did not
cease of coueting more, before they hadde losse all their power,
and giuen Portes and Shippes to their enimies, and recey-
ued a garrison into their Cittie, and pulled downe their long
wall, and then were made to dwell vppon the highe lande, the
whiche saued the moste parte of them. Surer is the life (O *Car-*
thaginians) vppon the lande, labouring the earth with quyetnesse,
peraduenture the gaine is lesse, but surer. And lesse dangerous
certainly is husbandry, than Merchaundise. And to me, a Cittie
in the sea seemeth rather a shippe than a lande, hauing muche
tossing of businesse and mutabilitie. In the Inland, the profitte
is without perill, as vppon the grounde. And for thys, the
auncient Kingdomes for the moste parte were in the middest,
and of it, were the greatest made, as of the *Medians*, the *Assi-*
rians, and the *Persians*, and others. But I wyll cease off exam-
ples of Kynges, whyche do not agree wyth you. Looke vp-
pon youre owne *Libya*, in the whyche you shall haue neigh-
boures, as you wyll chose, that you maye take awaye the
sighte and memorye that stirre you to the thynges that nowe
trouble you, when you looke to the Sea, voyde of Shyppes,
remembring the number of Shippes you haue hadde, and the
prayes you haue taken, and to what Portes you brought them
plentifullye, and filled youre storehouses both of Shippes and
Treasure-houses of all preparation. Whereto serueth youre
walls, the receipte of youre armies, horses and Elephantes?
Whereto is the memorie of them to you, but griefe and a stir-
ring, to come agayne to the same, if you can? It is the affection
of manne, by the remembraunce of former fortune, to hope to
come againe to the like. The best remedy against euill fortune,
is forgetfulnesse, which you cannot haue, except you take away
the sighte. And thys is a manifest proofe, that beingmany times
pardoned for the breache of your promise, you haue broke it stil,
if you yet couet rule, & beare vs euil wil, that haue taken it from
you, & wait your time: then haue you nede of such a citie, of such
ports, & Arsenalls and walls to be made to receiue your army.

Athenienses lost all by coueting too much by sea.

Gaine vppon land, lesse, but more sure.

A Citie in the sea like a shippe

The great Monarchies on the lande.

Forgetfulnesse remedie against misery.

‘ And why shoulde we pardon you, since we finde you suche ad-
‘ uersaries? If you will leaue your dominion in deede, not in woord,
‘ rather than in sentence, being content with the lande you haue
‘ in *Libya*, and minde to liue without dissimulation with vs, do it
‘ & shew it in deede, go dwell in *Libya*, which you haue, and leaue
‘ the Sea, which you haue loste. Neyther counterfaite pitie by
‘ holy thinges, country Goddes, common place, and sepulchres.
‘ Whose sepulchres shall remaine vntouched, and to make the ce-
‘ remonies to them, you may come and sacrifice to youre holye
‘ Goddes if you will. The reste we will take away. For you do
‘ not sacrifice in Arsenals, nor ye make no yeare-minds vpon the
‘ walles, Altares, houses, and Palaices, you may builde where
‘ you goe, and they shall forthwith be youre Countrey: as you
Carthaginians come of Tyrus. ‘ left *Tyrus* and came into *Libya*, and that you possessed here, you
‘ call your country. And to be short, learne, that we do not enioine
‘ you this for euill will, but for sure agreement, and publique con-
Alba. ‘ corde. If you can remember, that *Alba*, not an ennimie, but a
‘ mother-citie, not of euill minde, but willing inhabitaunce, for
‘ the common profite, wee translated to *Rome*, and it was profy-
‘ table to both people. But ye saye there be many with you, that
Sea men. ‘ worke for theyr liuing by the sea. This wee haue foreseene, that
‘ you maye haue easie traffike by sea, and maye carrye and re-
‘ ceiue verye commodiously: for we put you not far from the
‘ Sea, but foure score furlongs. Wee that do commaunde you
‘ this, bee a hundred furlongs from it: wee gyue you a place,
‘ chuse it your selfe, and when you are there, to bee of your selfe.
‘ Thys is it wee saide before, that *Carthage* shoulde be free, if thee
Men be the citie, and not houses. ‘ obeyed vs. Wee thinke you to be *Carthage*, and not the ground.
‘ When *Censorinus* had said thys, he ceased. The *Carthagies* being
‘ astonished, said nothing. Then he saide againe. I haue spoken
‘ what I thought might perswade you, and comforte you. But
‘ the Senates commaundement muste bee done, and that oute of
‘ hande. Therefore goe your waye, for yet you be Embassadors.
‘ Thus he spake, and they were remoued by the Sergeants. And
‘ foreseeing what might follow of it at *Carthage*, they desired leaue
‘ to speake againe, and beeyng brought in, they saide:

We

We see your commaundement must be obeyed, for you will not let vs sende to *Rome*, we do not hope to returne to you, for we shall be killed of the *Carthaginians*, whyle we tell them your commaundement: we beseech you, not for our selues, for we be ready to suffer all things, but for *Carthage*, if it maye be driuen to suffer calamitie by feare, sende your shippes thyther, whyles we go, that hearing and seeing your commaundement, they may beare it if they can. Into such extreme necessitie, we are driuen, as we desire you to sende your shippes against our owne countrey. When they had thus sayde, they went their way. *Carthages* speak against it.

Censorinus with twentie gallies, shoared about the Cittie. Some of the ambassadours stodde in the waye, the more parte wente on with silence. The *Carthaginians* lokyng for the ambassadours comming on the wals, were troubled with their tarriaunce, and some tore their heare, some woulde not tarry, but went to mete them, so desirous to learne the trueth. When they sawe them heauye, they stroke their faces, and did aske some, of them al, some of their friends and acquaintaunce, and when they had saluted them, and asked them, and had none answere, they lamented, as in an euident distruction: and some that heard them from the wals, lamented with them, not knowing any thing, as in a manifest and great aduersitie. At the entry of the gates, they had almost thrust one another to death, & almoste torne the ambassadours in pieces, but that this saued them, that they must first speake with the Seniors. Some left them, and some went on with them, desirous to know with the soneste. When they were entred the Senate house, the Seniors commaunded the other to auoyde, and they onely remayned, the people stoode without. The Ambassadours shewed the commaundement of the Consuls. The Senate cryed out, the people without did the like. The ambassadours shewing further what they had alleaged to the contrary, and what prayers they had made to sende ambassadours to *Rome*, the Senate was in a deepe silence again, abyding to heare the ende, and the people was in silence also, but when they heard, they might not sende to *Rome*, they were turned into an exceeding shryking. The Trouble in *Carthage* at the sight of the Ambassadours.

Fury of the *Carthagies*.

The Citie standeth in a great deepe gulfe, almost as an Iland: a place called a neck did diuide it frō the lād, 25. furlongs broade, from the which, a narrow piece of ground called a towne halfe a furlong broade, goeth to the weast in the midest of the poole and the sea, with a simple wall among the rockes, towarde the south lande warde, where the olde Citie *Byrsa* was. In the neck was a triple wall. Euerye one of these, was thirtie Cubites high, beside the batlements, and towers, distaunt two acres asunder, staide by foure planchers, thirtie foote deepe, at the plācher was the higth of euery wall, and in it, being rounde and strong, three hundred Elephants were placed belowe, and the treasure of their store. Upon thē was stables for four thousand horses, with granaries for wheate and barley. There was receytes for men, twentie thousand a foote, and foure thousande on horse: so greate prouision of warre, was appointed to be placed in the walles only. One nowhe about the narow part, did bow from the wall to the portes, which was only weake and lowe, not regarded at the beginning. They sayled out of one porte to another, and from the sea there was one entrye fyue foote broade, which they did shut with chaynes of yron. The first was for merchauntes, in the which were manye and diuerse places of receyt. Within this in the middest was an Ile, and both the Ile and the poole was compassed with greate holowe corners, the which were full of munition for shippes, able to receiue two hundered & twentie ships, and Cellers for preparation of shippes and gallies furniture: two pillers of *Ionian* fashion, stode before euery porte of shippes, like a gallery in the sight of them that passed by the Iland and the port. In the Ile was the store for the admiral, frō whēce the Trumpeter must giue warning, and the crier tel the time, and the Admirall see abroad. The Iland was right against them that sayled, drawn a great length, that the Admirall might see all in the sea, and they that sayled by, should not see the places of the portes perfectly. Neyther could the Merchaunts in their port, see the store for the shippes. For a double wall was set about them, & gates did receiue the Merchaunts to go into the Citie, not passing by the

The discription of Carthage.

One vveake place.

The admirals port.

the storehouses of the shippes. At that time thus stode the Citie of *Carthage*.

The Consuls diuided their businesse and came against their enimies. *Manlius*, from the lande, againste the necke, to fil the ditch, to beate down the little wal, and so to approch to the high walles. *Censorinus* brought ladders both from the lande and the shippes, against the part of the bowing wall. They both made little accompte, as of vnarmed men: tyll they founde them to haue new armour, and great courage, at the wounder of the whiche, they gaue backe, and at the beginning failed of their purpose, thinking to get the Citie without any fighte. The seconde time attempting, and againe reiected, the courage of the *Carthagies* encreased. The Consuls being afrayde of *Asdruball*, which had his campe at their backe not far off, at the poole, defensed both their campes. *Censorinus*, at the Poole, vnder the walles of the Citie, *Manlius*, in the necke, the way to the lande. And thus their camps being made strong, *Censorinus* with his, passed the Poole, for stuffe to make engines, where hee lost fiue hundered workemen, and much armoure, *Imilco* the generall of the horse of *Carthage*, comming sodaynely vppon hym, who was surnamed *Phameas*. Yet getting matter, he made engines and ladders, and agayne they both gaue assault, and were repulsed.

The Consuls against *Carthage* by sea and land.

Imilco. *Ceforinus* loseth men.

The Romaines haue three repulses.

Manlius beginning a little, and hardly breaking any part of the wall, dispayred and left it off. *Censorinus* filling a trenche nere the narrow earth at the Poole, to make it the more passable, brought two greate engines that caried rammes, the one was heaued with fiue thousand fotemen, the Colonels guiding it, the other of the Mariners by the conduct of the Admiralles. And contention being which should doe best, both of the Captaines and souldiours, a piece of the wall was throwen down, and they might see into the Cittie.

The *Carthaginians* to repulse them, repayred the breach in the night: and because they could not finishe all by night, and were afrayde, that that was already done, shoulde be throwen down in the daye by the Romaynes engines, being newe made and

grẽn, they ranne vpon the engines of the enimies, some armed, some naked, hauing only burning lampes. They burned not all, bycause they could not preuent the Romanes, but that they came out: yet they made them all vnprofytable, and returned. Day being come, the Romanes had boldnesse to assault ỹ place that was fallen & not fully made vp: for within apeared a plain fit for to fight, in the fronte of the whith, the armed *Carthagies* stode, & behynde, the vnarmed, with stones & staues: & other placed in the next houses, to entertaine the approching enimie, the which, seeing such contempt of naked men, leapt in boldly. *Scipio* (that not long after destroyed *Carthage*, & was called *Affricane*,) being a Marshall at that time, stayed, & diuiding his bands into many partes, and standing a distaunce from the wal, would not let anye of his to enter the Citie, but receyued them that were driuen out by the *Carthaginians*, and saued them. And this was the beginning of his glorie, appearing more wise than the Cõsul. The army of *Censorinus* was sicke, lying at the Fenne ful of standing and corrupt water, & not receiuing winde from ỹ sea, bicause of the high wals. Therfore *Censorinus* remoued into the sea.

The *Carthagies* burn part of the Romanes engines.

Scipio shevveth his vvisedome being an inferiour officer in the campe.

In this place is a vvant of text.

The *Carthagies* burne part of the Romanes nauy.

The *Carthaginians*, whẽ ỹ winde blew toward the Romanes, filled their boates with flare and brushe, within the wals, that the enimyes should not see it from the shippes, and when they came forth and should be seene, they layd on sulphure and pitch, and then set vp sayle, and threw fire into the vessels, the which being carried with the winde ỹ blewe luskily, into the Romane nauye, sette the shippes on fire and almost burned them all.

Not long after, *Censorinus* went to *Rome* for the election.

The *Carthagies* were the bolder vppon *Manlius*, and in the night some armed and some vnarmed carying bridges, assaulted the next trenche of *Manlius*, and beganne to pull downe the rampire.

The souldiours within beyng troubled in the nighte time, *Scipio* came with his horsemen by a contrarye parte, where no enimies were, and feared the *Carthagies*, when he was comming vpon them, and they retired into the Citie.

In

In this fight the ſouldiours diſordered by night, *Scipio* was thought to haue ſaued them once againe very nobly, and *Manlius* kepte his campe more ſure, making a wall where the rampire was, and erecting a tower towarde the ſea, for the ſhippes that brought him victual. Then turning to the lande with ten thouſande fotememe, and two thouſande horſe, he waſted the countrey, gathering woode, corne and victuall, and one Tribune after another, did ſerue the turne. *Phameas* the Captaine of the horſemen, being yong, and deſirous to fight, and vſing little and light horſes, that were fedde with graſſe, when they had none other, and to ſuffer hunger and thirſte, when nede was, kéeping ſecret in vallies and woods, whē he ſaw thē negligēt, came forth of the ſodayn, like an Eagle, and when he had ſpoyled, he retired, but whē *Scipio* cōmaunded ẏ armye, he wold not apeare. *Phameas.*

For *Scipio* led his people euer in order, the horſemen kéeping on horſebacke, and in his raunging, woulde not diſſolue hys order, before he had beſet the field which he would ſpoyle, with horſemen and armed fotemen. And he roade about with other bandes, and kepte in the forragers, that lefte their companie, or went out of the compaſſe. Therfore *Phameas* wold not come vpon him. And this being often done, *Scipio* had great glorye. The other Captaynes enuying, gaue out, that there was friendſhip betweēn the auncestours of *Phamea*, and the grandfather of this *Scipio*. The *Libyans* that fledde into towers and fortes, that were many in ẏ countrey, the other Tribunes would couenaunt with them to depart, & aſſaile thē as they went, but *Scipio* would ſend them home. Therfore there was ſuch a fame of his valiātneſſe and faith, as they would not truſt, except *Scipio* gaue his word, ſo as he was honoured both of his own & of his enimies. Comming from foraging, the *Libyans* aſſaulted the caſtle of the nauy, in the night: & the cōfuſion being great, by the eſcries ẏ the *Carthagies* made, to cauſe ẏ more terror, *Mālius* kept his mē within, not knowing the matter. *Scipio* takyng two bandes of horſemen, came forth with burning lightes, commaunding his men not to fight, bycauſe of the darke, but onely to run about wyth the fire, to ſéeme ẏ more, & affray the enimy, ſo as the *Carthaginiās* The circumſpection of *Scipio.*

Enuie againſt *Scipio.*

Scipio iuſt of promiſe.

ſtay. being

being made afrayde both wayes, fledde into the citie. Thys also redounded muche to *Scipio* his glorie. Wherefore he was well spoken of by euerie man, and thought a worthy sonne, of *Paulus* that conquered *Macedonie*, and of the *Scipios*, into whose family he was adopted.

The progenie of *Scipio*.

Nepheris. *Manlius* going to *Nepheris* against *Asdrubal*, *Scipio* was not contente, seeing al woodes and hylly places, and the high places gotten before: and as they were three furlongs from *Asdrubal*, and cõming to a riuer must ascend to *Asdrubal*, he stayd then, and counselled him to retire, and that another time and pollicie should be more fitte to match with *Asdrubal*. The other Tribunes speaking against him for enuy and malice, not thinking it good counsell to giue place in the sight of the enimye, whereby they might contemne them, and set vpon them as flying, hee againe desired them, to put their campe on the hyther side of the riuer, that if they were put to it, they might haue a place to resorte, where as nowe they hadde none, wherevnto they might flye. They laughed at this, and one threatned to casse away his sworde, if not *Manlius*, but *Scipio* did rule. Therefore *Manlius* went on, not verye skilfull in the warre. *Asdruball* encountred with him, and there was greate slaughter on both sides. Then *Asdruball* ranne into a castle where was no peril, and wayted to set on them as they wente, who repenting that they had done, they retired to the flould in order, but the flould being hard to passe, bycause of fewe fordes and painful, they wer forced to breake their order. Whych, when *Asdrubal* saw, he came downe manfully, and killed many, that did not resiste, but fledde, and three of the Captaines were slaine, that brought the army to that conflicte. But *Scipio* with three hundred horsemen that he had, and as manye as he coulde get togither, diuided into three companies, gaue charge vpon the enimie with greate vehemence, by portions darting at them, and retyring then vpon them, and agayne returning. For so he tolde them, that halfe of them should assayle the enimies, and throw their dartes, as being in a circle. This being eft done, and the *Libyans* without any staye, being shotte at continuallye, and all

Scipio his Counsel is reiected.

The Romanes are ouerthrowyn by *Asdrubal*.

Scipio saueth the Consul and his army.

turning

turning vppon *Scipio*, the other had the lesse trouble to passe the riuer. And *Scipio* rode after them, being stroke at verye sore. Foure companies at the beginning of the fray being put from the floude by the enimies, ranne to an hill, where *Asdrubal* besieged them, vnknowne to the Romanes, till they stayed. When they knewe it, some thoughte good to goe their waye and not to aduenture many for a fewe. *Scipio* tolde them, that before a matter is begonne, good counsell muste be hadde, but so manye menne and ensignes being in daunger, the vttermoste boldenesse muste be vsed. He chose certaine troupes of horsemen, and said he would returne with them, or gladly die with them. He toke with him two dayes victuall, and streight went forth, all the army being afraide, least he also shoulde perish. When he came to the hill where they were besieged, he with great spæde toke an other hill ouer-against it, diuided by a little valley. Then the *Libyans* didde giue an hote charge vpon them that were besieged, thinking *Scipio* coulde not succoure them, being in so long a iorney. But he seeing the bottomes of the hills compassing the valley, did not omit the occasion, but ranne and toke a place aboue the enimies. They beyng now beset rounde aboute, fled without order, *Scipio* suffering them to go freely, bycause they were a great deale more than he.

Counsell before doyng.

Thus *Scipio* saued these also, that were in desperation. When the army sawe him come a farre off, beyng saued beyond hope, and hauing saued the other, they made great reioyce, and thoughte God wrought with him, as he did with his Grandfather, that seemed to knowe what was to come. *Manlius* led his army to the Cittie againe, putting great faulte in them that woulde not obey *Scipio*, when he counselled to retire with the army. All were muche grieued, that they that were killed, laye vnburied, specially the Tribunes. Therfore *Scipio* losed a prisoner, and sent him to *Asdrubal*, praying him to bury the Tribunes. He sought among the dead bodies, and found them by their rings of golde. For the Tribunes of an army weare gold, and the inferiours, yron. He buried them, either as an acte of humanitie, and cõmon among warriors, or reuerencing and seruing *Scipios*

Scipio saueth. 4. bands that vver in daunger.

Opiniõ of Gods vvorking in *Scipio*.

Griefe for the vnburied souldioures.

Tribunes vvere rings of golde, the other of yron.

glorie.

When the Romaynes were come from *Asdrubal*, *Phameas* troubled them, being yet afraide of their losse. And some issued oute of *Carthage*, and killed some of their cariage.

At this time the Senate sent certaine men to sée the Campe, and to marke euery thing diligently. And *Manlius* and the counsel, and the Tribunes that were left, enuy beyng now extinct by vertue, & al the army, testified what actes *Scipio* had done for thē. The which, the Ambassadors at their returne, tolde the Senate what diligence and experience was in *Scipio*, and what goodwill of the army was toward him.

A generall good reporte of *Scipio*

The Senate was glad of it. And bicause of their many losses, they sent to *Massinissa*, and required him to send friendlye aide to them againste *Carthage*. But he was not found of the Embassadors. For being decayed with age and infirmitie, and hauing many base sonnes, to whome he had giuen much, and thrée lawfull, of diuers conditiōs, he called *Scipio*, for the amitie that was betwéene him and his grandfather, to be a counseller for hys children and kinsmen. He went oute of hande, but before hée came, *Massinissa* dying, commaunded his children to obey *Scipio*, as he shoulde take order for them. Which, when he had saide, hée died, a man in all thinges fortunate, to whome, God graunted to recouer his fathers kingdom from the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, and to encrease it from a greate parte of *Mauritania* by Sea, to the dominion of *Cyrene* by land, and caused a great portion to be inhabited. And many of the *Numidiās* that liued with heards, and vsed no tillage, he left them with treasures of mony and army well practised. Of his enimies, he toke *Syphax* prisoner with his owne hand. Beyng the cause of the variance with *Carthage*, he left it weake to the *Romanes*. He hadde a body big, and strong of nature, to his laste age, and tried fight till hys death, and woulde leape on horse without stirrops. And this may be a great coniecture of hys good health, for hauing many children, & they sometime dying, he hadde tenne little ones, and lefte one of foure yeares of age, when he was. 900. years olde. Thus *Massinissa*, of these yeares and body, dyed.

Massinissa maketh *Scipio* hys executor.

Massinissa dyeth. A fortunate mā.

Cyrene, nowe *Corene*, containing the prouince of fyue Cities.

Massinissa of 900. yeares of age had a childe of foure yeares olde.

Scipio

Scipio gaue to the baſtardes, other gifts, to the Legitimate, treaſures and reuenue, and to haue the name of a kyng common to them, and diuided other things among them, as he thoughte good. To *Micipſa* that was eldeſt, and moſte deſirous of peace, he gaue the Citie of *Cyrta*, and all the royall thinges in it. To *Geloſſa* that was a ſouldiour, and ſecond in age, he appointed to be the Lorde of peace and warre. To *Maſtanaba* the youngeſt, and giuen to Juſtice, he gaue the authoritie of iudgements and deciding controuerſies.

The order that *Scipio* tooke vpon *Maſiniſſas* children. *Micipſa*, *Geloſſe*, and *Maſtanabe*.

Thus did *Scipio* diuide the kingdome and ſubſtaunce of *Maſſiniſſa* to his children, and preſently made *Geloſſa* a companion of the warre: and he founde oute the traynes, by the whiche, *Phameas* many times vexed the Romanes, and ſtayed them.

In a winter *Scipio* and *Phameas* encamped nighe togither, hauing in the middeſt a valley that could not be paſſed, nor doe any thing the one againſt the other.

And *Scipio* fearing that ſome traine might be laide before him, went to viewe it wyth three friends. When *Phameas* ſawe him, he came toward him with one. *Scipio* thinking he wold ſay ſomewhat, rode towarde him with one alſo. And when they might heare one another, *Scipio* ſaide: The *Carthaginians* being gone before why doſt thou not conſider of thine owne health, ſeeyng thou canſte doe nothing for the common wealth? Howe can I (quoth he) ſée for my ſafety, the *Carthaginians* ſtanding as they do, and the Romanes being ſo oft hurte by me? I promiſe thée (ſaid *Scipio*) if I be worthy to be truſted, ſafetie and forgiuenelle of the Romanes, and to haue thankes. He accepting him to bée moſt worthy, ſaide: I thinke ſo of thée, and if it be poſſible thou canſt tel, and ſo they departed.

The talke betwene *Scipio* & *Phameas*.

Manlius being aſhamed of the loſſe he had of *Aſdrubal*, marched againe to *Nepheris*, taking with him xv. dayes victualles, and being at hande, made a trenche, and encamped (as *Scipio* counſelled him) in the former iorney. And doyng no good, he was in a more feare and greater ſhame, leaſt *Aſdrubal* ſhould come vpon him, as he went away. And whiles he was in this doubt, one of *Geloſſas* army brought a letter to *Scipio*, and he deliuered it ſealed

A newe rodde of *Manlius* to *Nepheris*.

A letter to *Scipio*.

sealed as it was, to the Generall. When they had opened it, they founde thys. Suche a daye I will take suche a place, come thou with as many as thou wiste, and bid the foremoste watche, receiue him that shall come in the night. The letter without anye name saide thus muche. *Scipio* thought it was touching *Phamea*. *Manlius* was afraide of *Scipio*, leaste he shoulde be deceyued of a man that was all bent to deceites. But when he sawe him haue good hope in the matter, he sente him, willing him to giue assuraunce for *Phameas* safety, but for his thankes, to determine nothing, but to promise him that the Romanes shoulde consider of him. There was no neede of suche premises. For when *Phameas* was come to the place appointed, he trusted *Scipio* for his safetie, giuing him his right hande: and as for thankes, let the *Romanes* consider it. When he had said thus, he determined to fighte the nexte day, ‡ going before with his Captains, as to consider some other matter, he said: If I could any longer helpe my country, I am ready: But that standing as it doth, I am to foresee for mine owne safety, hauing receyued assurance for my selfe, I will receiue it for you, that will be perswaded by me: nowe is the time for you to consider for your selues. Thus he saide. Some of the captaines with their bands yelded, and were in number. 2200. horsemen. The rest, *Hanno*, called The White, did retaine. Whē *Scipio* came, *Phameas* army met with hym, and extolled *Scipio*, as in a triumphe. *Manlius* beyng very glad, not thinking any longer his returne to be rebukefull to him, nor afraide that *Asdrubal* woulde folow him, he remoued streight for want, being now the .xviij. daie, appointing but .xv. and so muste suffer paine for thrée daies *Scipio* taking *Phamea* and *Geloſſa*, with their horsemen, and certaine *Italians*, went to a field called the Great Dungeō, and from thence brought much pray and victuall for their camp by night. *Manlius* vnderstanding that *Calphurnius Piso* shold come as his successor, sēt *Scipio* and *Phamea* to *Rome* afore, and the army following *Scipio* to the ship, praised *Scipio*, and prayed he might be sent Consul into *Libya*, as he that only could ouerthrow *Carthage*. For it was an opinion among thē proceēding from God, ỹ only *Scipio* could conquere *Carthage*. And many wrote so to their

Phameas yeelderth to *Scipio*.

Phameas to hys Captaynes.

Hanno the vvhite.

The great dungeon.

Scipio and *Phameas* to *Rome*.

The peoples opinion of *Scipio*.

friendes

friends in *Rome*. The Senate commended *Scipio*, and honored *Phameas* with pretious gifts of golde and purple, and an horse trapped with golde, and an armour for his whole body, and .x. M. siluer drammes, & an hundred pound waite of siluer plate, and a tent & furniture according, and badde him hope for better gifts, if he did his endeuor in the rest of the war. He promised so to do, and sailed into *Libya* to the Romanes camp. At the Spring, *Calphurnius Piso* the Consul came, & with him, *Lucius Mancinus* to the nauy. They neither did any thing against *Carthage* nor *Asdrubal*, but besieged Cities, & were driuen frō *Clupea*, when they had beset it both by sea and land. *Piso* toke another city nigh, & spoiled it, offring to come to accorde. From thence they went to *Hypozareta*, a great Cittie, wel walled, with a Castle, Ports, ships and houses, which *Agathocles* the Tyranne of *Scicilie* did builde very fayre. It was in the middest betwéen *Carthage* & *Libya*, whiche robbed the Romanes prouision by sea, & therfore was very rich. *Calphurnius* thought to punishe the same, and to take awaye the profit, but being at it an whole sommer, did no good, & they twice sallying oute with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, burned the engins of *Calphurnius*, and he hauing done nothing, retired to *Vtica* to winter. The *Carthaginians* hauing *Asdrubals* army safe, and they the stronger for the fight, with *Piso* at *Hypozareta*, for *Bythias Nonias* was fled to them from *Gelossa* with eight hundred horse, & seeing that *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba* the sons of *Massinissa*, did euer promise the Romanes armor and money, and deferred and loked for the ende, were encreased in their harts, & went boldely about *Libya*, winning grounde, & speaking euill of the Romanes, in the assemblies of euery citie, shewing their faintnesse at *Nepheris* twice, & what they had lately losse at *Hyppagreta*, & could not yet get *Carthage*, beyng vnarmed and vnprouided. They sent to *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba*, and to the frée *Mauritanians*, exhorting them, and also shewing them, that they were in daunger, if the Romanes ouercame them. They sent some into *Macedonia*, to him that was thought to be the sonne of *Perseus*, & at war with the Romanes, and persuaded him to follow the warre earnestly, & they should not lacke ships nor mony frō *Carthage*. And

Hypozareta. This citie of *Hippo*, vvas builded of the horse men, and vvas the Country of *S. Austen.* An other *Hippo* vvas builded in the Fenne, and called therfore, *Dilutus*, builded also By the horsmen.

They burne the Consulls munition.

Bythias reuoketh to the *Carthagimans*

The *Carthaginians* procure friendes.

The lustinesse of the *Carthaginians.*

in summe, set not a little by themselues, now that they were armed, but encreased by degrée, in harte, courage and preparation.

Asdrubal vvithout, accuseth *Asdrubal* vvithin.

And *Asdrubal* for his parte, was aloft to, chiefe of the warre abroade: for ouercomming *Manlius* twice, and coueting the rule of the Cittie also, did accuse *Asdrubal* the Generall of it, to the Senate of *Carthage*, beyng nephewe to *Gelassa*, that he would betray *Carthage* to him. When he was examined of thys matter, and for the sodaine, could not answere for hymselfe, he was killed with the seates of the house.

Asdrubal vvithin is killed.

When the small doings of *Piso*, and the prouision of *Carthage*, was tolde at *Rome*, the people was grieued, and feared that if the warre encreased, beyng greate, continuall and at hande, they coulde looke for no rest, bicause they had broken faith wyth them before. And remembring the actes that *Scipio* had lately done in *Libya* when he was a Tribune, and comparyng them, with the present, & the letters that were sent from the Camp euery man to his friendes, they required that *Scipio* might be sente Consull into *Libya*, for the Election was at hande. But the lawe forbad *Scipio* to be Consull yet, bicause of his age. He desired to bée an Edile, but they would haue him Consul. Which beyng against the Lawe, and the Consuls bringing forth the Lawe, they were grieued and offended, affirming, that by the Lawes of *Romulus* and *Tullius*, the people was Lorde of the Elections, and might allowe and disallowe what Law they would.

Ediles had rule of houses and prouision.

Authoritie of people.

In the ende, one of the Tribunes saide, if the Consuls would not agrée to the people, they woulde take the Election from the Consulls. So the Senate perswaded the people to breake the Lawe for one yeare, and then to resume it againe. As the *Lacedemonians* in a necessitie dissolued a Lawe for them that were taken at *Pylo*, and saide: Let the Lawes sléepe for thys daye. So *Scipio* desiring to be Edile, was made Consull, whose fellowe *Drusus* required to allotte the prouinces, til one of the Tribunes saide, that the iudgement of prouinces, was the peoples, the whiche people chose *Scipio*.

Scipio is chosen Consull before his tyme, and the Lavve broken for one yeare, by example of the *Lacedemonians*.

Pylus a cittie or tvvo in *Peloponeso*.

Scipio is appointed to *Libya* by the people.

An army was giuen him of ordinarie, so many as might supplie the number of the deade, and to take as manye confederates as

as he coulde perſwade, and to write to Kings and Citties in the people of *Romes* name, as many as he thoughte would ſend him aide. So had he helpe from Cities and Kings. He went into *Sicilie*, and from *Sicilie* to *Vtica*. *Calphurnius Piſo* made war in the land, and *Mancinus* lay at *Carthage*, a parte of the wall he perceiued to be neglected, where were rocks that could not be attempted. He thinking he ſhoulde not be perceyued, prepared hys ladders to get the wall. He did ſo, and ſome of the ſouldiours went to it boldely.

Piſo attempteth the vvall.

The *Carthaginians* ſéeing them ſo fewe, deſpiſed them, and ſet open the gates that goe to the rockes, and ranne vppon the Romanes. And the Romanes driuing them backe, and following them, ranne into the Citie at the gate with them. Then making a crie of victorie, *Mancinus* leaping for ioy, and in other things raſhe and light, with the other multitude leauing their Shippes, ranne to the wall, halfe armed and naked. The Sunne nowe being ready to ſet, they toke a forte before the wall, and reſted.

Mancinus giueth a raſhe attempt.

And *Mancinus* wanting victuall, ſente to *Piſo* and the rulers of *Vtica*, to helpe him in his daunger, and to bring him foode with ſpéede. So was he in daunger, leaſt by breake of daye, the *Carthaginians* ſhould throwe him headlong from the rockes. *Scipio* that night came to *Vtica*, and at midnight, vnderſtanding what *Mancinus* had written, ſounded to the battaile, & ſent the meſſengers to call the ſeamen of *Italie* and *Vtica*. He bad the auntients carye victualls into the galleis, and deliuered a priſoner of *Carthage*, to go tell them that *Scipio* was comming. And he ſent to *Piſo* horſmen after horſmen, to call him awaye with all ſpéede. When the laſte watch was come, he commaunded to ſayle, and they to ſtand right vppe in the decktes, to ſéeme the more to the enimyes. Thus he did.

Mancinus in daunger.

Scipio at his arriuall doth a feate.

Mancinus, when the *Carthagies*, early in the morning fel vpon him, cõpaſſed three thouſãd being naked, with only fiue hundred which he had armed: being hurte and beaten of them, he was driuen into the rockes of the wall. Then *Scipios* Shippes were ſéen, ſayling with all force, & euery where ful of armed ſouldiors.

Mancinus is hurt and beaten.

The *Carthaginians* hearing it by the prisoner, did not thinke the contrary, and brought the Romanes an helpe vnlooked for. The *Carthaginians* giuing place by little and little, *Scipio* receiued the Romanes that were in danger, into hys ships, and by and by sent *Mancinus* to *Rome*. *Serranus* was come to be his successor in the nauy. *Scipio* encamped not far off *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* comming fiue furlongs oute of the towne, made a trenth against him. And to this trenche came to them, *Asdrubal* the Captaine of the army abroad, and *Bythias* Captaine of the horsmen, leading fiue thousand footemen, and a thousande horsmen, practised with time and diligence. *Scipio* perceiuing no order, nor good rule among the souldiours, but giuen to idlenesse, & spoyle, and rauine vnder *Piso*, and an other straunge multitude among them, that for spoile followed the bolder sorte, and ranne wyth them to robbe, going without warning, where the law of war taketh him for a forsaker of the army, that goeth without the sound of the Trumpe: and what offence they make, is imputed to the whole army: and the desire of spoile to be occasion of other euils and contention among them. Many contemning their fellowes for lucre, made murders, hurtes and mischiefe against the lawes, the which *Scipio* considering, & thinking neuer to ouercome his enimie, except he coulde rule hys owne, called them by an assemblye, and goyng vp to the highe seate, thus rebuked them: When I was a souldior wyth you vnder *Manlius*, I gaue you experience to witnesse of mine obedience: the which now being Generall I require of you, hauing power to punishe the disobedient to ỹ vttermost, I haue thought it good to warne you: You know what you do, and what should I speake that I am ashamed of? Ye rob rather than make warre: yea, and you scatter, not encampe, and be like seekers of pray, & not siegers of Cities. You will liue delicatelye, yet being in warre without victorie. Whereby the enimies power beyond all hope, the little tyme that I haue bin away, is growne so greate, that by thys negligence, my labour is growne the greater. The causes, if I bidde find to be in you, I woulde punishe them oute of hand, but because I impute them to an other, I nowe forgiue all you haue done

Scipio saueth *Mancinus*.

Serranus.

Asdrubal Bythias

Lawe of armes.

The exhortatiō of *Scipio* to the souldiours that were out of order.

done till this time. I come not to rob, but to conquer: not to get
mony before victorie, but firste to beate mine enimies. Goe you
al from the army this day that be no souldioures, except them
that shall haue leaue of me to tarry: and they that de go, I wil
not suffer to come againe, till they bring some victuall fit for the
camp & good. A time shall be appointed, in the which they shal
place their things, & the price of them, I, & the treasorer, shall ap-
point. And this he saide to the superfluous. But to you that bee
my souldiors, let one cõmandement be common to you all, in al
affaires, that is, my maner & labor. For if you follow them, you
shal not erre in youre enterprises, nor be voide of thankes. For
nowe we muste laboure where perill is. Lette lucre alone, till
a fitte time maye serue vs to be merye. Thus doe I commaund
and the law. and they that will be obedient shal be pertakers of
muche good, and they that be disobedient, shall repent. Thus *Scipio* said, & by and by put away al ỹ multitude of vnprofitable mẽ,
& with them, al things that wer superfluous, vaine, and delicate.
His army being purged, & with reuerence readie to do his com-
maundement, he attempted a place called *Megara*, in two places
in one night. *Megara* is a very great place in the Cittie, joyning
to the wall, into the whiche sending other about, he went wyth
pike-axes, ladders & bars, vnseen, & with silence. Whẽ they aboue
heard them come nere, they made a crie from the wall, he made
the countre crie firste, & after him the army, & in diuerse parts it
was made very great. This was the first feare the *Carthaginians*
had, so many enimies in the sides of them, so sodainelye being
come vpon them. He coulde do no good against the wall, thoughe
he proued al wayes, but he gote a Tower, of a private Citizen,
voide, without the wall, & as high as the wall, by the courage of
his yong men, which droue away the watch from the wall with
their darts, & laying bridges & plankes the space betwéne, gote
into *Megara*, and breaking down the gate, let in *Scipio*. He entred
with fiue M. men & the *Carthaginians* fled into *Byrsa*, as the reste of
the Cittie had bin taken. There was a strange crie and tumulte,
some were taken, & some left their camp without, & ran with o-
ther into *Byrsa*. *Scipio* because *Megara* was full of Orchardes &

Examples good lesson.

Megara one of the strong places of *Carthage*.

Scipio gaynerh a Tovver.

Great alteratiõ in *Carthage*.

groues of fruite, diuided with hedges, and sets and briers, and with riuers running diuersely, fearing least the army folowing him, shoulde finde a troublesome passage without waye, and ignorantly going in ỳ night, might haply fal into some traynes, blew the retreate. When day was come, *Asdrubal* being angry with the taking of *Megara*, as many prisoners as he had of the Romaynes he brought them to the wall, where the Romaynes mighte see what shoulde be done, he pulled out their eyes, their tongs, the sinowes, and priuie members, with hookes of yron: of some he pulled of the skinne of their bodye: some he cutte the soles of their feete: of some he cut of the fingers, and threw them downe being yet aliue, shewing there was no hope of concorde betweene the Romaines, and the *Carthagies*. Thus did he stirre them to haue their hope only in fight. But it came otherwise to passe than he thoughte, for the *Carthagies*, by conscience of these horrible actes, were made fearefull in steade of bloud, and they hated *Asdrubal* that hadde taken awaye hope of pardon, and specially the Senate who exclaymed agaynst him, as one that committed too cruell and proude deedes, in the countries calamitie. But he toke certaine of the Senate and killed them, and being waren fearefull toward all, was rather a Tirame, than a Captaine, as he that had his safety only in this, to be terrible vnto them, and therefore wared intollerable:

The crueltie of *Asdrubal*.

Crueltie oute of time.

Scipio burned the campe of his enimies, which they left when they fled into *Byrsa*, and hauing gotten the grounde betweene the water, he trenched it from sea to sea, separate from the enimie, as far as they might caste a darte. They resisted it, and the worke was from the head, fiue and twenty furlongs, and was fayne to worke and fight at once: When he had finished this, he made another ditch equall to it, not farre from the former, drawing it towarde the land, and after that, two more, that his whole trenche was a quadrate. He made it strong with pale sharpe at the end, and at the pale, he made other ditches. That part that was towarde *Carthage*, he fensed with a wall fiue and twenty furlongs, in higth twelue foote, beside towers & holds, which were set with a distaunce on the wal. The breadth was

The *Carthaginians* flee into *Byrsa*.

VVorkes of *Scipio*.

halfe

halfe so much as the higth. The tower in the middest was highest of all, and in it a kepe of woode foure square, from the whiche he might see all that was done in the Cittie. This he dyd in twentie dayes and nightes, all the armye labouring, and worcking, and fighting by turne, and not greatly passing for their victuals. He brought the army within the trēch, which serued both as a long wall against the enimie, when he woulde, & to take the relefe that was brought to *Carthage* by land also: for except this part that was called the necke, the water dyd beate on *Carthage* euery where. And this was the chiefe cause of their hunger and destruction. For what the multitude of the Cittie had from the fielde, neyther coulde it be brought for thys siege, nor strangers comming to them, for the warre, only they had their victuall of *Libya*, a little, and by sea, when wynde woulde serue, the reste came by lande, the whiche waye after it was stopped, they were sore vexed with famine. *Bythias* that was the Captaine of horsemen, and was sent for victual a long tyme, neyther durst come neare, nor passe *Scipios* trenche, but seldome and slowly sent them fode by ship, albeit the Romanes nauy, laye at the towne, not continuallye, nor many at once, bicause the sea was dangerous and tempestuous, and they could not approche the Cittie, the *Carthagies* being on the walles, and the waues being great there, bycause of the rocke. Therefore the Hoyes of *Bithyas*, or if any merchant came for gaine caring nothing for perill, they obserued when the winde was greate, and made full sayle, the gallies not being able to folowe them, when they were blowen in with such vehemence from the sea. And whatsoeuer these ships brought, *Asdrubal* distributed it, vpō thirtie thousād, which he had for the war, little regardyng the other people: wherefore they were soare troubled wyth famine.

The great trēch that *Scipio* made

Straightnesse of victuall in *Carthage*.

The only vvay to victuall *Carthage*.

Asdrubal feedeth his souldioures.

When *Scipio* perceyued this, he purposed to shutte the mouthe of the porte towarde the Weaste, and not farre from the lande, hée made a long Trenche, beginnyng from the streighte betwéene the Fenne and the Sea called the Tongue. He wrought in the sea, and stopped the

passage,

passage, making it sure with great thicke stones, that it should not be broken of the billow. And the breadth of the trenche, was foure and twenty fote, and square in the bottome. The *Carthaginians* at the beginning contemned the worke, as a thing asking long time, and paraduenture, impossible to be done. But the army applying it earnestly, ceasing neither daye nor night, they were arayde, and digged out another mouth on the other side of the porte, into the midde sea, where no trench coulde come for the depth and behement windes: Women and chyldren digged within, and were not perceyued: and they made shippes of olde stuffe, both great and little gallies, leauing for no want of courage and boldenesse. They kepte all so secrete, that neuer a prisoner could tell *Scipio* what they did certainely, but that there was a noyse within their portes day and nighte not ceasing, but to what vse, they coulde not tell: till al being readye, the *Carthagies* brake open the mouthe by dauning of the daye, and then shewed with fiftie gallies, Foystes and Brigandines, and many other small vessels, wel set forth for terrour.

Scipio stoppeth the port of *Carthage*.

The *Carthagies* make a newe port, and newe shippes.

The Romaines were so amazed at the sodayn opening of the mouth, and at such a company of shippes, that if the *Carthagies* had then set vpon the Romayne nauy, the men being occupied at the wall, and neyther Mariner nor other present to defend it, they mighte haue gotten al the fame. But it was nowe come, that *Carthage* must perish. They made a shew only, with a bolde countenaunce, and returned. The thirde daye after, they came forth to fight, when the Romaines had their shippes and other thinges prepared to resiste. The crie and call being made on both sides, and courage shewed both of Mariners and maisters, the *Carthagies*, for their liues, and the Romaines for the full victory, there were many hurt and slaine on both sides, til it was midde day. In this fight, the little boates of the *Carthagies*, ran vnder the great shippes sides of the Romanes, and nowe brake at the stemmes, and nowe, the sternes and the oares, and did much other hurt, easily flying, and easily returning. The fighte being doubtfull, and toward nighte, the *Carthagies* thoughte it

Carthagies come forth with a newe nauy, and lose their occasion. Fate vnresistable

The fight on the sea by the *Carthagies*.

Carthagies giue place and confounde themselues.

good

good to retire, not as ouercome, but to prepare themselues against the next day. The small vessels fledde first, and shutte the mouth, being altogither, so as the great shippes were put from the mouth, and fledde to the trenche, whiche was made for the Merchaunts before the wall, large to receyue the packes of ỹ occupiers, and a little bray was made in this warre, that the enimies should not plant in so playne a place. To this trenche, the *Carthagies* shippes fledde, for lacke of a porte, and stode with their stemmes against their enimies, whom some resisted from the shippes, some from the trenche, and some from the bray. The Romaynes easilye gaue onset vppon them, bycause they fought with shippes that stode: but their departing, for the turning of their long shippes was slow and hurtfull, so as they had little aduauntage, for when they turned, they were beaten of the *Carthagies*.

Fiue shippes of the *Sidents* that accompanied *Scipio* for good will, renued the fight in this wise: They let fal their ancres alose off in the sea, and waying their longest Cables, being fast moored, charged their enimie, and when they had encountred them, shortning vp their Cables, retyred backe, and so haled forward and backewarde, alwayes fighting with their faces vpon the enimie. A feate of the *Sidents*.

The rest of the nauy, seeing ỹ deuise of the *Sidents*, folowed it, & did their enimies much hurt, night making an end. The rest of the *Carthage* shippes fled into the Citie. *Scipio* by day toke the trench, for it was a place fitte to annoy the port. Therfore beating the bray with his rammes, and bringing manye engines, he toke part of it. The *Carthagies*, although they were afflycted with famine and diuerse euils, they ranne vpon the Romanes engines in the night, not by lande, for there was no way, nor by shippe, for the sea was shallowe, but naked, with linckes not light, that they should not be seene a far off. They came by sea where no man would haue thought, some to the breastes waded in the shalows, some swamme, til they came to the engines, they threw the fire, and were perceyued, receyuing much hurt, bycause they were naked, and did much by their boldnesse, for being stroke on the breasts and faces, with dartes and speares, The *Carthagies* run vpõ the Romanes munition vvith desperatnesse.

they woulde not giue place, as wilde beasts offering themselues to the strikers, til they had set the artillery on fyre, and driuē the Romanes away that kepte them with confusion, as there was suche feare and trouble in the Camp and whole army, as hadde not bēne before, and all by the furie of naked enimies. Wherefore *Scipio* being afraide, came forth with his horsmen, and commaunded to beate them down that would not leaue their flight, And some he beate downe and killed, till they retourned to the Camp, for necessitie to saue themselues, and watched that night in armes, fearing the desperation of the enimies, who when they had burned the artillerie, swamme home againe.

Feare in the Romanes Campe.

Scipio is forced to kil his owne souldiors to kepe them frō flying.

When it was daye, the *Carthaginians* being sure from the engines, builded vppe the fore parte of the wall againe, and made many Towers vpon it, by a certaine distaunce. The Romanes made other engines, and erected a trenche against the Towers. making fire worke of pitche and sulphure, and threw them vpon ỹ enimie. And when they had burned many of the Towers, they chased the *Carthaginians* that fledde. But where the ground was slippery with bloud and myre, they left the chase of themselues. *Scipio* hauing got all the trench, compassed it with a ditch, & wyth a wall of stone, not verye neare, nor farre off the enimies. And when the wall was vppe, he put in foure thousand, whiche did not much passe of the enimie, throwing dartes and weapons vpon them with contempt, and bicause they were of like heigth, they were sure to hit them. And thus the Sommer was spente. Winter being come, *Scipio* determined to take from the *Carthaginians*, al the power and friends that they had by lande, and sente some one way, and some another, & he himselfe went to *Nepheris* by water, where *Diogenes* that fauoured *Asdrubal*, lay in camp, and sent *C. Lelius* thither by land. Whē they were come, they encamped two furlongs from *Diogenes*. There he left *Gelossa* to molest *Diogenes* continually, and returned to *Carthage*, & so vsed to go betwæn *Carthage* and *Nepheris*, to sée the doings. Two of *Diogenes* Towers fel, wherfore *Scipio* went and laid a .M. choice souldiors behind in an ambush, and brought .3000. tried men againste the front, & willed them to giue the assault at the broken towers, not al at once, but by rankes, stil following one another, that the former being putte backe, should not hinder them that followed.

The *Carthagies* trenche gotten.

Scipio endamageth the *Carthaginians* by lande.

The assaulte at *Nepheris*.

The Crie being greate, and the fraye hotte, al the *Libyans* turned to the defence, thē the thousand, as was appointed thē, came forth, and were not sēne: and when the first were entred they were sone perceyued: wherfore the *Libyans* fled, not seing how many they wer, but thinking they had bin many moe thā they were. *Celessa* set vpon thē with his *Numidians* & Elephāts, and made great slaughter, so as there were killed, lxx. M. with them of the countrey, & 10000. taken, and 4000. fled. Thē was the Citie of *Nepheris* taken, in xxij. dayes with great difficultie, for the winter and the moyst place: & this keate did chiefly cause the destruction of *Carthage*. For this army sent them victuals, & by this campe, the *Libyans* were the bolder to come abrode, but when it was taken, the other places of *Libya* yelded to *Scipios* Captaines without any businesse: and victuall was to seke at *Carthage*, neyther hauing it out of *Libya*, being an other mans power, nor by sea, bicause of the war and winter season.

Nepheris taken vvith a great slaughter.

Victual kept frō *Carthage*.

In the beginning of the spring, *Scipio* set vpon *Byrsa*, & the port called *Agatho*, *Asdrubal* in the night burned that parte of *Agatho* that was quadrate, and thinking that *Scipio* would haue come vpon him there, he being ready to resist with the *Carthagies*, *Lelius* on the other side, set on that part which was round. And shoute being made as in a victorie, they were afrayde, and the Romanes without dreade, clymed vp, and set their beames, engines and bridges, vpon the brokē places, the warders being weake in bodyes for hunger, and out of hart. The wall ẏ was about *Cathone* being taken, ẏ market place that was nigh, *Scipio* also toke, & bycause he could not passe further being night, hee remayned in armes till it was day, which being come, he called other 3000. fresh men, & they went into *Apollos* tēple, & stale his picture, & the roufe couered with leaues of gold, waying a M. talents, cutting it with their swords, their captains forbidding them, til they had diuided it, & then went to their businesse. *Scipio* was earnestly bent to take *Byrsa*, which was ẏ strōgest place of the Citie, & the most part was got into it. And wher there was three ways frō ẏ market place to it, many houses & very hyghe were on euery side, where ẏ Romans being shot at, they toke ẏ first of thē, & there defēded thēselues frō the next, a whē they had

Agatho one of the port of *Carthage*.

Lelius assault.

Three streetes to *Byrsa*.

gotten them, they layde planckes and boardes betweene the
The miserable murder. strengthes of them, and went as vpon bridges. And the battell was now, as vpon chambers, and vpon the streightes, as they mette there. All was filled with sighes, cries, and lamentes for diuerse passions, some being killed at hande, and some throwen downe from the loftes to the grounde, and some receiued vpon the speares being held vp, or swordes, or pykes. Nothing was burned, for them that were on the Solares, till *Scipio* came to
The attempt against *Byrsa*. *Byrsa*.

Then were three narrow places burned at once, and as they were burned, they were bidden to go to the next, that the army
Grieuous sight. might haue an easie way. An other sight ful of griefe ther was of the flaming fire consuming all, of men and houses, not falling by little and little, but by heapes violentlye ouerthrowen: a great noyse followed, for men some deade, some aliue, specially olde men, women, and children that fell with the stones, that were hid in the secrete places, some, full of woundes, some halfe burned, making most pitifull crie. Other driuen frō the solares, fell with the fire and tymber, being broken and torne horiblye diuerse ways to behold. Yet was not this ẏ end of ẏ euils. For ẏ masons with their ares and rāmers, & some with the pointes of their forkes, did rake the deade, and the liuing also, into holowe places of the earth, turning and tolling them like stones and tymber. The holes were filled with men, turned vpside downe. Some were set on their heades, with their legges shaking aboue the ground. Some with their fæte downewarde, stode with their heads aboue the ground. The horses treading vpon them, brake their faces and theyr braynes, not for that they were put on by other, but of purpose, and the makers of ẏ way, did all things of purpose, the vehemence of the fight, and the glorie of the victorie that was at hande, and the forwardenesse of the army, the Trumpets and the criers, making noyse euery where, the Tribunes and the Capitaines, going wyth their men, and encouraging them, made all men furious, and not to passe of that they did sée for great desire. This continued in this broyle fiue dayes and nightes, euer freshe men beyng sette in, that they shoulde not be ouerladen with watche and labour,

labour, and slaughter, and grieuous fighte. But *Scipio* continued without ceassing, encouragyng them, without slæpe, and taking meate as he wente aboute his businesse, tyll beyng tyred he stayed and stode aboue to sée what was done. Manye being yet slaine, and the euill like to continue longer, some the seauenth day sledde with garlandes, suche as were vsed for *Aesculapius*, who had a temple in the Castle moste rich & godly. They desiring pardon, prayed *Scipio* ẏ they that wold go out of *Byrsa*, ẏ they might haue their liues onely. He graunted it, the fugitiues only except, and there came forth by & by fifty thousande men and women, being thrust togither in a maruellous streightnesse, whom he commaunded to be kepte. The runnawayes of *Rome* which were about nine hundred, being without al hope, fled into *Aesculapius* temple, with *Asdrubal*, his wife & two male children, frō whence they fought fiercely, although they were but fewe, from the high and rockye places of the temple, to the whiche, in time of peace, men went vp thrée score payre of stayres. But when hunger, watche, feare, and payne of the euil at hand beset them, they left the low parte of the temple, and sledde to the toppe of it, in the which time, *Asdrubal* fled secretly to *Scipio* with braunches of Oliue. *Scipio* put him at his féete, and shewed him to the runnawayes, whiche when they saw, they desired a silence to be giuen them, which being done, they reuiled *Asdrubal* many and diuerse wayes, and then burned the temple and themselues. And they say that the wife of *Asdruball*, when the fire toke, being ouer againste *Scipio*, in as good behauiour as the time would suffer, and shewing hir children, sayde in the hearing of *Scipio*: To the (O Romayne,) there is no reuenge of god, for thou doest accordyng to ẏ order of war. But *Asdrubal* my husbande, the betrayer of his country, of the temples, & of me & his children, ẏ gods of *Carthage* shal punishe, & thou, with the gods. And turning to *Asdrubal*, saide: Thou wicked, vnfaithfull, and moste cowarde of all men, me and these children this fire shall burne, but thou shalt honor the triumphe, that arte the great Captaine of *Carthage*, what paine shalt thou not suffer, by him, before whome

Scipios pain and abstinence.

Aesculapius temple.

Carthagies aske pardon and 50. thousand goe out of *Byrsa*.

Runnayyayes of *Rome*.

Asdrubal flyeth to *Scipio*.

The fugitiues set themselues on fire.

thou now knéelest? Whē she had thus vpbraided him, she killed hir children, and threw them in the fire, and hir selfe after. Thus they say *Asdrubals* wife spake, and died, which had rather haue bin fit for *Asdrubal* himselfe to haue done.

The death of *Asdrubals* wife.

Scipio séeing the Citie that hadde continued seauen hundreth yeares, ruling ouer so many nations aboute them, of such power on the lande, and also of shippes by sea, and Ilands in the same, full of armor, naule, Elephants and mony, equall with the greatest kingdoms, and in boldnesse and courage surpassing: the whiche, when they were spoyled of their ships, and al their armor, yet abode the warre three whole yeares, wyth so greate famine. Then séeing it vtterly destroyed by extreame siege, they saye hée wept, and openly pitied them that were ouercome, calling to his remembrance, and perceyuing, that al cities, nations and kingdoms, were subiect to mutation, as the destinies of menne. So suffred *Troy* a noble citie. So suffred the *Assyrians*, the *Medians*, and *Persians*, whiche were the great Monarches of the worlde, & lastlye, the moste glorious state of *Macedonie*, so that eyther of purpose, or by chaunce, this worde fel from him.

Scipio weepeth at the sight of *Carthage* ouerthrowne. Mutations of states in the worlde.

The day shall come when mighty *Troy* muste fall,
And *Priamus* and his warlike nation all.

The wordes of *Scipio*.

Polibius that was his Schoolemaister, did aske him freely, what he ment by that speach, and that he said, not forbearing to name his own country plainely, of the whiche he was afraide for the alteration of men. Thus doth *Polibius* write of him that hearde him. When *Carthage* was taken, *Scipio* gaue the souldiors leaue for certaine daies to spoile it, onelye excepting golde, siluer, and holy things. Then he gaue giftes to al, except to them that had spoiled *Appollos* Temple. Then he sent a swift ship laden wyth spoiles, to signifie the victorie at *Rome*. He sent into *Sicilie*, that al the sacred & publique things, that the *Carthagies* had taken from them in the war, which they could chalenge & know, shoulde bée restored, which got him gret loue of the people, as one, that with authoritie vsed humanitie, diuiding the spoile that remained to be sold, he sacrificed the vnprofitable ship-armes and engins, to *Mars* and *Minerua*, gyrded after the Romane manner. They at

Polibius was schoolemaister to *Scipio* borne in *Arcadia*.

Scipio giueth the spoile to the souldiours.

Scipio giueth no gifte to them that spoiled *Appollo*.

The goodnesse of *Scipio*.

Rome

Rome seeing the Shippes, and learning the newes, in the euening, came into the streetes, and spente all that nighte in ioye and embracements, as nowe made free of feare, nowe ruling other with safety, not hauing their Citie firme and sure, & hauing such a victorie, as they neuer had the like. Many noble feates came to their remembraunce, what their fathers hadde done in *Macedonia*, in *Iberia*, and against *Antiochus* the gret, and in *Italie* it selfe: but no war was so feareful vnto them as this at their owne doores, for the manhode, pollicie and boldnesse of the enimie, and the more dangerous for their vnfaythfulnesse. They rehearsed what they had suffred of ỹ *Carthagies* in *Sicelie*, *Iberia* and *Italie* it selfe, sixteene yeares, when *Annibal* toke.iij. hundred Cities, and ouerthrewe in fighte onlye three hundred thousande men, manye tymes approching to the Cittie, and putting that in great feare: for all the whiche, they were like men beside themselues, for the victorie, that was beyonde their hope. And again, they asked one of another, if *Carthage* were taken in deede? They spente all the night in talke, howe the armour was taken from them, and how they, beyond all hope, made more. Howe their shippes were taken from them, and howe they made a newe nauy of olde matter: howe the mouth of the porte was shutte, and howe in fewe dayes they opened another, and howe highe the walles were aboute the mouth, and the greatnesse of the stones, and the fire whiche manye tymes they brought against the Engines: and sette out a plat of all the warre, as thoughe they hadde then seene it done, and expressed the fantasies of their mindes with the motions of their bodyes, thinking they sawe *Scipio* wyth the scalyng ladders, with the shippes at the gates, at the fyghtes euer occupied. Thus did the Romaynes spende the night.

The Romane make feastes of the report of the newes.

Remembraunce of former vvar in Rome.

When day was come, sacrifices & feasts were made to the Gods by the cõpanies, & playes with thẽ, & diuers shews. The Senat sent tenne of the best of them into *Libya*, to appoint that country with *Scipio*. They commanded that *Scipio* shold destroy that was left in *Carthage*, and forbadde any man to dwel there. They accused al them that should dwel in *Byrsa*, or in the place that

Supplications made at *Rome*.

Ten men sent into *Libya*.

The inhabitãce of *Carthage* forbidden.

Punishments.

Rewardes.

Scipio triumpheth.

Pseudophilippus Andriscus counterfaited to bee Philippes sonne King of Macedonie.

Mummius wan Corinth.

C. Gracchus was brother to Sempronius Gracchus.

The plat of the habitation at Carthage is confounded.

A vision that Cæsar had, caused a newe citie to be made, not farre from the olde, by his successor Octauius. The Author calleth Augustus Iulius Cæsar.

ỹ was called *Megara*. But to come thither they did not forbid. So many cities as holpe the enimies, they commaunded to destroy, & to giue to cities that were friends to ỹ *Romanes*, the land that was conquered: and chiefly to *Vtica*, that, which was as far as *Carthage* and *Hippo*, on bothe sides. The other they made tributarie, aswel lands as bodies, men and wome alike, and determined to send euery yere a Presidẽt to them from *Rome*. Whẽ they had done this, they sayled to *Rome*. *Scipio* hauing done all things accordingly, finished the sacrifices, and the plaies for the victory. And things being ordered, he sayled home, and made as passing a triumphe, as euer manne didde, full of golde and monuments of holy things, which the *Carthaginians* in so long time, and so ofte victories had brought from all the worlde into *Libya*. This hapned when they triumphed of *Macedonia* the third time. *Andrisco* that counterfaited himselfe to be *Philips* sonne being ouercome, & the first of *Grecia* by *Mummius*. And this was about ỹ C.L&. *Olympiade*. Afterwarde, when *Caius Gracchus* was Tribune in *Rome*, and Insurrection being made for want, he thought good to sẽd. 6000. to inhabite in *Libya*. And whẽ they had drawn the plat about *Carthage*, the Wolues destroyed all the plat, & confounded it. So the Senate refrained from sẽding that habitatiõ. But again in time, when *Caius Cæsar*, who was made the second Dictator, after his victorie, had driuen *Pompey* into *Egipt*, & *Pompeis* friendes from *Aegipt* to *Libya*, they saye, when hee encamped at *Carthage*, a mighty army appered to him in his slæpe, wéeping, which troubling him, he called to remembrance, and made a note, that *Carthage* should be inhabited. And not long after, the powre souldiors requiring land of him at *Rome*, he gaue order that some shoulde be sent to *Carthage* and some to *Corinth*, but he béeing shortly after killed in the Senate house of his enimies, hys son *Cæsar*, called *Augustus*, finding thrée remembrãces of his father, sent an inhabitation of that *Carthage*, that nowe is, as nigh the olde as might be, to auoide the olde execration. The *Romanes* sente thither. 3000. to inhabite, & to place the rest in the country about. Thus *Libya*, that was vnder *Carthage*, was conquered of the *Romanes*, and *Carthage* destroyed, and inhabited againe after the destruction two hundred and two yeares.

The ende of the *Romane* warres with the *Carthaginians*

¶ Appianus Alexandrinus, of the *Romane warres with the* Parthians.

After them that followed *Pompey* to rule *Syria* being ouercome, *Gabinius* an officer of the *Romanes*, was sent to gouerne the same. He marching againste the *Arabians*, *Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, being driuen oute of his kingdome by *Orodes* his brother, tourned hym from the *Arabians* to the *Parthians*. But *Ptolomeus* the eleauenth King of *Aegipt* perswaded him by mony, to leaue the *Parthians*, and make warre vppon *Alexandria*. And he ouercomming them of *Alexandria*, restored *Ptolomeus* to his kingdome, but being banished of the *Romanes*, bicause he made warre againste the *Aegiptians*, which they accompted vniuste, bycause it was forbidden by *Sybyllas* bookes, he fledde. After *Gabinius*, I thinke, *Crassus* gouerned *Syria*, and making warre vpon the *Parthians*, was ouerthrowen with great calamitie, after whome *Bibulus* being president, the *Parthians* inuaded *Syria*. And in the time of *Saxa* ruling after *Bibulus*, they ranne as farre as *Ionia*, the Romanes being at debate among themselues. They didde no greate thing worthye of writing, rather like robbers, than warriors. These things followed after the ouerthrow of *Crassus*, by ỹ which they toke so gret boldnesse, whiche was repressed by *Antony*. Howe *Crassus* made his voiage against them, we thinke it mete to shewe.

Parthia, a Region of *Assyria*, the inhabitaunce, of the vvhich came out of *Syria*.

Gabinius is banished for making vvarre vppon *Aegipt*.

Crassus.

Bibulus.

Saxa.

When the day of election of chiefe officers was come, there were three Competitors of the Consulshippe, *Caius Cæsar*, *Pompey* the Great, and *Crassus* called *Marcus*. These reiecting *Cicero*, & *Cato* and other resisters, by force gote the office, and gaue *Cæsar* fiue yeares more, to be Lieutenaunt of *Fraunce*. *Cassius* & *Pompey*

Cæsar. *Pompey*. *Crassus*.

Prouinces by lotte.

casting lottes for the prouinces of *Spaine* and *Syria*, *Spaine* fell to *Pompey*, and *Syria* to *Crassus*. The lot fell acceptable vnto bothe.

Pompey, *Vxorius*.

For the people wouldе haue *Pompey* from the Cittie, and *Pompey* louing his wife, was desirous to tarrye mosse there.

Crassus pronde of his prouince.

Crassus shewed openly that he was glad that the lot had so fallen, thinking no greater felicitie could hap vnto him than this prouince, insomuchas he could not bee quiet, but made great auauntes and brags among his friendes, otherwise in al his life being a verye smal boaster or setter forth of hymselfe. But now beyng puffed and exalted, he had not onely an hope to get *Parthia* to *Syria*, and vp make it the boundes of his Dominion, making but a play of that *Lucullus* dydde agaynste *Tigranes*, or *Pompey* agaynste *Mithridates*, but also to winne *Bactria* and *Indus*, and all beyonde the Sea. Yet in the decree of warre, the *Parthians* were not contained.

The *Parthians* vvere not in the decree.

Lucullus.

Tigranes.

Pompey.

Euery man did feare that *Crassus* would meddle with it. And *Cæsar* wrote letters, praysing hys purpose, and prouoking hym to the warre.

But when *Atteius* the Tribune didde stop his voyage wyth threats, and manye consented to him, being grieued that anye man shouide make warre vpon men that had offended nothing, but also were in league, *Crassus* was afraide, and prayed *Pompey* to helpe to set him forwarde: For great was the peoples opinion of him. Notwythstanding, when he sawe manye readye to resist and exclame, then with a gentle loke & countenance he appeased thē, þ they were quiet, and suffred them to passe. Yet *Atteius* stoppedt hem first with voice, forbidding and protesting not to go. Then he commanded the officer to lay hands vpon his body and detayne him: which when the other Tribunes would not suffer, he lette goe *Crassus*.

Cæsar stirreth *Crassus* to the vvarre of the *Parthians*.

Atteius ran to the gate, and set there a burning harth, and as *Crassus* came with insense and sacrifice, he pronounced sharpe execrations, & horrible, calling and naming cruell and strange Gods therwith. The Romanes thinke that these curses secret & auntient haue such a power, as no man can auoide them against whom they be made, and that they do naughte that vse them.

Execrations against *Crassus*.

Curses not to be vsed.

There-

Therfore they be not vsed vnaduisedly, nor in manye cases. And many blamed *Atteius*, that by this cursing of *Crassus* he brought the Cittie into misfortune. *Crassus* for all this wente to *Brunduse*, the Sea being yet vnnauigable for the winter, and woulde not tarry the tyme, but toke the Sea, and lefte many Shyppes.

Atteius blamed.

And receyuing an other power of fotemen, he ledde them alongeste *Galatia*, and finding King *Deiotarus* a very olde manne, builoing of a Cittie, he ieested, saying: O King, you beginne to builde at twelue of the clocke. The King laughing saide: And you (O Generall) as farre as I can see, goe not againste the *Parthians* very early. For *Crassus* was threescore yeares of age, when he went, and older to see to, than he was indeede. Marching forth, matters at the firste fell oute according to his hope. For easilye hee made a bridge ouer *Euphrates*, and conueyed ouer his armye safely, and got many Cities in *Mesopotamia*, by yelding vnto hym. In one of them, *Appollonius* was Tyranne, who had slaine one hundred souldiors. He brought his power thither, and wanne it, toke the money, and solde the men.

Galatia is *Asia* the lesse.

A ieste betweene *Deiotarus* and *Crassus*.

Age of *Crassus*.

The Greekes call the Cittie *Zenodotium*. By taking of this, he woulde needes be called *Imperator* of his souldioures, which caused muche discredite vnto him, and was the lesse esteemed, as one that distrusted of any greate victorie, taking occasion of so little matter.

Zenodotium a Cittie of *Ofroene*.

He sette garrisons in the Cities that were taken, the number whereof, was seauen thousande fotemenne, and one thousande horse. And hee went into *Syria* to winter, where hys sonne came to him from *Cæsar* oute of *Fraunce*, rewarded wyth the greate honoures of a souldioure, bringing one thousande picked horsemen. And this was the firste great error of *Crassus*, after the greate offence of leading his armye, that where he oughte to haue gone to *Babilon* and *Seleucia*, Cities euer ennimies to the *Parthians*, hee gaue the ennimies time to prepare themselues. His tarrying in *Syria* was blamed, beeyng rather lyke a receyuer of Rentes, than a Captayne of Souldioures.

Crassus sonne from *Cæsar*.

Errour of *Crassus*.

Babilon the chiefe citie of *Chaldea*.

He did not searche the number of his souldiors, nor vse them

with exercises, but he gathered the reuenues of Cities, and spent many dayes in waying and peysing the Goddes money, in the holy Citie, appointyng Cities and Princes to finde him souldiers, and after sending them awaye againe for mony, whereby he came into contempt and disdayne. The first token he had of this Goddesse, which some call *Venus*, some *Iuno*, some name hir *Nature*, the beginning and sæde to al things ministring cause by moisture: for going oute of the Temple, firste yong *Crassus* fell at the dores. Then the olde man fell vppon hym.

Hierapolis is ouer-against *Laodicia*.

The Goddesse of *Hierapolis*. *Nature*.

Nowe gathering his power from the winter places, Embassadors came to him from *Arsaces*, with a briefe speach, for thus he saide: If the army were sent against them of the Romanes, the warre was made contrary to the league, and neuer woulde ende. But if he, without authoritie of hys countrey, and for hys owne gaine, (as they hearde) did come in armes againste the *Parthians*, and take their lande, *Arsaces* woulde temper hymself, and pitie *Crassus* age, and let the Romanes go, that were rather like a garrison, than an army. *Crassus* swelling at this, sayde, he woulde make an answere at *Seleucide*.

The *Parthians* message to *Crassus*.

Arsaces King of *Parthia*, for whose good rule, the *Parthians* call all their Kings *Arsaces*.

Seleucia, one in *Syria Antiochena* other at *Euphrates*, third at *Babylon*.

Then the most auntient of the Embassadours *Vagises*, shewing the bare palme of his hollowe hand, said: Sooner shall hairs growe here, than thou shalt see *Seleucia*. Thus he boldely spake, signifying, that *Orodes* must first be ouercome.

The *Italian* text varieth.

They of the Romane garrisons in the Cities of *Mesopotamia*, escaping with muche danger, did tell fearefull matter, that they sawe the multitude of their enimies and their exercises, & howe they hadde fortified their Citties, and some of purpose telling all things to the vttermost, that they were vnresistable when they came to fight, and vnrecouerable when they fled.

A sharp answer

Their arrowes swifte woulde preuent the sight, and before they coulde see the shoter, he woulde be at hande to strike them thorowe. The men of armes beate downe all afore them, and coulde not be resisted. When the army hearde this, they began to faint, thinking the *Parthians* had differed nothing from the *Armenians* or *Cappadocians*, whome *Lucullus* ouercame without any resistaunce, therefore thought all the paine shoulde be in the

Report encreasing feare.

Armenia is betweene *Taurus* and *Caucasus*.

Capadocia a Region of *Pontus*, called *Leucosyria*

long

long iorney. But when they shoulde come to blowes, the enimies woulde not abide them, whereas nowe otherwise than they supposed, they had a great trauaile and daunger in hande, insomuche, as some of the officers of the Camp, thought it good to staye *Crassus*, and to take a newe aduise of all the matter, and secreatlye the Maisters of the Sacrifices, shewed that manye euill and harde tokens appeared to *Crassus* in the Sacrifices: But hee, neither woulde heare them, nor no other, but them that exhorted hym to goe forwarde. Among the whych, *Artabases* King of *Armenia* didde not let to prouoke him, who was come to the Campe, with fiue thousande horsemenne, and these were called the Guarde and Defence of the King, promising other tenne thousande menne of armes, and three thousande footemenne at his charges. Hee perswaded *Crassus* to inuade *Parthia* by *Armenia*, whereby he shoulde leade his armye not onely safely, he ministring all thynges for him, but also thorowe Mountaynes and continuall hills, places combersome to the *Parthian* horsemenne, wherein consisted all theyr strength, *Crassus* praised the good wyll of hym, and his goodly preparation, yet hee sayde hee woulde enter by *Mesopotamia*, where he had leste many good Romane Souldiours, and the *Armenian* went his way.

Sacrifices shewe euill tokens.

Artabases King of *Armenia* endued with all lerning, whom *Antony* took by treason, and caried him in triumphe at *Alexandria* to please *Cleopatra*.

Crassus refuseth good counsell.

Crassus lodde his armye ouer a bridge, when manye terrible thunders brake oute, and greate lightnings flashed in the faces of the Souldiours, and a winde mixed with a cloudy petry arose, and brake and consumed muche of the matter of the made bridge. And the place that was appointed for the Campe, was twice stricken with lightning. An horse of the Generalls, verye fayre claddе, carrying awaye the rider by violence, was drowned in theyr flight. And they saye that the chiefe Standerd being firste taken of the bearer, did turne backe of it selfe. Besides this, it chaunced, that after a iorney, when meate shoulde be giuen the Souldiours, firste of all, they hadde Lentilles and Doppes, whyche the Romaynes thinke mournefull, and be vsed at burialls. And when *Crassus* made hys Oration, hys voyce failed hym, whyche the armye tooke

Euill tokens to *Crassus*.

beauily. He sayd he had cut down the bridge, that no man should
A folish worde passeth *Crassus*. returne ouer it. The which word being vncomely spoken, wher he shoulde haue repeated it and declared it to them that were made afrayde by it, he would not do it for very frowardnesse. At last when he hadde killed the sacrifice to make the solemne vewe of his armye, and the minister giuen him the bowels, they fell out of his handes: at the whiche, they that were present being most grieued, he smiled, saying: These be the incom-
Crassus excuseth his weakenes. modities of age, but my weapon shall neuer fal out of my hãds. Then he ledde his army by the floude, hauing seauen legions, and little lesse than foure thousande horse, and a number of shotte, equal to them.

The skoutes that went to sée the way, returned and brought worde, that the countrey was voyde of men, but that there were prints of horse féete, that were gone backe. Whereat
Crassus in a vaine hope. *Crassus* toke good hope, and all the souldiours beganne to despise the *Parthians*, as afrayde to come to handes: yet *Cassius*
Seleucia, a plentifull place. and others spake to *Crassus*, perswading him to staye his menne in some Cittie where a garrison was, till he was better instructed of the enimies force, if not, that he would go to *Seleucia* by the floude, where he shoulde haue aboundaunce of
The Counsel of *Cassius* not followed. victuals, for the souldiours to be solde, and also a defence and safegarde for the armye, not to be enuironed, for the floude, beeyng euer equall to fyghte wyth the enimye at the face.

Crassus considering and pondering these things: there
Acbarus vseth craft with *Crassus*. came to him a president of *Arabia*, *Acbarus* by name, a subtile and dissembling manne, the greatest prouoker of euyll fortune, that was bente to theyr destruction. Some of them that hadde serued vnder *Pompey*, knewe him, receyuing some humanitie at hys hande, and shewing to be a friende to the Romaines. He was sente to *Crassus*, by ỹ consent of the kings counsel, to turne him, if he coulde, from the floude and foote of the hils, into the playn field, where he might be compassed. For they deuised to do any other thing, rather than to come to fight

with

wyth the Romanes at hande.

This *Acharus* came to *Crassus*, and sayde probablye, firste of the prayse of *Pompey*, that was his benefactoure, then of *Crassus*, blaming him, that hauing so greate a power he lost time in delay and preparation, as though he had nèd of armour, and not rather of handes and swifte fète, against mẽ that alreadye sèke and gather their moste precious riches, to carrie them into *Scythia* and *Hircania*: but, sayde he, if you wyll fighte, you must do it quicklye, before the whole power be gathered, the king taking harte to him againe. And nowe *Surenas Sillaces*, commeth to make the warre against you, but the king will not be sène. Al these were lyes.

Acharus deceyueth *Crassus*.

Scythia in *Asia*. *Hircania*, a playne region most aboundant.

For the king went streight with his power to inuade *Armenia*, and punish *Artabaze*, and sent *Surenas* against the Romaynes, not in contempt of them (as some saye) for it was not like, that he would contemne *Crassus* sent against hym and one of the chiefe Romaynes, and go against *Artabazes* to destroye the townes of *Armenia*. But, I thinke he was afrayde of the daunger, and laye in wayte to sée the ende, and appoynted *Surena*, beyng otherwyse expert and acquainted wyth the war. For *Surenas* was none of the common sorte, but in riches and glorye, and blonde, nexte the King, and the chiefe of *Parthia*: in strength and youth, in beautye and goodlynesse of the bodye, inferiour to none. He carried alwayes with him a thousand laden Camels, and two hundred chariots of Concubines, and a thousand men of armes, and more light horsemen. So as he had of his tenaunts and seruantes, no lesse than ten thousand horse.

The Parthian king inuadeth *Armenia* and sendeth *Surenas* against the Romanes.

Surenas is sent against *Crassus*.

And as touching his blond, it was giuen him from the beginning, to set the Crowne vpon the kings head, when a new king was made. He called *Orodes* out of exile into hys Kingdome: he toke the great citie of *Seleucia*, & was the first that scaled the walles, and with his owne hande repulsed them that resisted, and was not yet thyrty yeares of age, yet had the greatest glory for wisedome and experience, by the which, he did not a litle

The nobility of *Surenas*.

Orodes is brought out of exile by *Surenas*.

beguile

beguile *Craſſus*, firſt thorough his pride and boldneſſe, and after by hys feare and aduerſitie, eaſily to be entrapped.

The text varieth.

Acbarus that hadde brought *Craſſus* from the ſloud into the playne fieldes, wythout woodde and water, and wythout any ende to reſte as it appeared, and not only trauelled wyth thirſt and dificultie, but alſo with an vncomforable proſpect to the eye, ſæing neyther træ, nor riuer, nor apparaunce of hyl, nor growing of graſſe, but a very ſhape like a ſea of fearful deſarts, did beſette the armye. And then the craſte begaune to be eſpied.

Artabazes ſignifieth he is inuaded.

Furthermore, there came meſſengers from *Artabazes* the king of *Armenia*, ſhewing how he was detayned with greate warre, *Orodes* hauing inuaded him: and that he coulde ſende no helpe to *Craſſus*. Yet he wiſhed hym, in anye wiſe to turne, and make his waye by *Armenia*, that they togither mighte goe againſt *Orodes*, if not, alwayes to marche and encampe ſo, as hee might auoyde the horſemen, and to go by the hylles. *Craſſus* writing nothing againe, for anger, and ſtraungeneſſe, aunſwered, that nowe he had no leyſure to deale with *Armenia*, but when he returned, he would puniſh *Artabazes* for his treaſon. *Caſſius* and they, were agayne grieued, and leauing *Craſſus*, that wouloe not heare good Counſel, they playnely rebuked *Acbarus*.

Orodes king of Parthia.

Craſſus maketh a frowarde aunſwere.

Craſſus miſliketh the iourney.

O you naughty wight, O you moſt wicked mã, who brought thæ to vs: with what paſſion or witchcraftes haſt thou made *Craſſus* to leade his army by deſarts and vglye wilderneſſe, fitter for an Archtheefe of *Numidia*, than a chiefe generall of the Romaines?

Acbarus deceiueth him and all the reſt.

Acbarus a crafty man, dyd ſpeake them fayre, and comforted and erhorted them, to endure a whyle, and riding among the ſouldiours, he ieſted at them. You thinke you were goyng by *Campania*, by fountaines, riuers, ſhadowes, brookes and brayes, and oſtanes, all the wayes.

Arabia is two parts barenne. *Aſſiria* the furtheſt part of *Syria*.

Doe you remember that you go by confines of *Arabia* and *Aſſiria*. Thus did *Acbarus* playe the ſcholer among the Romaines, and before his craft was perceyued, he road about not

vnknowen

vnknowen to *Crassus*, but agréeing to it, as though he would prouide and defeate the enimies. It is sayde, that *Crassus* that daye came not abroade in purple, as the manner was of a Romaine General, but in a blacke garmente, the which he changed againe, when he perceyued it. Some of the ensignebearers could not without great laboure pull vppe their ensignes, they stucke so fast. *Crassus* laughing, went the faster, and bad the legions follow the horsemen. But then came some of the espyes that had bin abroad, in haste, shewing that their felowes were killed of the enimies, and they only escaped, and that the enimies came on, with great power and spéed. This troubled them all, and *Crassus* most of all, so as he set his men in order, not very orderlye. But *Cassius* moued him to set his legions as thinne as he could, to fill the playne, for feare of compassing, and diuide the horsemen into wings. Then he altered and made the same to serue both wayes, and a square battayle, and euerye of the sides going on with twelue bandes, and with a troupe of horsemen, that no part shoulde be voyde of the helpe of horsemen, but on euery side be a like defended for the fight. He appointed one wing to *Cassius*, and an other to yong *Crassus*, and he went in the middest. Thus marching, they came to a riuer, which they call *Balissus*, not very great, nor full of water, but acceptable to the souldiours, in that hote and dry iourney, with so greate payne and penurie of water. More tokens of euil. *Balissus*.

Many of the Captaines thoughte it good to staye there, til certaine knowledge were come of the enimies force and purpose, and when daye was come, to goe againste them.

But *Crassus* commaunded his sonne and the horsemen wyth hym to go on, and to be ready for the fight. He badde them that did eate, to eate and drinke as they kept their order, and before all was well done, hee led on, not with leysure, nor pausing, as they that should fight, but with much spéede and haste, tyl they sawe their enimies, not in so great a shewe, neyther appearing many, nor fearefull to the Romaynes. For *Sirenas* had putte the multitude behinde, and hydden the bryghtnesse of theyr harneste, with their clokes and skinnes. After they were come

nygh, and a token giuen of the Captaines, firſte they filled all the playne wyth barbarous noyſe and fearefull ſhoutes. For the *Parthians* go not to battell wyth hornes and trumpets, but with drummes, in many places at once, made of leather, and hollow, ſtretched with yron barres, and beatē vpon continually. This maketh a noyſe holow and dæpe, like the roaring of wilde beaſtes, intermedled with the ſharpneſſe of thunder, as nothing could be harde for the ſence of hearing, bringeth moſt trouble to the minde, and by it is ſoneſt moued, and moſt troubleth the vnderſtanding. The Romanes being aſtoniſhed at this noyſe, they of *Parthia* threw away the couers of their harneſſe ſodainely, and appeared ſhyning with ſats and armoure made of the beſte ſtæle and bright, and the horſemen barded with Capariſon likewiſe. The goodlieſt and the greateſt was *Surenas*, he being in fineſſe of his womanniſh aray not like the glorie of his valiauntneſſe, but rather decked after the *Median* faſhion, in the trymming of his perſon, and diuiſiō of his haire. The other *Parthians* being vgly of purpoſe, to the terrour ſhodding of their heare. Firſt they gaue ẏ onſet with their ſpears, to diuide and breake the fore warde. But when they ſawe the firmneſſe of the battel, and the ſtable abiding of the men, they went backe, as though they would haue ſcattered and diuided their order: and they compaſſed the battell in a circle, and wēt about it. *Craſſus* commaunded the light harneſſe to giue charge vppon them. They went not farre, but they were ouerlaide with ſhotte, and they turned againe, and thruſte among the legions, and gaue the beginning of diſorder and feare, to them that ſaw the might of the ſhot, and the continuall courſe, breaking harneſſe, and beating down alike the vnarmed and well armed. The *Parthians* diſtant a little, beganne to ſhote at all auentures, not directing their ſhotte, for the *Romanes* battayle was ſo thicke, as they coulde not myſſe thoughe they woulde, gyuing continuall hurte and woundes with their ſtrong and great bowes, and with their violence of the drawing, driuing the arrow the ſtronger. This was the vndoing of the *Romanes*, for continuing in their order, they were ſtroken, and trying to

The *Parthians* manner in going to fight.

Surenas.

The beginning of diſorder in the *Romanes* Campe.

goe

go vpon their ennimy, or to kæpe close againe, they suffered alike.

The *Parthians*, when they shotte, fledde, and this they thinke the beste feate according to the *Scythians*, being a moste wise parte, to hurte other, and saue themselues, and hid the shame of their flæing, by this pretence. So long as the Romanes hoped, that their shot being done, they would haue come to hãds, they abode it: but when they saw numbers of Camells come laden with newe shotte, to the whiche, they that firste spente their arrowes, went to receiue more, then *Crassus* himselfe thought it woulde haue no ende. Wherefore he sente messengers to his sonne, that he shoulde set vppon the ennimie, bæfore they were inclosed, for they were moste busy vpon hym, and rode about him, to come vpon his backe. The yong man toke .xiij. C. horse, whereof a thousand were *Cæsars*, and eight bands of the next fotemen, and badde them set vpon the .r enimies. The *Parthians* that were foremoste, either bicause they were in myrie grounde, (as some saye,) or bycause they woulde drawe *Crassus* by pollicie, as farre as they coulde, turned and fledde. Then young *Crassus* crying, as thoughe they would not haue turned againe, gaue them the chase, and with him *Censorinus*, and *Megabacchus*: these passed in valiantnes and strength, *Censorinus* being of the order of a Senatoure and eloquent, friend to yong *Crassus*, and of like age. The horsemen going on, the fotmen followed with courage and fearefulnelle of hope, for they thoughte to haue the victorie by the chase. They had not gone farre, but they perceyued the deceit. They that seemed to flee, turned againe, many mo comming to them. When they stayed, thinking they woulde haue come to handes with them, bicause they were so fewe: but they set the men of armes vpon the *Romanes*, and with their other horse, confusedlye rode vppon them, troubling the playne, rayling heapes of Sande, and making all full of dusle, that the *Romanes* coulde neither see nor speake. So being driuen and thrust togyther, they were ouerthrowen and dyed, not easily, nor a shorte death, but with shrikinge & sorowfull manner, labo-

The *Parthians* manner in the warre.

The *Parthians* renue their shotte.

Yong *Crassus* with *Censorinus* and *Megabacchus*

The *Romanes* killed.

to breake the arowes in their woundes, prouing by violence, to pul out the forked heades that were entred their vaines and sinowes, they tore and lamented themselues. When many were thus dead, they that were aliue were vnprofytable to helpe, and when as *Publius* exhorted them to set vppon the men of armes, they shewed their handes nayled to their shieldes, and theyr feete fastened to the grounde, that they coulde neyther flye nor fight. Then he brought his horsemen fiercely vpon them, but he was to weake, stryking and defendyng both at once, with weake and little speares, vpon the strong armour of steele, and his *Galatians* being stryken with long speares vpon their vnarmed bodies: in them he trusted muche, and by them he did maruellous feates. For they toke the speares, and bare down the men from their horse, which could not be moued for the waight of their harnesse. Many left their horses, & stroke their enimies horses in the bellies, the which for payne, threwe off theyr ryders, and trode vpon them and their enimies, tyll they dyed also. But the heate and thirst, most troubled the *Galathians*, being accustomed to neyther of them, and many of them hauing lefte their horses, with their staues, fought with the contrary. Therfore they did what they could to haue gotten to the legions, hauing *Publius* among them, being euill bestadde for his wounds: and seeing an hyll of sande not farre off, they went thyther, putting their horse in the middest, and defending the outwarde partes with their Targets, they thoughte they might easilye put backe the *Barbarians*: but it came otherwise to passe, for beeing in the playne, the former kepte the hindermost from hurte: but when they went to a mounting ground, and all was in the daunger, and they that came behinde moste of all, there was none escaped, but al were shotte indifferently, lamenting their deathes voyde of reuenge and glorie. There were about *Publius*, two men, both *Grecians*, dwelling in *Carria*, *Ieronimus* and *Nichomachus*. They moued him to goe with them, and flye to *Irna*, a towne that helde of the Romaynes. He answered, there was no deathe so grieuous, for feare of the whiche, *Publius* woulde leaue them that dyed for him. Therfore he prayed them to saue themselues,

Romanes vnable to helpe.

The valiantnes of the Galatians.

Publius Crassus sore wounded.

Carria the great in *Asia*. *Irna*.

A noble answer of a yong man.

themselues, and gently sent them away. He coulde not vse his hande, for it was hurte with an arrowe. Therfore he commanded his page to take his sword, and runne him therowe the syde. *Censorinus* died after that sort. *Magabactus* killed himselfe, and so dyed the most noble of the other.

The death of P. *Crassus* his two friendes.

The rest, the *Parthians* killed with their speares, fighting for themselues, and onelye fiue hundred were taken aliue.

When they hadde cutte off the heades of *Publius* and his company, they tourned toward *Crassus*. He stode after this sorte. When he haode sente his sonne to encounter the *Parthians*, and one hadde tolde hym that there was a greate fleeing, and a sore chase of the ennimies, and sawe that they came no more vppon him, for they went also from that part, he beganne to take comforte, leading his armye to a rising place, thinking his son would haue come straight from the chase. They that were firste sent of *Publius* to tell in what daunger he was, were taken of the enimies and slaine.

Crassus in hope.

The other hardely escaping, shewed that *Publius* was vndone, except spedy and great helpe were sent. Nowe was *Crassus* vnerstly troubled, he could not see by reason, howe to vse his matters: on the one side, feare of the whole, on the other, desire to saue his sonne, doubting if he might helpe him, or not helpe him, yet in the ende, went forward with his power. Nowe were the enimies come, with terrible showt declaryng victorie, and striking many *Armenians*, and feared the Romanes, loking for an other battell. They brought the head of *Publius* vpon a spears point, approching nighe, and with despight asking, who was his parents and kinred. For they could not thinke that he was the sonne of *Crassus* so cowardly and lewd a man, being a young man of so noble a renowmed vertue. This sight most of al was grieuous to the Romanes, directing and breaking their harts, not to anger and reuenge, as it oughte, but vtterly to feare and dreade. And then did *Crassus* shew him selfe most noble, as in such a sale, (as they say) he went aboute the hoste and cried: This, (O *Romanes*) is my proper losse. The greate glorye and fortune of *Rome*, is in you to keepe vnbroken and vntouched, and if

Crassus perplexed.

The *Parthians* shewe their spight.

Crassus shewed himselfe noble.

The wordes of *Craſſus* to comforte his ſouldioures.

you haue pitie of me, that haue loſte ſo good a ſonne, ſhewe youre anger vppon your enimies, take away this ioy from them, reuenge the crueltie, be not diſmaide with that is done, for they that do great feats, muſt ſometime ſuffer. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes* without bloudeſhed, nor *Scipio*, *Antiochus*. Our Auncetors loſte a thouſande Shippes in *Sicilie*. In *Italy* manye Capitaines and armies woulde not lette for their loſſe, but to get the victorie againe. The Romanes haue not come to ſo great dominion by fortune, but by ſufferaunce and manhode in calamitie.

A declaration o the Romanes faintneſſe.

When *Craſſus* had ſaide this, to encourage them, he didde not ſée many willingly heare hym, therefore he badde make a noiſe, the whiche, bewraied the faintneſſe of the armye, for they made a feeble and weake crie, whiche was anſwered of the *Barbarians*, with chearefull and bolde ſounde. Comming togither, the ſhotte of the enimies, troubled the Romanes on the ſides. The other comming vppon them with their ſpeares at the face, droue them into a litle rowmth, yet ſome fleeyng death by the ſhotte, came oute to fight at hande, to little purpoſe, being ſo diſpatched with greate and mortall woundes, many times the ſharpe and long ſpeares paſſing thorowe horſe and man.

The fight.

Thus the night brake the battaile, they ſaying they woulde gratifie *Craſſus* with one night to bury his ſonne, and to conſider with hymſelfe, whither it were better for him to go to *Arſaces*, or to be led to him. They thus going to a place nigh hande, were in greate hope. But the Romanes badde an heauy night, neither burying the deade, nor healing the hurte, ſome dying, and all lamenting themſelues, for all things appeared without helpe.

The Parthians reſte. *Arſaces*.

They remembred the day woulde bring more care: if they ſhoulde goe awaye in the night by thoſe huge playnes, and carry the hurte ſouldioures with them, it would be a lette vnto them: if they lefte them behinde, they woulde crie and diſcloſe their going away.

And althoughe they thoughte *Craſſus* to be the Authour of al this euill, yet they deſired to ſée hym and heare hym ſpeake. Hée was by himſelfe with his face couered in the darke. An example

to

to the cõmon sort of fortune, and to the wise, of want of wisedom, and ambition, by the which, he was not contente to be one of the chiefe & greatest among many thousands suche as he was, but bicause he was iudged inferior onely to two men, he thought hymselfe the least of all. *Octauius* his Legate and *Cassius*, raised him, and badde him be of good chéere.

Crassus an exple of Fortune mutabilitie.

But when they sawe him in vtter desperation, they called the officers and captaines, shewing it was no tarrying there, but to departe withoute sounde of trumpe and secreately, whiche being done, and the hurte men perceyuing they were forsaken, a great lamentation with sorrowfull crie was made in the Camp, which staide them, with trouble and feare, as thoughe the enimie had come vpon them.

Then resting to take the wounded men, and to bestow them, and cary them, it was a lette vnto them, sauing to thrée hundred whiche *Egnatius* led to *Carras* at midnight, and speaking latin to the watch, he willed to tel *Coponius*, that was captain them of the garrison, that a great fielde was fought betweene *Crassus* and the *Parthians*. More he saide not, nor they asked what he was, and so he went to the bridge and saued his bande: yet he was euill thought of, bicause he forsoke his Generall: Notwithstanding, that worde spoken to *Coponio*, did good to *Crassus*. For he thinking that all was not well, bicause of the sodaine and straunge spéech, gathered his men togither, and went to méete *Crassus* in the way, and receiue his souldiors into the Cittie. The *Parthians* hearing the going awaye by night, did not folow them.

Egnatius. *Carras*. *Coponius*.

Egnatius euill thoughte of, thoughe hee saued his bande.

But when daye was come, they killed them that were lefte, whiche were no lesse than foure thousande. In the playne they ouertoke manye with their horsemen and killed them. Foure bandes that *Varguntein* led in the night, losing their waye, were slaine, not without resistance, except twentie.

Romanes killed.

Varguntein, hys bandes slaine.

They breaking thorowe with their naked swordes, the enimies marueling at their manhode, they suffred to passe a souldiors marche to *Carras*.

Tvventie souldioures are suffred to passe the enimies.

A false tale was tolde *Surena*, that *Crassus* wyth the chiefe, was fledde, and the common sorte were receyued at *Carras*. Hée thinking

thinking the victorie was not yet gotten, standing in doubt, and
Surena vseth an other craft to gette *Crassus*. coueting to learne the truthe, that eyther he might besiege the Cittie, or followe *Crassus*, or let hym goe, he sent one of his men that could speake both tongues, to the walls, commaunding him to speake Latine, and to call *Crassus* or *Cassius*, and to tell them that *Surenas* woulde speake with them. He doing so, and it being tolde to *Crassus*, the message was receiued.

Shortly after came certaine *Arabians* that knewe *Crassus* and *Cassius*, hauing bin in their camp before the fight.

They seeing *Cassius* vpon the wall, saide, *Surenas* would make them friendes with the King, and saue them, so they woulde departe with *Mesopotamia*, for so it were better to do, than trie the vttermost.

The deceipt of *Surena*. *Cassius* accepting it, and requiring a time and place for *Crassus* and him to meete togither, they answering so to doe, departed.

When *Surenas* hearde this of the messengers, being glad that they were in a place as besieged, he willed the *Parthians* the next daye to goe with a greate crie, and require, that if the Romanes woulde haue peace with the *Parthians*, to sende *Crassus* and *Cassius* bounde to the King.

They were grieued that they were deceiued, and counselled *Crassus* to leaue the long and vaine hope of *Armenia*, and to saue himselfe, and to let none of the *Carrenans* knowe it. But he made it knowne to *Andromachus* a very false fellowe, whome he trusted, and made him guide of the way, so as nothing was kepte from the *Parthians*, all being tolde by *Andromachus*. And where it is not their custome to fight by night, nor no sure thing to thē, and where *Crassus* went out by night, that they shoulde not be too farre off in folowing the fleeing Capitaines, *Andromachus* ledde the Romanes this way and that waye, and at laste putte them in a fenny and marrish place, which should be hard for the footmē to folow. Some thought not wel of *Andromachus* turning & compassing & followed not. Therefore *Cassius* went againe to *Carras*, when ỹ guids which were *Arabians*, willed him to make hast, before the Mone were paste *Scorpion*, but I, (saide he) feare more *Sagittarie*, and then went into *Syria* with fiue hundred horses.

Crassus deceiued by *Andromachus*.

Cassius retourneth.

They

They hauing gote good guides, went by the hilly places, which are called *Synacha*, and they were safe, and before daye hadde ouertaken aboute fiue thousande. *Octauius* a good man, was leader of them. The daye being come, *Crassus* had a weary iorney by the Fenne and straunge way, ledde by *Andromachus*. He had foure bandes of Legatemen with him, and fewe horse, and fiue Sergeants, with whome hauing this weary iorney, and scarcely staying for rest, the ennimies were at hand. He hadde a myle and halfe to ioyne with *Octauius*, and therefore to an other little hyll, not able to kepe the horse backe, nor otherwise sure, but ioyning to *Synaces*, and stretching with a long space thorowe a large field, that was nighe it. They with *Octauius* might see in what daunger he was, and firste *Octauius* went with a fewe to saue hym. The other reprouing themselues folowed, & kept the ennimies from the hyll, and compassed *Crassus* in the middest, and defended him with their Targats, so as the shot of the *Parthians* shoulde not hurte the Generall, before, they all fighting for him, were slaine. When *Surenas* sawe the *Parthians* slowly doing their feate, & if the night came on, that the Romanes by going in hilly places, should not be ouertaken of them, he wroughte wiles wyth *Crassus*. He caused talke to be in the Campe, so as some Romane captaines might heare it, that the King would not make war continually with the Romanes, but would bee gladde of their friendeship. And vse *Crassus* gently. And they wente and tolde it.

Synacha, hilles.

Octauius cõmeth to helpe *Crassus*.

Nevve vvyles of *Surenas*.

Crassus continually deceiued.

The *Barbarians* ceassed from the fight. *Surenas* with the chiefe went quietly to the hill, he vnbent his bowe, he offred his righte hande, and called *Crassus* to truce, saying: It was agaynste the Kings will, that he had proued his force and power, & nowe hee shoulde willingly feele his clemencie and mildenesse, and beeing confedered, suffer all to goe safe. When *Surena* had saide this, the other were gladde of it, and woulde haue it followed. Only *Crassus* did not credite it, and thoughte this sodaine change was not to be taken, therefore he thoughte it not good to do it, but to take aduice: yet the souldiours cried, and were angry, obiecting he woulde caste them to be villainously slaine of the ennimies,

The souldiours compell *Crassus* to take the vvorst vvay.

to whom he durst not go to talke, they being vnarmed. He began to desire them to abide the rest of the day, & in the night to passe by the hilles and safe wayes, and shewed the waye, and prayed them not to casse away the hope of health, whiche was at hand. But they reuiling him, and bending their weapons against him, compelled him: So he being afraide, went, and turning him, said thus. *Octauio* and *Petronio*, and you other Captaines of the Romanes that be present, you see the necessitie of my going, and you can tell being with me, the fowle violence that I suffer. Therefore tell al other men, if you escape, that *Crassus* being deceyued of his enimies, died, and not forsaken of his citizens. *Octauius* souldioures did not tarry, but came from the hill. The Mace-bearers *Crassus* put away.

Crassus to the army.

The firste that came to hym of the *Barbarians*, were two halfe Grecians, who alighting from their horses, honored him, and saluting hym in Greeke, wished hym to sende some, to whome *Surenas* might shewe that he, and they that were with him, were without armor and weapons. To whom *Crassus* answered, that if he hadde anye little hope ofthis life, he woulde not go to them at all. Yet he sente *Riscous* two brethren, to learne to what, and howe many shoulde come, whome, being me, *Surenas* detained, and with the chiefe hée came down on horsebacke.

Riscus.

What meaneth this (saide hée) the Romane Generall aswer and we mounted? and commaunded an horse to be broughte for *Crassus*. *Crassus* answered, that neyther he nor they did offend: For they came to talke after the maner of their Country. Then *Surena* saide, that from henceforth, good peace shoulde be betweene the Romanes and the King. But the conditions must be written at the floude, whither they woulde goe. For you, *Romanes* (said he) are not mindfull of youre couenaunts, and helde forthe his right hand to him. When *Crassus* called for an horse, it shall not neede, (quoth *Surenas*) for the King giueth thée this, and by and by an horse was brought to *Crassus* trapped with gold. They setting him vppe, went about him, and stroke the horse to go away with him. *Octauius* was the firste that toke the bridle, and with

A scoffe of *Surenas*.

Surenas vvithout faith.

A taunt to the Romanes.

Crassus horsed and led avvaye.

with him, *Petronius* a Tribune, and then the reſt ſtod about him: the one ſtriuing to make the horſe to goe, and the other to kéepe them backe, and to ſtay the horſe, by the whiche a tumulte and fray, began betweén them.

Octauius drew his ſword, and killed one of the *Barbarian* horſe-kéepers, an other killed *Octauius*, thruſting him thorow behinde. *Petronius* had no weapon, and being ſtroke on the Curet, he eſcaped vnhurte. *Maxarthes* a *Parthian* killed *Craſſus*: they ſaye an other killed him, and that he did cutte off his heade, and his right hande. This is rather conieatured than knowne. For they that were preſent, fought aboute *Craſſus*, and ſome were killed, and ſome fledde againe to the hyll. The *Parthians* went awaye ſaying, that *Craſſus* had his worthy punishment, al the other, *Surenas* badde come downe boldely: ſome yéeloed, and ſome fledde by night, of the whiche, very fewe were ſaued. The other were chaſed by the *Arabians* and killed.

Octauius ſlaine.

Maxarthes.
Craſſus killed.

Miſerable ende of *Craſſus* and the Romanes.

They ſay twenty thouſands were ſlaine, and tenne thouſande taken. *Surenas* ſent *Craſſus* head and his hand to *Orodes* into *Armenia*. He ſpreading rumors at *Seleucia*, that he broughte *Craſſus* aliue, ſente meſſengers to prepare a mocking ſporte, in ieſt calling it a Triumphe. For one *Caius* among the captiues moſt like to *Craſſus*, was cladde with a Quéenes robe, and commanded that whenſoeuer he were called *Craſſus* and Generall, he ſhoulde aunſwere, and was ledde on horſebacke. Before him were certaine Trumpeters and Mace-bearers, riding on Camelles. Purſes were tyed to the roddes, and the heades of the Romaynes that were cutte off to the ares. There folowed a greate compayny of Harlottes, and Baudes of *Seleucia*, ſpeaking many opprobrious and laughing matter againſte the effeminate cowardiſe of *Craſſus*, and al the other followed them.

The number of the Romanes ſlaine.

Caius.
Spight done to *Craſſus* after his death.

Then calling the auntients of *Seleucia* togither, he ſhewed the wanton writings of *Ariſtides* of *Mileſia*, and therein he did not lie, for they were founde in the carriage of *Roſcius*, and miniſtred great matter to them, to reproue and blame the Romanes, that euen in their warres doe not refraine from ſuche fonde manner of writing.

Balladeſ founde and red in ſpite *Ariſtides* of *Mileſia*.
Roſcius.

To the *Seleucians*, *Aesopus* séemeth a wise man, séeing *Surenas* blame a bag of the *Milesian* ballads before him, and bringing the wantonnesse of *Parthia*, with so many wagons of Concubines, behind him, a certaine shewe of a newe forme of straunge sight mortall and daungerous, thoughe the fore part were fayre, fearful and cruell, carrying speares, bowes, and horses, at the tayle of the hoste, ending with dauncing, singing, and saying, with women, and al kinde of lewdnesse. *Ruslius* was to be blamed, and the *Parthians* shameleſſe, that rebuke the *Milesians*, of the which, some of their kings, called *Asacides*, haue come of ỹ *Milesian* or *Ionian* strumpets. This being done, *Orodes* made league with *Artabazes* the *Armenian*, and gaue his sister to wife, to his sonne *Pacoro*. There were many feastes betweene them, and other friendships, insomuche as they came to Gréeke pastimes. For *Orodes* was not to learne the tongue nor the doctrine of *Greece*. And *Artabanes* made Tragedies, and wrote Histories, of the whiche, some are saued.

Aesopus a writer of verses, by the which, *Surenas* taketh occasion to raile vpon the *Romanes*.
Sybaritida is the worde signifying thē that follovve all vvantonnesse.
Arsacidas the Kinges house of *Parthia* cōmeth oute of *Milesia*.
League betweene the Kings of *Armenia* and *Parthia*.
Barbarian kinges learned.
Pacoro.

When *Crassus* head was brought to the dores, the tables were spredde. Then the setterforth of Tragedies, called *Iason* of *Thralia*, shewed *Bacchus* of *Euripides*, touching *Agaue*. He being well liked, *Sillaces* came into the dyning Parlour, and making reuerence, threwe *Cassius* heade into the middest. The *Parthians* making a reioice with a showte of ioy, the Ministers putte by *Silaces*, the King commaunding it, and *Iason* deliuered the preparation of *Penthews*, to one of the dauncers, and taking *Crassus* head, he sung these verses of it, like a man caught with a furie.

Agaue in hir fury killed hir son.
A play at the bringing of *Crassus* heade.
Silaces bringeth *Crassus* heade.
Penthews vvas the sonne of *Agaue*.

We bring from the circuite of the Mountaines a newe killed game,
A blessed happy hunting.

This did al they repeate. And when it came aboute agayne, that the Quyre shoulde syng this, Mine, Mine is the reward, *Maxarthes* leapte forth, for he was set at the Table, and toke the head, saying, it appertained more to him, than he that hadde it. The King was glad, for it was to be giuen to him with reward after the Country maner, & to *Iason* he gaue a talent. After thys maner of play did the trauaile of *Crassus* ende as a Tragedie.

The killers of *Crassus* reyvarded.

Both

Both *Orodes* for his crueltie, and *Surenas* for his periurie, hadde worthy punishment. For not long after, *Orodes* killed *Surenas* enuying his glorie. *Phraartes*, *Orodes* sonne, after *Pacorus* was slaine of the Romaynes, and *Orodes* sicke of the dropsie, gaue his father poyson, whiche when he vnderstode it would be consumed by a lasse, he left poysoning, & toke a readier way, by choking him: and the *Parthian* army being gone to *Mesopotamia*, the kings Captaines made *Labinius* the Romayne their General, meaning to inuade *Syria*, or to go with hym as farre as *Alexandria*, and he leading the *Parthians* from *Euphrates* and *Syria* to *Lydia* & *Ionia*, wasting *Asia*, *Antonie* hearing of it, prepared to go against the *Parthians*, but being called home by the letters of his wife *Fuluia*, sent to him with weping, he turned into *Italie*, and being at accorde with *Cæsar* and *Pompey* that ruled *Sicelie*, he sent againe into *Asia*, *Ventidius*, to represse the *Parthians* cõming forewarde, and for fauour, was made the holy minister of the former *Cæsar*. Other things they did in cõmõ and friendly, in ciuil and moste greate matters. There was a prophete with him of *Aegipt*, that was cunning in mens natiuities: he eyther to gratifye *Cleopatra*, or to tell the truth, spake to *Antonie* frely, saying. Thy fortune that is moste noble and great, is ouerlayde of *Cæsars*, and counselled him to be as farre of, as he coulde from the yong man. For thine Angel, sayd the wise mã, feareth his Angell, and it appeared that *Antonie* gaue credite to it, and thought the better of the *Aegiptian*. So committyng his things to *Cæsar*, he sayled into *Grecia*. And whylest he was at *Athenes*, the first newes came of *Ventidius* good procedings, ỳ he had ouercome the *Parthians*, and slaine *Labinius* and *Phraartes*, the chiefe Captaynes of king *Orodes*. After this, he feasted the *Grecians*, & was made ruler of the *Athenians* schole. When he went to the warre, he ware a garlande of holy Oliue, and according to an oracle, carried with hym a vessel ful of ỳ foũtain of *Clepsidra*. Then was it tolde ỳ *Ventidius* had ouerthrown *Pacorus* the kings sonne, with a great armie of the *Parthians* inuading *Syria* agayne at *Cyristica*, and that many were slain, among the whiche, *Pacorus* was one of the firste. This acte was one of

Surenas is killed of *Orodes*, and *Orodes* of his son *Phraartes*.

Labinius.

Antonie.

Ventidius.

Anconie is made minister of diuine *Cæsar*.

A Southsayer.

Antonies Angel, afraide of *Octauius* Angel.

Ventidius hath good lucke in Parthia.

Clepsidra vvas vvel in the castle of *Athens*.

Pacorus slaine.

the noblest, in the which the *Romanes* reuenged the misfortune of *Crassus*, and droue the *Parthians* againe into *Media* and *Mesopotamia*, being ouercome in three battells togither. *Ventidius* refrayned to followe the *Parthians*, any further fearing the enuy of *Antonie*. Them that reuolted he recouered againe, and besieged *Antiochus Comagenus* in the Cittie of *Samosata*, offring a thousand talents, and to doe what *Antonie* should command him. *Ventidius* badde him sende to *Antonie*, for he was at hand, and *Ventidius* wold haue *Antiochus* make his peace there, that this acte mighte redounde to his honoure, leaste all shoulde seeme to be done by *Vētidius*. But the siege continuing longer, and the inhabitance for desperatiō of peace, turning to courage of heartes, *Antonie* was content to let *Antiochus* go for three hundred talents. And when he had tarryed a while in *Syria*, he returned to *Athens*, and rewarding *Ventidius*, as he was worthie, sent him to triumphe. He only to that day, did triumphe of the *Parthians*, a man of base byrth, comming to so great an estimation of waighty matters by *Antonies* friendship, which he vsing wisely, made the saying of *Caesar* & *Antonie* to be found true, that they were more fortunate by other Captaines, than by themselues. For *Sosius*, *Antonies* Lieutenaunt in *Syria*, dydde many things, and *Canidius* lefte of him in *Armenia*. He ouercame the *Hiberian* and *Albanian* Kings, and droue them as farre as * *Caucasus*, whereby *Antonies* name was renoumed among the *Barbarians*. After that *Phraartes* had killed his father *Orodes*, and taken the Kingdome, many *Parthians* fledde away, & *Monesius* a noble and a mighty man, fledde to *Antonie*. There he waying this mans fortune with *Themistocles*, and comparing his power, with the kings of *Persia*, gaue him three Cities, *Larissa*, *Arethusa*, and *Hierapolis*, whom before they called *Bambyce*. But when *Monesius* was called home againe by the king, he did let him goe, meaning so to deceiue the King by hope of peace, and being desirous to recouer the ensignes of *Crassus*, and the captiues that were aliue, he sent *Cleopatra* into *Aegipt*, and went into *Arabia* and *Armenia*, to gather his power and the confederate kings, for they were many. But the greatest was

Artaba-

Ventidius leaueth to do further againste the *Parthians* for feare of *Antonies* enuy.

Samosata bringeth forth an earth that setteth vvater a fire, in that parte of *Syria*, that is called *Comagene*

Antonius is deceyued of his hope and returneth doyng nothing.

Ventidius triumpheth of the *Parthians*.

Octauius and *Antonie* more fortunate by their Lieutenaunts, than themselues.

Sosius.

Canidius.

Phraartes killeth his father *Orodes*

* This *Iberia* is nighe the hyll *Caucasus*, full of venime, from vvhence, they came, that novv inhabite *Spaine*.

Antonie vvoulde giue reyvarde comparable to the kings of *Persia*.

Larissa, there be many of that name, One in *Asie*, nighe *Tralus*.

Arethusa, one in *Syria*, another in *Eubea*.

Hierapolis in *Mesopotamia*.

Artabazes of *Armenia*, giuing fiue thousande horse, and seauen thousand footmen. When he mustred his men, there were. lx. M. footemen, and of the Romanes ordinarie horsemen, and the *Iberians* and Frenchmen, ten thousand. Of other nations there was thirty thousand with horsmen and shotte. This so great preparation and power, that made the *Bactrians* and *Indians* afrayde, and all *Asia* to shake, they saye, that *Cleopatra* made to come to little profite, for making haste to winter with hir, he toke not due time for the warre, vsing al things confusedly, not as one that had his wittes, but abused with his sorceries and witchcrafts of hir, that he thought more to make haste to hir, than to get victorie of his enimies. For where he oughte to haue wintred in *Armenia*, and rested his weary army that had gone. viij. M. furlongs, and before the *Parthians* had come from their winterings, to inuade *Media* in the beginning of ỹ Spring, he would not tarry the time, but so led his army, as he had *Armenia* on his lefte hande, and when he came to *Atropatea*, he wasted that region. Then hauing engines necessarie for to ouerthrowe cities, which followed the campe with three hundred Chariots, in the whiche, there was one called a Ramme, of the length of foure score foote, which if it were broken, coulde not be made againe, because he ledde the armye in a Countrey plaine and barren of wood of any length or hardnesse, he left thē behind him, as impediments to his haste, appointing a band and a Captain, to kepe the same, and he besieged *Phraata* a greate Cittie, in the whiche, the wife and children of the King of *Media* were. And then feeling the want of the engines, he knewe he had erred in leauing them behind him, and therefore would winne the Citie by mountes, whiche was a great labour, and a slowe diuise. Newe came the King *Phraartes* with a great army, who hearing of the leauing of the cariage of the engines, sent many horsmē for thē, of whom *Statianus* being chiefe of the Romanes, was killed, and ten thousande with him.

Forces of *Antonie*.

Bactrians, people in *Scythia* of *Asia*.

Cleopatra is cause of the decay of a greate preparation.

Antonie abused by *Cleopatra*.

Eight furlongs maketh a myle.

Atropatea is part is a parte of *Media*.

Ramme an engine to beate vvalles of a cittie.

Antony leaueth hys artillerie behinde him.

Phraata besieged

Antonies error.

The artillerie is taken, and the keepers killed.

The *Barbarians* toke the engines, and destroyed manye people, in the whiche was *Polemon* a King. This made *Antonies* army afraide, as it might, to receiue such a losse at the beginning.

Statianus and *Polemon* be killed.

Artabazes

Artabazes forsaketh the Romanes.

Artabasses the *Armenian* king, dyspayzing of the Romaines, returned home with his army, albeit he was ỹ cause of the war. They that were besieged, trusted vpon the *Parthians* so muche, as they vsed spitefull language. *Antonie*, not thinking good his souldiours courage shoulde be abated, by lying ydly there, toke tenne legions, and three bandes of the guarde, and all hys horsemen, and wente to forage, thinking so to prouoke hys enimies to fighte, and to deale with them orderly. Being gone one onely dayes iourney, when he sawe the *Parthians* fetching their compasse, and seking to stoppe his waye, hee commaunded the token of fight to be giuen, and the campe to be leauied, not as though he woulde fight, but marche. He passed by the *Barbarians*, who were sette like a cresent, commaunding the horsemen, that when the fotemen were so nigh as they mighte fight, that the horsemen shoulde turne vpon them. The *Parthians* did iudge the Romaines order to be better by reason, and behelde them marching wyth equall distaunce quietlye, and with silence, shaking their weapons. When the token was giuen, and they went on with shoute, the horsemen turned vppon the enimie, who receyued them with defence, although they were within the shotte. But when the fotemen came with crye & clashing of armour, the horsemen of the *Parthians* gaue place with disorder, and fledde before they came to handes. *Antonie* followed the chase, hauing greate hope to make an ende eyther of the whole warre, or of a great part of it, when they had folowed the chase, the fotemen fyre miles, and the horsemenne thrice so muche.

The *Parthians* marueil at the good order of the Romanes.

The Romanes haue a victorie of small accompt.

They found no more taken but thirtie, nor no more slayne but foure scoure, euerye manne thinking it an harde case, that they hauing victorye, shoulde kyll so fewe, and losyng theyr Engines with so manye. When they were ouercome, they fell into a greate discourage and doubte of themselues.

The nexte daye they passed to *Phraartes* Campe, and by the waye, founde firste a fewe enimies, then more, at laste all, & as inuincibly, and not to be hurte, they prouoked him, & euerye

where

where set vpon him, so as hardly, and with muche adoe, the Romanes went to their Campe. And where they of the Citie hadde maee a sallie, and put some of the Romanes from their trenche, *Antony* was so angry, as he punished euery tenth mã by death, according to the deserte, taking euery tenth by lotte, that hadde forsaken his place, and to the other insteade of wheate, hee gaue barley. The warre was painefull to bothe, and the continuance more fearefull, *Antonie* perceyuing hunger would folowe, for he coulde get no forage without death and hurte of his souldiors. *Phraates* knowing the *Parthians* had rather doe any thing, than to lie in fielde, and in an other land, in the winter, was afraide, that if the Romanes did hold out and tarry, that they woulde leaue hym, the ayre begynning to chaunge, and the time of equall day and night being at hande: he deuised this crafte. The best of the *Parthians*, vsed the Romanes more gently in their foraging and other encounters, suffering them to carry away some things, and prayling their vertue, as of men most valiaunt in warre, and in great estimation with their king, as they were wel worthy. And by this meane comming nearer togither, and suffring the horsemenne to passe, spake euill of *Antonie*, bicause *Phraates* woulde gladly haue peace, and spare so good and so many menne, that had giuen none occasion, but that he would tarry and abide two great and harde enimies, that is, Winter and Hunger, from the whiche, they coulde hardely escape, thoughe the *Parthians* would suffer them.

The Romaines hardly gette to their Campe.

The Romaynes punished by lot.

Autumne.

A craftie practise.

VVinter and Hunger two great enimies.

Many declaring this to *Antonie*, and he deceiued by this hope, deferred to sende an Herault to the *Parthians* king, till he knewe of those wel willing *Barbarians*, if they spake so muche with the Kings consent. They affirming and promising, that he ought not doubt nor dreade, he sent one of his friendes againe, requiring to receiue the ensigns & the Captiues, that he might not be thought altogither to saue himselfe, and to escape. The *Parthians* answering, he shoulde not passe of that, but if he did departe, he shoulde haue peace and safete by and by: wherefore wythin fewe dayes he brake vppe and went his way. And whereas he was eloquent in perswading, and was wonte to moue the people, and the ar-

Antony deceyued.

Antonie committeth the speeche to his souldiours, another, contrary to his vvonte.

my by hys orations, now for shame and beauinesse, he omitted to speake to the multitude, and commaunded *Domitius Aenobarbus* to do it. Some were angry as though he despised them, but the more parte were content and perceyued the matter, & therefore thought the rather to graunt and obey their Generall.

Mardi the people in *Hyrcania*. *Mardus* taketh vppon him to leade the armye the best vvay.

Being aboute to leade them the playne and barren waye, a man that by kinde was called *Mardus*, acquainted with the *Parthian* fashion, faithfull to the Romanes, and at the fielde of the engins, came to *Antonie*, and willed him to flee on the right hand of the hills, and not to take his armye laden with harneste, and weary with tourneys, to suche a mighte of horse and shotte, and that *Phraates* vnder shewe of beneuolence, went aboute to entrap him, and that he would leade hym a shorter way, in the whiche he should haue sufficiencie of all things.

Mardus bounde.

When *Antonie* heard this, he toke counsel, and said he would not seme to distruste the *Parthians*, touching the peace, but for the shortneste of the way, and the plentifull Townes inhabited, he praysed *Mardus*, and required faith of him. He offred to be bound till he brought them into *Armenia*. Being bound, he ledde them .ij. days very quietlie. The which done, *Antony* not loking for the *Parthians*, and going negligently bycause of his boldeneste, *Marde* sawe the banke of the floud newe broken, and much water ouerrunning the place where they should passe. He knewe it was the *Parthians* worke to make their way the harder, and to set that floude as an impediment vnto them, and willed *Antonie* to loke about him, for the enimie was not farre off. Whiles he set hys men in order, and commaunded the shotte to encounter with the, beholde the *Parthians* appeared, and came as they would haue compassed and dissolued the armye. The shotte comming vppon them, and hurte being done on both sides, they retyred, and after came againe. Then the French horsmen encountred with them, and putte them backe, so as that day they did no more attempte.

The *Parthians* come vppon *Antonie* on the sodaine.

French horsme.

By this, *Antonie* learning what he should do, he placed manye shotte, not onely at the taile, but on the sides, leadyng the armye in a square, commaunding the horsemen to putte backe the enimies, but not to followe them to farre. So the *Parthians*

in

in these foure dayes hauyng done no more hurte than receiued, waxed slowe, and entended to goe their waye, making Wynter their pretence. The fifth daye, *Flauius Gallus* a good Souldioure and a forwarde in feates of warre, required *Antonie* to giue him some shotte for hys rerewarde, and horsmen for hys fore warde, and he woulde do a good seruice. He gaue him, and he kept backe the enmunies. But nowe not returning to the fotemen as he did before, but followyng and fightyng with more courage, when the leaders of the taile saw him go to far, they called hym backe, but he would not. They say *Titius* did take the Enfigne to turne him backe, and rebuke *Gallus*, that wouloe lose so manye, and so good men, and that he rebuked him agayne, and badde him medle with his owne matters, and so *Titius* went his way.

Flauius Gallus.

The rashenesse of *Gallus*.

The sobernesse of *Titius*.

Gallus setting vppon the face of them, was compassed at the backe, and being besette roumde aboute, sent for more helpe.

They bringing the fotemen, among the whiche was *Canidius*, a man in great fauour with *Antonie*, who seemed to committe a greate errour, for he oughte to haue brought forthe the whole battaile, and to haue sent them forth in bands, one ready to help another, whiche being to weake, to haue supplied more, they perceyued not that it wanted but little that the whole army was not putte to the worse, and to flight, if *Antonie* hadde not by and by brought the legions, and set them in the face of them, and the third legion had not passed among them that fledde, and stayed the enimie from further chase. There was slaine no lesse than three thousande, and there came to their tentes wounded fyue thousande. And *Gallus* among them, shotte thorowe with four arrowes, coulde not be healed of his woundes. The other *Antonie* went about and comforted, and wyth teares bad them be of good cheare, but they chearfully taking him by the hande, prayed hym to comfort himselfe, & not to be diseased, calling him Chiefe Generall, saying, they were well, if he were whole: for generally, there was no captain y led a more noble armi, neither in strength nor in patience, nor in boldnesse, in those dayes, than he, nor more reuerence and obedience, with benenolence of all indifferentlye, noble, vnnoble, Rulers, and priuate men, was euer giuen to any

Canidius committeth a greate errour.

A slaughter of the Romanes.

Antonie comforteth his menne, and they him.

Antonie a verye good Captaine.

Captaine, than to *Antonie*, preferring hym before their owne liues and health, wherein he might compare with the auntiente Romanes. Diuers causes were of this, (as we haue saide) gentlenesse, eloquence, plainenesse, liberalitie, and magnificence, & courtesie in myrth and speeche, and for that he woulde pitie and comforte the sicke, and giue what they needed, he made the sicke and the hurte, the more assured to him.

Causes of the souldiours loue towarde *Antony*.

The enimies for this victorie, were in suche a pride, thoughe they were weary and almost refusing the fight, contemning the Romanes, as that night they encamped hard by them, thinking straight to haue spoiled the voide tents, and sacked the money of them being fled.

When day was come, they were many more, and they saye they were not lesse than fortie thousande horsemenne, the King sending still more vnto them, as to a sure and certaine victorie, but he was not with them, whither they wonne or lost.

Antony discoura ged.

When *Antonie* shoulde speake to the souldioures, he woulde haue a blacke garment, that he might the more be pitied, but his friends not suffering it, he came in a Captaines purple robe, and spake vnto thē, praysing thē that had done well, and dispraysing them that fledde, of the whiche, some prayed him to be of good comforte, some confessed their faulte, and offered to be punyshed euery tenth man, or any other waye to chastice them, onely they prayed him to cease his sorrowe and griefe. Then holding vppe his hands, hē prayed the Goddes, that if there were any reuenge towarde, for hys former felicitie, that it might lighte on hym, and that the reste of the armye might haue healthe, and victorye.

Antonies prayer

The nexte day, they marched better guarded: and the *Parthians* that followed were much deceiued of their purpose, for where they thought to come to spoile and pray, and not to fight, beyng resisted with great chærefulnesse of the souldioures, they were wearie againe. And as the Romanes went downe certaine hills, they came vpon them, and they made a sharpe shotte. The Target men turned vpon them, and couered their shotte with their shielocs, for the Targets hid them easily, they kneeling on their knees.

The manner of the Romanes against the *Parthians*.

knées. They that stode behind, defended them with their armor, and so did the other. This manner of forme, bowing alike euery way, made a figure of a Theatre, and it is the surest waye to auoyde shotte, the arrowes sliding away. The *Parthians* thinking the stouping of the Romanes vpon their knées had bin for heate and thirst, vnbent their bowes, and with their spears came nigh, thē then the Romanes rising sodainly with a crie, set vpon them, and wringing their weapons out of their handes, killed the foremost of them, and made all the other to runne away. The like was done other dayes. They giuing little way, and famine falling into the army, little meate being had, bicause of their often fights, wanting Milles to grinde their corne, being lefte wyth the engines, for they were lefte behinde, and bicause many of the beasts were killed, the sicke and wounded men were borne. So as they say, an *Athens* bushel of wheate was worth fiftie drams, and barley was worth the waighte in siluer.

The *Parthians* deceyued.
The fight at hād

The miserie of the Romanes.

Then being driuen to hearbs and rootes, some they found of the vsuall sorte, but being compelled to proue them that were vnknowne, they first lighted vpon an hearbe that brought death with a maddenesse. For he that eate it remembred nothing, nor knew nothing. Only one thing they did, moue and turne a stone, as a thing of great waighte to be done. The fielde was full of them that stowped to the grounde and digged, and remoued stones.

Chœnix attica cōtaineth .2. *Sextarij*. and *Sextarij*, is the sixte part of *Congio*.
Dragma vvas as muche as a Romane Penny.
Hearbs hurtefull vvhiche the soldioures eate.
An hearbe making men mad.

At length vomiting their choller, they dyed, when wine, whiche was the only remedy, was spent, many being deade, and the *Parthians* not ceassing. They say ỳ *Antonie* many times cried (O the tenne thousande,) praising them that with *Xenophon* did go a farre longer way from *Babilon*, and fighting many battells saued themselues.

Ten thousande Grecians passed from the field of their lofte Captaine vvithout harte.

The *Parthians* could not draw them asunder, nor breake their order, and being diuers times put to the worse, they fled, waring quiet againe: then they gotte among them that went for forage, & shewyng the strings of their bowes lose, they said they would retire and make an ende of their chase. A fewe *Medians* folowed yet a daye or two, doing no hurte, but onely guarding the towns

of *Media*. By these wordes they gaue salutations and went on with gentlenesse, in so much as the *Romanes* were chærefull agayne: whiche when *Antonie* heard, hée sayde he would go by the playne, rather than the hylles, where was lacke of water. And mindyng thus to doe, one named *Mithridates* came from the enimies, beyng cousine to *Monese*, that had bene with *Antonie*, and had the three Citties gyuen hym, and desired some might come to hym that coulde speake the *Parthian* or *Median* tongue. And *Alexander* of *Antiochia*, in credite with *Antonie*, beyng sente to hym, hée sayde, that he was come to yelde thankes for *Monesius*, and asked *Alexander*, if hée sawe those bigbe and long hylles before hym, and when he sayde he did, vnder them sayde hée, the *Parthians* lie in wayte for you, with all their army. This greate fielde stretcheth to those hilles, and they thinke that beyng deceyued by them, you will leaue the way by the hilles, bycause there is thirst and labour: but if *Antonie* goe this way, lette him knowe to fall in *Crassus* calamitie.

Antonie soone led to hope.

Mithridates sent by *Monesius* giueth *Antonie* warning.

Antonie beyng troubled, when he harde this, conferred with his friendes, and *Mardus* the guyde of the way, who thought no lesse, he knewe that though there were none enimies, the iourney by the playnesse was wayelesse, vncertaine, harde and strange to finde. The way by the hilles, had none other difficultie, but wante of water for one day. Beyng turned to this, he commaunded to goe by night, and to carie water. There was wante of vesselles, therefore they caried water in their headpeces, and some in skinnes. Their goyng beyng knowen to the *Parthians*, they came vpon them by night contrary to their maner, and by the rysing of the Sunne, they molested the tayle, now weary with watchyng and labour, for they had gone that night two hundreth and fortie furlongs, & not thinking their enimies woulde haue come so sone, they were discouraged, for neyther had they drinke, and muste fight as they went.

Antonie grieued.

The *Parthians* come by night.

The former chaunced to méete with a floude whose water was colde and cleare, but salte and venemous. The whiche being

Water hurtful

ing dronke dyd wring the belly with torment, and inflamed their drouthe. And though *Mardus* gaue them warnyng of it, notwithstandyng, they beate them off that woulde haue stayed them, and dronke it. *Antonie* came among them, and prayed them to be content for a whyle, for there was an other floudde of good water not farre off, and that the residue of the way was sharpe and not for horsemen, at the whiche, their enimies would leaue them.

Then blowing the retreate, he commaunded to pitche their tentes, that at the least, the Soldiours might repose them in the shadowe. The tentes beyng sette, and the *Parthians* goyng their way as they were wonte, *Mithridates* came agayne, and willed *Alexander* that came to him, to see that the armie shoulde take little reste, but goe and make haste to the floudde, because the *Parthians* woulde goe no further, but thyther they woulde folow them. A newe warning.

This beyng tolde to *Antonie*, *Alexander* brought from hym, cuppes and vessels of golde, of the which *Alexander* taking so many as hée coulde carie vnder his cloke, wente his waye. They remoued, and went the reste of that day, without any trouble of their enimies. But the night, they made to thēselues moste vnquiet and fearefull, for they killed them that had any Golde or Siluer, and they spoyled the money that was caried, and in the ende ransacked *Antonies* cariage, and toke awaye his vessell and tables of Golde, and diuided them amongst them. Disorder in the Romanes cāpe amōg thēselues.

There was great feare & confusion in the whole armie, for they thought the enemies had turned and spoyled their people. *Antonie* called one of hys garde, whose name was *Rammus*, and made hym to sweare, that when hée commaunded hym, hée shoulde thrust hys sworde thorough him, and cut off his head, that it mighte neyther bee taken aliue of the enimie, nor knowne when hée was deade. His friendes wéepyng, *Mardus* comforted *Antonie*, that the floudde was nére at hande, for *Antonie* in dispayre.

A colde aire declareth a floude to be at hande.

for a moist breath was felt, and a colde ayre came vnto thē, that made the breathing swéte: and the time (quoth he) of our iorney, doth agrée with ỹ measure, for there was but a little of the night left. And then came other and said the tumult did rise of iniurie & spoile among themselues. Therfore bringing the multitude from confusion and feare, to order, he commanded to encamp.

Now day began to shewe, and the army beginning to take a little reste, the archers of the *Parthians*, fel vpon the hindermoste: wherefore token of fight was giuen to the shotte. The armed men couering themselues againe with the shields, staied to ioine with the enimy. The fore warde going on, a little after the floud appeared, and the horsemen képing the enimies off, they caryed ouer the sicke men first, and whiles these were fighting, they had leisure and quiet to drinke.

When the *Parthians* saw the floud, they vnbended their bows, and badde the Romanes go on boldely, commending much theyr vertue. When they were passed with quiet, they gathered togyther againe, for they had no great truste in the *Parthians*, as they went. The sixte day after the last fighte, they came to the floude, *Araxes*, diuiding *Media* and *Armenia*, it appeared both dæpe and swift, and it was saide that the enimies came to set vpon them in the passage. But when they were quietly passed and come into *Armenia*, as thoughe they had séene that land from the sea, they kneled downe, and with teares and embracings one of another for ioye, they ranne togither.

Araxes cōmeth out of the hyll that *Euphrates* dothe.

But nowe going by a plentifull Country, and al vsing superfluitie after their want, they fell into dropsies, and Chollycke diseases.

The reioicing of the Romanes being come into *Armenia*.

And when *Antonie* made his muster, he founde .xx.M. fotemen and horsemen to be slaine, not all of the enimies, but more than halfe of diseases. They were going from *Phraata* seauen and twentie daies, and they ouercame the *Parthians* in eighteene battells, but their victories had no substaunce nor suretie of them that made ofte and small chases. It was well perceyued that *Artabazes* the *Armenian*, was the cause why *Antonie* coulde not bring this war to end. For the sixténe thousande horse that hée

Thys warre was not accōpted, for lacke of *Armenian* horsemen.

led out of *Media*, might haue done best seruice against the *Parthians*, being armed like them, and accustomed to fight wyth them: and when they fled from the Romanes fight, they should haue chased them, that being so ouercome, they could not haue bin bold to set vpon them againe soone. All the army for anger moued *Antonie* to be reuenged of the king. He vsing discretion, did neyther blame his defection, nor change any of his wonted humanitie and honor to him, his army being yet weake and needy, but afterwarde being come againe into *Armenia*, and with fayre words and promises persuading him to come to his handes, he toke him, and carried him bounde to the triumph at *Alexandria*, which most grieued the Romanes, that the goodly and comely things of their country, should be translated to *Alexandria* for *Cleopatras* sake. Thus he did. Betweene the kings of *Media* and *Parthia* fell a variaunce, begonne as they say, for the Romanes spoyle: and the *Median* king being in dãger thereby to lose his kingdome, he sent to *Antonie*, promising to make war with him with all his power. Therefore *Antonie* was brought into greate hope, for he supposed, he wanted nothing to ouercome the *Parthians*, but horsmen and archers, the which he saw was now offred him to gratify him without any asking. He prepared to go again into *Armenia*, & to ioyne with the *Median* at the flood *Araxes*, and there to moue the warre, but being called backe by the intercessions of *Octauia* and *Cleopatra*, he deferred the *Median* til the next sommer, although the *Parthians* were at diuisiõ: yet going to him once again, he made league with him, & when he had maryed one of his daughters with a sonne of *Cleopatra*, he returned againe to Ciuil warre.

Antonie taketh the king and maketh a triumph of him at Alexandria vvhich grieueth the Romanes.

The end of the Romanes vvar vvith the Parthians.

¶ The Romanes warre with the *Illyriãs*: by *Appian of Alexandria*.

Illyria now *Slauonia*, *Chaonia*, part that is mõtaines.
Thesprotia, that is next to *Chaonia*.
Paonia is a parte of *Macedonia*.
The breadth & length of *Illyria*.



The *Grecians* thinke them to be *Illyrians*, that haue their dwelling beyond *Macedonia* and *Thracia* from *Chaonia* & *Thesprotia* to the floud *Hister*. The greatnesse of it, reacheth from *Macedonia* and the mountaines of *Thracia*, to *Paonia* and the *Alpes*, three dayes iourney. The length of it, is muche greater by three partes, as the *Grecians* thinke. The Romaynes measuring the ground, thinke it is fiue thousand furlongs in length, and a thousand two hundreth in breadth. And they affirme that countrey to haue the name and beginning of *Illyria*, sonne to *Polyphemus*. For *Polyphemus* had by *Galatia*, *Celtes*, *Illyrius*, and *Gallus*: And that they came out of *Sicelie*, and gaue name to the *Celtians*, *Illyrians*, and *Galatians*. And this I like well of the opinions that haue bene taught hereof. Then they saye that *Illyrius* had these folowing: *Achilles*, *Autarius*, *Dardanus*, *Medus*, *Taulãtius*, & *Perrhebus*: and these daughters, *Partha*, *Daorta*, and *Dasera*, with others, of the which came the *Taulãtians*, *Perrhebians*, *Achilletans*, *Autaricãs*. *Dardauans*, *Parthenians*, *Dasaretians*, and *Darsians*: *Autarius* had *Pannonius* or *Paonius*, and *Scordiscus*: *Paonius*, had *Tribalus*, of the which these natiõs haue their names. And these be the antient beginnings of the great countrey of *Illyria*, in the whiche were the *Scordiscians*, and *Triballians*, of so greate possession, as they fought so long togither, till the *Triballians*, that were lefte, fled to the *Celtes* beyond *Hister*. This nation was thought mightye tyll the time of *Philippe* and *Alexander*, and now so destroyed, as it hath no man left: and the *Scordiscians* become to noughte also, for they being ouercome by the Romaines, came at length to dwel in the Ilands of *Hister*. And in continuaunce of tyme, some

Illyrius sonne to *Polyphemus*.
Celte, by that part of Fraunce that is about Lions.
Taulantij, vvent from *Illyria* to *Macedonia*, and builded *Arnissa*.
Perrhabi fled into *Aetolia*.
Achillai Ilanders.
Autarians vvere most vvarlike people of *Illyria* first subdued of the *Scordiscians*, and last of the Romaines.
Parthene of *Macedonia*.
Dolaretians of *Thracia*.

Scordiscians.
Paonians.

some of them went abroade again, and inuaded the vttermost part of *Paonia*, wherfore the *Scordiscians* be now warre with the *Paonians*. Likewise the *Ardeians*, when they had inuaded the beste parte of the *Autarians* grounde nere the coaste, they beyng seamen, they droue them away. After them, the *Liburnians* had the name to be good with their shippes, another nation of *Illyria*, robbing *Ionium* and the Ilandes with their swifte shippes. Wherefore the Romaynes call the shippes of speede, *Liburnians*. There is a saying, that the *Autarians* came to vtter destruction, by the wrath of *Apollo*. For they and the *Celtians* wyth the *Cymbrians*, did encampe at *Delphos*, and by and by all were dispearsed and fledde, and many of them before the fight, being stroken with raine, tempest, and lightning, and when they that wer left came home, they found such a corruptiõ made by frogs in their waters, that they all perished. The vapor of the whiche so infected the Countrey of *Illyria*, as the *Autarians* being most plagued with it, fled: and bycause no man durst receyue them, they went on .xxij. dayes togither, comming to a Fennie grounde vnhabited, and buylded a Citty nere to *Basternia*. They saye also, that *Apollo* dyd destroy the *Celtians* and theyr Cities, & did not ende the plague before they fled and left theyr houses, and came into *Illyria*, that had offered with them, whõ being weake for sickenesse, they sone ouercame, and by handling of their things toke the infection, and fledde to *Pirene*. And when they moued toward the east, the Romanes being afraid of them with whom they had once foughte an exceeding battayle, sente the Consuls against them, least they shoulde passe the *Alpes* and come into *Italy*. And the Romaines hauing the losse of all their armye, the name of the *Celtians* stroke al *Italy* with feare, till they chose *Marius* their generall, which before had ouercome the *Libyans*, *Numidians* and *Marusians*, very valiauntly, and ouerthrew the *Celtians*, and did them many tymes destroy, as I haue shewed in the booke of *Celtion*. And this end had the *Celtians* and *Illyrians* for their wickednesse, yet they did not withholde their wicked handes from holy things, but the *Scordiscians*, *Medans*, and *Dardanãs*, ranne ouer *Grecia* and *Macedonia*,

Liburna. Light shippes.

Cymbri came fro the north of *Saxon* into *Narbonne* in Fraunce where *Marius* ouercame them. Purishment of God.

Basturna, be at the floud *Boristhenes* in *Scythia*.

Pirene, is the hill that diuideth *Fraunce* and *Spaine*.

Syllenus Manilius and *Capio*, Consuls ouerthrowen by the *Cymbrians*. &c.

Marius ouerthroweth them.

donia, and spoyles temples, and once againe besieged *Delphos*, loosing many of their men being then slaine, two and thirtie yeare after the warre betweene the Romanes and the *Celtians*, who for their late sacrileage made them warre *L. Scipio* beyng Captaine then, being Lordes of *Macedonia* and *Grecia*. And they saye their neyghboures that were their felowes in this wickednesse, then not ayding them, left them to *Scipio*, remembring the plague of the *Autarians* whiche were vtterlye destroyed through all *Illyria*. And that *Scipio* did ouerthrowe all the *Scordiscians*, and they that could escape went to *Danubio* and the Ilands thereof, and that he being corrupted with a couenaunt of holy gold, made league with the *Medans* and *Dardanans*, by the which, as many *Italians* do shew in their writings, the state of *Rome* was stroken with ciuil discorde, vntill it came to the rule of one. These things of *Illyria* founde among the *Grecians*, I haue writte at large. The Romanes cal not only these *Illyrians*, but also the *Paonians* beyonde them, the *Rhetians*, the *Noricians*, and *Misians* that dwel in *Europe*, and al other nigh that inhabite the right hand of *Hister*, by a common name, although they do separate the *Illyrians* from the *Grecians*, and call euery of them by their proper names. Being ledde wyth this opinion at the first, they chaunged afterward, and would haue the ende of *Illyria* at the beginning of *Hister*, to the sea of *Pontus*, whiche is tributarie vnto them. Howe the Romanes brought them to obedience, whē we wrote of the *Celtians*, we shewed that we did not well learne neyther the beginnings nor occasions of the warres.

Corruption one cause of ciuil discord at *Rome*.

Rhætia is at the *Alpes*, part of the vvhich is nowv *Guſoni*. *Noricia* nowv *Bauaria*. *Myſia* nowv *Ioſua* and *Ceruia*.

The sea of *Pontus* from *Maotis* to *Tenedo*.

Agron.

The *Illyrian* king hauing ouercome the *Aetolians*, dranke so much vvine that he died presently.

Agron.

Pyrrhus.

Epirus,

Cumera, or *Albania*.

Corcira, *Corfu*.

Epidamnus.

Durasso.

Pharus, is an Iland in the *Adriaticall* sea.

And therefore we haue exhorted them to write, that haue more vnderstanding of the matters of *Illyria*. But as much as we knowe, we wil declare it.

Agron was king of a part of *Illyria*, & is at the coast of *Ionia* which *Pyrrus* king of *Epirus*, and such as came of him, had sometyme. And he taking parte of *Epirus*, and *Corcyra* beyond that, & *Epidānus* and *Pharus*, as a keeper held them styl. When he sailed the rest of the *Ionian* sea, an Ile called *Eſſus* did reuolte to the

Romanes,

Romanes, and sent their Embassadoure to them, to declare what wrong *Agron* had done them. The *Illyrians* saying againe to the, killed *Calemporus* the Embassador of *Essus*, and with them *Coruncanius*, the Romane, (as some say.) For this cause the Romanes inuaded *Illyria* both by sea and land.

Calemporus, Coruncanius Embassadors slaine.

Agron dyed, leauing an infant behinde hym called *Pine*. He lefte the gouernement of the countrey to his wife, that she might bring vppe the childe, although shee was not hys mother. *Demetrius* that had *Pharus* belonging to *Agrons* dominion, and after, getting *Corfu*, betrayed both to the Romanes. They made amitie with the *Epidamnans*, and sent an armye to helpe them againste the *Illyrians* that besieged them: wherfore the *Illyrians* raised their siege, and some of them called *Atintani*, yelded to the Romanes.

Embassadoures killed, the cause of *Illyrian* warre.

Pine.

Pharus and *Corfu* deliuered to the Romanes.

Atintani.

The wife of *Agron* sent Embassadours to *Rome*, deliuering the prisoners and captiues, requiring pardon for that was not done of hir, but of *Agron*. The Romanes saide that *Corfu*, *Pharo*, *Essio*, and *Epidamno*, and the *Illyrians* that be called *Atintani*, were of their iurisdiction, and if *Pine* would holde the other Region of *Agron*, hee myghte vse the Romanes friendshippe, if he woulde refraine from the reste, nor the *Illyrians* shoulde go to the *Essians*, but with two boats, and them vnarmed, all the whiche they admitted. And this was the firste doings of the Romanes and the *Illyrians*, after the which, they gaue libertie to *Corcyra* and *Appolonia*.

Peace vvith *Pine.*

Appolonia nowe *Valona.*

They gaue also rewardes to *Demetrius* for his reuolting, yet despising his infidelitie, that came from him afterwarde. For the Romanes contending three yeares with the *Celtians* aboute the floude *Eridanus*, *Demetrius* not nowe passing of the Romanes, by cause they were troubled with warre, gote *Histria*, an other nation of *Illyria*, and compelled the *Atintanes*, to reuolte from the Romanes. When the Romanes had made an end with the *Celtians*, they went by and by into *Illyria*, and toke the robbers that had ioined themselues with *Demetrius* and the other *Illyrians*. And they killed *Demetrius*, that fledde vnto *Philippe* of *Macedonie*, and retourned wyth an Naupe, and spoiled the Gulfe of *Ionia*, and vtterlye ouerthrewe his Countrey *Pharus*, conspiring with hym,

Demetrius.

Eridanus, nowe *Po*, the greate floude of *Italie.*

Atintanes.

famine, and pardoned the other *Illyrians*, that dyde agree with *Pine*.

This was the seconde warre and truce with the *Illyrians*. The reste be described of me not in order and time, but by the nations as I haue found them. The Romanes inuaded *Macedonie* when *Perseus* raigned after *Philippe*. *Gentius* an other king of *Illyria*, allured with mony, ioyned with *Perseus*, & stirred the *Illyrians* against the Romanes, and dydde caste the Romane Embassadoures into prison, alleadging that they came not as Embassadoures, but as espialls. Wherefore *Anitius* the Romane Lieutenaunt toke diuers of *Gentius* shippes, and inuading the lande, ouercame hym when he hadde shutte him in a place, and he asked forgiuenesse, he counsailed him to yelde to the Romanes: he desired three dayes respite, which being granted, and in the meane time his subiectes forsaking him, he desired he might come to *Anitius*. Whyche when he did, he kneeled on his knees with great shame, and spake for himselfe. The Romane President toke him by the hand, and badde him be of good cheere, and toke him to a banquet, from the whiche as he was going, he was taken and made prisoner, and carried to *Rome* in triumphe with his sonne.

Gentius imprisoneth the Romane Embassadoures.

Anitius.

Gentius contrary to promise take.

This warre of *Gentius* was finished in twentie dayes. *Aemilius Paulus* that toke *Perseus*, and sente hym to *Rome*, spoiled lxx. of his Citties after this sorte. Going priuily to *Rome*, with great speede, and returning, he promised the people forgiuenesse, if they woulde bring in all their golde and siluer. They agreeing to it, he brought parte of his armye to euerye Cittie, then commaunding the Captaines of the army, at a daye in the morning, to charge the Citizens by Trumpet, that they shoulde bring all their golde and siluer within three houres space, whiche beeing done, he gaue the reste to his souldioures for spoile. So *Paulus* in one houre spoiled lxx. Cities.

Aemilius Paulus taketh lxx. cities in a daye, by craft.

The *Ardeans* and *Palerians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, inuaded that part that the *Romanes* held, to whom the Romanes for other lettes sente Embassadors to affray them. They would not obey, wherfore ỹ Romanes sent an army against the of 10000. fotemen, and 600. horsemen. They not being readye, sente

Ardeans, Palerians.

Embas-

Embassadoures to aske pardon for their offences. The Senate commaunded them to recompence them, whome they had iniuried, the whiche thing, when they leste vndone, *Fulnius Flaccus* goeth against them with a great armye. The warre consisted in *Rhodes*, and was not fully ended.

Fulnius Flaccus.

Sempronius Tuditanus, and *Tiberius Pandusius* ouercame the *Iapodes* within the Alpes. Likewise the *Segestanes* did yéelde to *Lucius Cotta* and *Metellus*, all the whiche shortely after forsoke the Romanes.

Semp. Tuditanus.
Tib. Pandusius.
Iapodes.
Segesta.
Segestro.

The *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, inuaded them that obeyed the Romanes, and woulde not admitte the Romane Embassadoures that came to them for that purpose: wherfore I thinke the Romanes made warre vppon them, when *M. Figulus* was Consul. As sone as *Figulus* came, they set vpon the former, and droue them from the army, into the fielde, so as they fledde to the floude *Naro*, and then they retyred, for Winter was at hande.

Dalmatia.
Sclauonia by sea.
M. Egulus.
Naro, now Narenta.

Figulus then thinking he might of the sodaine disperse them, he droue them all from their places, till he came to the Citie of *Delminium*, whereof the *Dalmatians* haue their name. And where he coulde doe nothing against that Citie of the sodaine, nor raise engines for the heigth of the wall, he went abroade againe, all being destitute and vnfurnished. For the walking aboute *Delminium*, he made certaine pearches of two cubites long, laide ouer with pitch, sulpher and towe, and with his slings, threwe them into *Delminium*, the which being fyred by the violence, and like lamps flæing in the aire, did set on fire whatsoeuer they touched, so as many were consumed by fire. Wherof ended the warre of *Figulus*.

Romanes driuen to the floud. Narus.
Delminium.
Dena.
Deuise of Figul.

In time following, *Cecilius Metellus* being Consul, when the *Illyrians* had offended nothing, he woulde needes make warre to triumphe of them, of whome being receiued friendly, and remayning in *Salon* their Cittie that winter, he triumphed of nothing.

Cecilius Metellus triumpheth for nothing.

Salon of the Illyrians Pollio called his sonne Salonius Fromon.

Cæsar when he made warre vppon the *Celtians*, the *Dalmatians* flourished and toke a Citie from the other *Illyrians* called *Promona*, which belonged to the *Lyburnians*. The *Lyburnians* gaue themselues

selues to the Romanes, & fled to *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* sent Embassadors to them, exhorting them to restore *Pomina* to the *Lybyrnians*. They despising it, he sent an army which was ouerthrown of ỹ *Illyrias*. *Cæsar* being occupied with other cares, the sedition of *Pompey* following, did nothing to them, but sayled wᵗ his whole armye, in a contrary tempest, to try ỹ matter with *Pompey* in *Macedonia*. The rest of the army *Antonie* brought to *Cæsar* by *Macedonie*. Then in a gret tempest, *Gabinius* assayed to bring to *Cæsar*. xi. bands of footmen, & iij. M. horsmen by *Illyria*, whom ỹ *Illyrians* for feare of that he had done, & thinking the victorie of *Cæsar* would be their confusion, resisted *Gabinius*, & slew all saue a fewe, ỹ fled with him, & got a great deale of money, & infinite spoile. *Cæsar* dissembled at thys for the necessitie of the war with *Pompey*. When *Pompey* was ouercome, & *Cæsar* went about to dispatch all the rest, he returned to *Rome*, & determined a war againste ỹ *Getes*, & the *Parthians*. When the *Illyrians* heard of this, and feared that *Cæsar* would take them in his way to *Parthia*, they sent Embassadors to *Rome*, to aske pardon of their faultes, and extolled the worthie nation of the *Illyrians*, and would become friendes.

Cæsars army ouerthrowne of the *Illyrians*.

The *Illyrians* destroy the armye that *Gabinius* bringeth to *Cæsar*.

Cete, be people of *Scythia* in *Europe*, of some called *Daci*, but diuided, that *Daci* be they that are nexte *Germany*, vvhom some call *Dani*, vvhich for their seruile behauior be vsed for names of seruaunts in Comedies.

Cæsar being minded to go against the *Parthians*, answered them sharpely, that he would not haue them for friendes, that had vsed him so vnfriendly, yet he woulde spare them, if they woulde paye tribute, and pledges. They promising bathe, hee sente *Atinius* to them with thrée legions, and a great band of horsemen, to take pledges and small tributes. When *Cæsar* was dead, they thought that the power of *Rome* would die with him, & so refused to obey *Atinius*, neither paying tribute, nor giuing hostages. *Atinius* sending vi. bands against them, they ouercame them, and their leader *Bebius* a Senatour. *Atinius* with the reste, fledde to *Epidamne*. Then the Senate appointed to *M. Brutus* and *C. Cassius* that killed *Cæsar*, *Macedonia* and *Illyria*, with *Syria*. So they making warre wyth *Antonie* & *Cæsar* that was called *Augustus*, ỹ *Illyrians* had no quietnesse. The *Paones*, a gret nation inhabiting alongst *Hister*, stretcheth from the *Iapodans*, to the *Dardanes*. They are called *Pæones* of the *Grecians*, and of the Romanes *Pannonians*, and of them, (as wee haue sayde) they bee called parte of the *Illyriane*

Bebius ouercome *Durazzo*.

Prouinces to *M. Brutus* and *C. Cassius*.

Paone.

Pannonia nowe *Hungarie*.

Agrians.

Cornelius ouerthrowen of the Agrians.

Commentaries of Augustus of his owne actes.

Cæsar did not passe of Illyria.

Cæsar Augustus talketh of his conquest of the Illyrians.

Nations of Illyria subdued by Augustus.

Melita, Malta, Corcyra, Corfu cruelly vsed of Augustus.

lyrians, of the which now I will speake somewhat, beeyng about to shew the *Illyrian* state. They glorie much in ỹ *Agrians* which were *Macedonians* comming out of *Paonia*, & did great seruice vnder *Philip* & *Alexander*. And after *Cornelius* was ouerthrowne of thẽ with al his army, the fame of the *Paonians* waxed very great, & made *Italie* afraide. Therfore of a long time after, the Consulls woulde not take vppon them to warre with the *Paonians*. And these great things haue I founde of the *Illyrians*. But in *Cæsars* Commentaries, that was called *Augustus*, I finde no auntient matter of ỹ *Paonians*. It should seeme, there was an other part of *Illyria*, that did obey the Romanes, but what the name was I can not tel. For *Augustus* didde not write other mens actes, but his owne, howe he brought them that reuolted from the Empyre, to Tributes, and ouercame other that liued vnder their own lawes: and lastely how he conquered the barbarous nations, that dwell in the heigth of the Mountaines, that were nerte *Italie*, and vsed by stealth to molest it. And surely I maruell, that so manye armies passing from *Rome* ouer the Alpes, did contemne these nations. For *Caius Cæsar* so happy a man in warre, and leading so manye armies againste the *Celtes* and *Iberians*, did likewise little passe of these nations, when he lay euery Winter, not far from them, by the space of tenne yeares. But I thinke these menne, making haste onely to that they purchased, did care for no more, but for passage ouer the Alpes. *C. Cæsar* being long about *Celtica*, thought it ynough to end that, the ciuill warre of *Pompey* calling him from the rest. And where he seemed to chose both *Celtica* and *Illyria*, he toke rule not of all, but of them that belonged to ỹ Romanes. But *Cæsar Augustus* got al, & when he accused the ydlenes of *Antonie* to the Senate, he shewed how he had made the fierce nation of ỹ *Illyrians*, so oft rebelling, tame: he subdued with great experience, ỹ *Oxeans*, *Perthenetans*, *Barbiates*, *Taulantians*, *Cambians*, *Cinambrans*, *Merromenans*, and *Prisseans*. And thẽ ỹ rebelled, which were the *Docleatans*, *Carinians*, *Interfrurians*, *Narisians*, *Clintidions*, & the *Tauriscans*, which he compelled to pay their tributes after they had denied them, the whiche being ouercome, the nexte, that is, *Ipsitians* and *Bessians* for feare, did yelde vnto him. And hee ouercame the *Corcyrians* & *Melitinans* with greate fight by sea, bicause

they were rouers on the sea. The children he killed, the other hée solde. And toke the shippes from the *Liburnians*, bicause they also robbed on the sea. Of the *Iapodans* that dwel within the Alpes, the *Moentines*, and *Aedeatians* yéelded to him when he came. The *Aurupians*, whiche were many and warlike, of the *Iapodan* kind, went oute of the countries into their Cittie, and when he came they lurked in woodes. He toke their Cittie, but would not set it afyre, thinking they would yéelde to him at length. Which béeing done, he gaue them their cittie to inhabite. Of al other, the *Salassians* and *Iapodans*, that dwell beyonde the Alpes, made him to haue moste to do, with whom the *Segestanes*, *Dalmatians*, *Daisians*, and *Paonans* ioyned. They kéepe the toppes of the hilles, that bée mountaines vnpassable, an harde and narrowe way, leading to them, by truste whereof they liue of themselues, and take toll of them that passe. *Veterus* comming sodainelye vppon them, gote the straightes of the place by policie, and besieged them two yeares.

Moentines, Aedetians. Aurupians.

Salassi, Iapodes. Segestani. Dalmatia. Daisij, Paones. The Alpes.

Veterus.

They wanting salte, wherof they had moste néed, receiued garrisons. After rebelling from *Veterus*, and casting down the defences, they got the streights, and laughed at them that *Caesar* sent, bicause they could do little againste them. Therefore *Caesar* beginning warre againste *Antonie*, lette them liue as they woulde, and forgaue them that molested them that obeyed the Romanes, till *Messala Corninus* sent of *Caesar* to subdue them, ouercame them by famine. And so the *Salassians* came into the Romanes power. The *Iapodans* that inhabite beyond the Alpes, a moste fierce nation, and almoste wilde, diode reiecte the Romanes twice in .xx. yeares, and raunged to *Aquileia*, and spoyled the Romanes land called *Torgius*. When *Caesar* wente againste them, they were the more fierce agaynste hym, and cut down wod to stop him. And when *Caesar* went to an other wod, they fled, and as he followed they layde traines for him. *Caesar* suspecting it, sent some of hys, to the toppes of the hilles, to sette vppon them on bothe sides. He comming easly, and cutting the woodes, they sodainely appeared from the traines, and hurte many. But when the other were come from the toppes, they were destroyed. The reste fledde into the

VVant of salte.

Messala Corninus.

Aquileia, is nowe of the Venetian iurisdiction. Torgius.

Caesar Augustus defeateth the Iapodans.

the woodes againe, leauing their Citie, whose name was *Terponus*. *Cæsar* toke it, but did not burne it neither, thinking they also woulde render, as they didde. Then he went to an other Cittie, whiche they call *Metulio*, which is the chiefe City of the *Iapodans*. It is scituate vppon two hilles, in a woody place, betweene the whiche, a little valley goeth. And the youth to the number of three thousande well practised in armes, did easily repell the Romanes from the walles. The Romanes set vppon a mounte, the whiche they within, and the other without, runnyng daye and nighte, didde muche hinder, hauyng some engines, whyche they hadde gotten in the warre, whereby they made the Romaynes to lye further off. For they hadde gotten theyr engines in that place where *Brutus* foughte with *Cæsar* and *Antonie*.

Terponus.

Metulio.

Engines taken at the place vvhere *Brutus* & *Cassius* fought vvith *Cæsar* and *Antony.*

But when the Romanes hadde beaten downe parte of theyr walles, they made fortes within, and when they were wearye, they leapt into them that they had nowe made.

The Romanes taking the wall that they hadde lefte, burned it, and sette two mountes against the other, from the whiche they made also foure bridges to the walles.

Brydges made from mountes to the vvals, break.

When all was readye, *Cæsar* badde some goe to the other side of the Citie, to drawe the Citizens asunder, and willed the other to goe vppon them on the bridges, and he stode and loked vppon an highe Tower what was done. The *Barbarians* came to resiste them that gaue the assaulte at the wall. The other laying traynes behinde, beating the bridges with their long speares, waxed more fierce.

And when two of the bridges were broken, and the thirde lyke to fall, the Romanes were in suche a feare, as none woulde go to the fourth.

Cæsar rebuked them from the Tower, but they woulde neuer the sooner goe. Wherefore he toke a shield and ran to the bridge, & with him *Agrippa*, *Hierom* and *Lucius*, that were Capitaines, & *Volas* one of his Guard, only these iiij., and fewe other Targatebearers went on the bridge. When *Cæsar* was on the bridge, the Souldiours being ashamed, ranne straighte vnto him, by the

The boldnesse of *Cæsar Augustus.*

reason whereof, the bridge being ouer laden, brake, and manye fell to the grounde, of the whiche some dyed. *Cæsar* beeyng hurte on the right leg, & the arme, went to the tower again, some of the chiefe following him, ý he might shewe himselfe euidently to bee aliue, least some tumulte might be made for his death, or the enmies thinke he had fled, and by & by commanded an other bridge to be made, which thing chiefly made the *Metulians* afraide. The nert day sending Embassadors for peace, they promised to deliuer v. C. pledges, & receiue a garriso. And leauing the higher hill, they al went into the other. When ý garrison cõmanded thẽ to leaue their armor, they were grieued, & putting their wiues & children in their Senatehouse, & receyuing the garrison, they tolde the *Romanes*, that if they required of them any vnreasonable thing, they would burne that place, & set vpon the Romanes for desperation. Which when they had said, they al went from the lowe place to the higher. Then the garrison set ý house afyre, many of the women killed themselues, & their children, some broughte their children aliue, & threw thẽ into the fire. So al the youth of the *Metulians* perished with battaile, & the vnprofitable sort with fire, & the city was so burned, that as great as it was, there was not a tokẽ lefte of it. The *Metulians* being ouercome, the rest of the *Iapydans* yelded to *Cæsar*. Thus the *Iapodans* beyond the Alpes, became subiecte to the Romanes. When *Cæsar* was gone, the *Possenians* rebelled, whom *Marcus Elbius* ouercame, & killed thẽ that were cause of the rebellion, & made the rest slaues. The Romanes hauing gone twice against ý *Segestanes*, neither toke hostages nor any thing else from them, wherefore they were the more boldened. *Cæsar* went against them, through the *Paonian* land, who were not yet obedient to the Romanes. Their land is woody, & stretcheth alõg from the *Iapodans* to the *Dardanans*. The *Paonians* haue no cities, but lands & houses togither, nor any common Iustice, or Princes, to rule ouer them. They had an C. M. fighting men of the best yeres, but because they had none to command thẽ, they came not togither. Whẽ *Cæsar* came, they ran into the woodes, & if they found any straglyng, they killed them. *Cæsar* thinking they would haue come to him, did neither burne their fieldes nor their villages.

The fourth bridge breaketh *Cæsar* hurte.

Prudence of *Cæsar Augustus*.

Desperate at *Metulo*.

Possenians. *Dl. Elbius*.

Paonians in the waye to the *Segestanes*.

Paonians haue no Cities nor common place of Iustice. Muche people without a head. *Cæsar* burneth the villages.

but bicause they came not, he set all on fire, and eight dayes together, did them much harme, and so passed to the floude *Sauus*, in the banke of the whiche was a Cittie strong by the floude, and a great ditche. Wherfore *Cæsar* assaulted it as a store house for the warre, against the *Daceans* & *Bastarnians*, which dwell beyond *Hister*. This floude in that place, is called *Danubius*, and going to other lower places, hath the name of *Hister*: *Sauus* renneth into it. *Cæsar* had shippes in the floude, that might bryng victuall to the armie by *Danubio*: for this *Cæsar* would haue the cittie of *Segesta*, as he went forward. The *Segestanes* sent Embassadours vnto him to know what they should doe, he willed thē to receyue garrison and deliuer pledges, that he might haue their cittie, as a store house, for his warre against the *Daceans*, & as much corne as they could bring. The chiefe men thought good to do it, but the people began to rage, and cared not for the hostages, bicause they should be of the great mē: but when the garrison came, they could not abide to see them, but ranne vpō them furiously, and shutte the gates, and shewed themselues agayne vpon the walles. Wherefore *Cæsar* made a bridge ouer the floudde, and raysed trenches & ditches about it. And when he had shut them in their cittie, he erected two mountes, which they hindred as much as they might: but when they could not defeate the mountes, they threwe fire and burning linkes vpō them frō an higher place. Ayde was comming to them, from an other nation of the *Paonians*, against whome *Cæsar* layde ambushes, and so killed parte of them, and parte fledde, so as there came no more helpe to the *Segestans*. They enduring the siege very valiantly, were ouercome the .xxx. day at a harde fight, and then learned to make supplication, whose ver ue *Cæsar* marueling, and moued with pitie of their prayers, did not kill them or otherwise molest them, but punished them by the purse, and placed them in an outwarde parte of the Cittie, and put in thirtie bands for their garrison. This done, he went to *Rome*, to returne againe into *Illyria*. When it was tolde, that the *Segestanes* had slayne the garrison whiche was in the Cittie, he came agayns with all speede, though it were winter. When

Sauus runneth by the mountaynes of *Iapidia* into *Danubio*.

Hister.
Danubius.

Segesta.

Daci be *Scythians* of *Europe*, nowv *Wallachia*.

The people of *Segesta*, refuseth the garrison.

Cæsar spared the *Segestanes* for their valiantnes.

False rumor causeth *Cæsar* to haue a vvinter iourney.

hearing the rumor to be false, he vnderstode of truth that they were in daunger: That the *Segetanes* had sodainly sette vppon them and killed many, but that the next day the souldiours had giuen an onset vpon the Citizens, and gotten the Citie. Wherfore he turned his warre to the *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, next the *Taulãtians*. The *Dalmatians* after they had giuen an ouerthrowe of fiue bandes vnder *Gabinius*, and taken fiue ensignes, they were proude of their prosperitie, & were in armour ten yeares togither, and when *Cæsar* came, decreede to helpe the *Segestanes*. They were aboue 12000. good fighting mẽ, & had made one *Versus*, their captaine: He inuaded again *Pomona*, a citie of ỹ *Liburnians*, & defensed it with trenche & ditch, & got other strong places of ỹ country. For it is al hillie, the toppes whereof stand vp like pynacles. The greater part of thẽ were in the Citie, and the rest kept the hil toppes, so as they mighte easily see the Romanes armye. *Cæsar* dessembled as thoughe he would enclose them al in a wall, but priuily bad the bolde sorte to go to the mountaynes, & to espie what was to be done there. They going by the woods secretly in the night, set vpon the kepers, whom, being yet asleepe, they killed, and signifyed to *Cæsar* that they were at the end of their iourney, and must haue more men to get the Citie, and let some go from the hils to tel others that were in other mountaines. Wherfore the *Barbarians* were put into great feare, when they saw themselues beset on euery side, & chiefly they that were in the higher hils, for lacke of water, & fearing the wayes would be shut on all sides, they got thẽ into *Pomona*. *Cæsar* enclosed the Citie, & two of the highest hylles that were yet holden of the enimies xl. furlongs about, & in the meane season gaue an onset vpon *Teutinus* another captaine of the *Dalmatians*, & put him to flight, and chased him by the mountaines, & toke the citie in his sight. For ỹ Citizens cõming out before the preparation was finished, they had a repulse, and the Romanes, in the flight, got into the Citie with thẽ, & when they had slaine the third part of the Citizens, they drone the rest into the Castle. There was one bande of the Romanes that kept the gats, vppon whom, when the *Barbarians* shewed the fourth

night

Segestanes, destroyed of the garison.

Taulantians leauing their lande, went to inhabite that part of *Macedonie*, that is next the Gulfe of *Venise*, not far from *Durasso*, & inhabited a City *Arnissa*.

Dalmatians now *Sclauonians* ouerthrow, *Gabinius*.

Versus captaine.

Lack of water.

Teutinus.

Pomona taken.

night, they were afrayd and forsoke the gates, but *Cæsar* came & repulsed the enimies, and the next day they yælded to them. Of the band that offended, he punished euery tenth man by lot. Of ẏ Captaines of ẏ bands, he chastised two of euery ten, the other, al the sommer, he cõmaunded to eate barley in stead of wheate. Thus was *Pomona* taken.

Augustus punishern his soudiours.

Teutinus had diuided his army into diuerse parts in the hils, wherefore the Romanes did not folow them farre, being ignoraunt of the way, and fearing the vnknowen and confounded pathes. For there is no entrie into the woods by any plain way, and the *Dalmatians* did lurke betwæn two hils, when they layd wayte for *Gabinius*, in the which place they set also an ambushe for *Cæsar*: but he burned the woods on eyther side the way, and sent his army by the hils, and himselfe went by the vallies, cutting downe the woods, inuading the Cities, and burning what so euer was in his way. He besieged the Citie *Setouia*, into ayde of the whiche, came a great number of *Barbarians*, with whom *Cæsar* met, and wold not suffer them to palle. Being hurt in that fight in the knee, he lay sicke many dayes. Being recouered, he went to *Rome* for the Consulshippe, which he toke with *Barbatio Tullo*, leauing *Statilius Taurus* to ende the warre, he entring his office at the beginning of the month. That daye, *Antonie* being appointed to his charge, he went again against ẏ *Dalmatians*, keping yet the power of the thræ men, for now the seconde fiue yeares were expired, the which they toke of themselues, & the people confirmed it. Therfore the *Dalmatians* being in wãt of victuals on euery side, they came of thẽselues to *Cæsar*, humbly yælding, and deliuering seauen hundered hostagies of their owne children. *Cæsar* commaunded them to bring the ensignes that they had taken from *Gabinius*, and to pay the tribute, whiche they promised to *Caius Cæsar*, and had deferred to this tyme. And so they were made the more obedient to the Romaines euer after. *Cæsar* set these ensignes in the Gallerie that is called *Octauia*. When the *Dalmatians* were ouercome, the *Derbanes* came to yælde themselues, and to deliuer pledges, and pay tributes, which they had so long omitted.

Teutinus.

Cæsar burneth woodds.

Setouia.

Augustus hurte.

Barbatius Tullus.
Statilius Taurus.

The authoritie of three men renued in *Rome*.

Seauen hundred Hostagies.

Ensignes recouered.

Derbani.

The

Then *Cæsar* came nérer to them, and they deliuered their pledges, which in his absence being sicke, they refused to do. These are thought to be the lasse, whiche *Cæsar* brought to obedience, whiche before had reuolted and were not acquainted with others rule. Wherefore the Senate appoynted him to triumphe of the *Illyrians*, which he did when he had ouercome *Antonie*. The other *Illirians* that the Romanes had before the *Pæonians*, were the *Retians*, *Norigians*, & *Mœsians*, whiche inhabite at the *Euxine* sea. I thinke *C. Cæsar* did subdew the *Retians* and *Noritians*, when he made warre vpon the *Celtians*, or that *Augustus* did conquere them, when he inuaded the *Pæonians*, for they haue their habitation betwéne both, I finde no warre made against them of purpose, wherfore I thinke they were ouercome, with their neighbours. For *M. Lucullus*, *L. Lucullus* brother, that ouercame *Mithridates*, did ouerrunne all the region of the *Mysians*, and helde his course to the floud, in the which place there be foure Greeke cities next to þ *Mysians*, that is, *Histros*, *Dionisopolis*, *Odissus*, and *Mesembria*. Then he brought out of *Gallia* that great *Appollo* that standeth in the palace. I do not remember that any other that ruled that common wealth, did bring the *Mysians* to tribute, or *Augustus*, but *Tiberius* which reigned after *Augustus*, had them. But these things are shewed of me in their place. Before they had *Egipt*, what the Emperours did after *Egipt* was wonne, or how they spedde in warre, we haue shewed them, as their proper actes, after these cómon enterprises: in the which many things be also conteyned of the *Mysians*. Now seing the Romanes take the *Mysians* to be *Illyrians*, this booke shalbe named of me the *Illyrians*, the which I wrote, that it might be an absolute matter. For *Lucullus* ruling in the peoples time, did ouerrun the *Mysians*, and *Tiberius* did receyue them vnder his Monarchie.

Cæsar Aug. triumpheth of the *Illyrians*.

Rhetians, be they in the hils that be called *Grisones*.

Norita, some thinke to be *Bauaria*, some *Stiria* and *Carinthia*.

Mysis, nowe *Bosna* and *Sernia* nigh *Hungaria*.

Istri, *Dionisopolis*, *Odissus*, *Mesembria*, nowe *Mesembler*.

Tiberius.

Lucullus.

The

¶ The *Romanes* warre with the Celtes.

THe *Celtes* did first inuade the *Romanes*, and toke *Rome* without the *Capitoll*, and burned it. *Camillus* did ouercome them, and dryue them away, and when they came agayne another time, he dyd ouerthrow them, and triumphed of them whē he was fourescore yeares of age.

Gelta be thosē Frenchmen that inhabite from the floud *Seine* to *Getona*. *Camillus*.

The thirde time they came into *Italy*, when they were destroyed by the *Romanes*, vnder *Titus Quintius* their Generall.

After them, the *Boians*, a most fierce nation of the *Celtes*, came vpon the *Romanes*, and *Caius Sulpitius* Dictator, wente agaynste them, and vsed this policie. He bad the Souldyoures of the front to caste their darts, and streight way to set downe, till the seconde, thirde, and fourth, had done the like, then euery one stouping, when they had done their shotte, that the contrarie weapons mighte be throwne in vayne, when the laste hadde throwne, then to runne all with one force and crye with violence vpon the enimie, for so they shoulde affray them, if they came so suddaynely to fight with them at hand, after so greate a brunt of strength. Their weapons were not like the dartes which they of *Rome* call *Gesa*, the halfe of a square staffe, with a peece of yron square also, and that soft, beside the poynt, and euen thus these *Boians* were destroyed of the *Romanes*, with all their armie. *Papilius* ouercame other *Celtes*, and after him *Camillus*, sonne to *Camillus*, did the same, and *Paulus Aemilius* sette vp tokens of victorie against the *Celtes*. Before the Cōsulships of *Marius*, a greater number more warlike, and for age to bee feared, inuaded *Italy* and *Gallia*, and ouercame some Consuls of *Rome*, and ouerthrewe their armies, againste whome *Marius* went, and ouercame them all. The laste and greatest fight with the *Galles*, was done by *C. Caesar*, being generall, there sortie hundred thousands of fierce nations did he ouerthrow in tenne yeares, whiche if a man will put togither in one summe, he

Boij were part of the French about *Lyons*. *C. Sulpitius* his policie.

The French call their darts *Gesa*, The *Macedonians Lariſſe*, The *Romanes Pila*. *Papilius*. *Camillus*. *P. Aemilius*.

This *Gallia* was where nowe *Lombardy* is. &c.

C. Caesar.

The victories of *Caesar*.

shall finde they were about foure hundreth thousande, it is certen that a hundred thousand were slayne, a hundreth thousande taken, foure hundreth nations, eight hundred Cities, some reuoltyng, some freely yeeldyng, he brought to obedience. Before *Marius Fabius, Maximus Aemilianus* leadyng but a meane armie, did ouercome a hundreth and twentie thousande *Celtes*, with the losse of fiftene men. And though he were wounded on the knee, yet he rested not to ryde aboute, and encourage his armie, instructyng them how to fight agaynst the *Barbarians*, sometime carried in hys Chariot, and sometime ledde by hand. *Caesar* makyng warre agaynst them, did firste conquere the *Lucetians* and *Tigrians*, to the number of two hundreth thousande. For the *Tigrians* afore tyme, *Piso* and one *Cassius* being leader, ouerthrew the *Romanes*, and put them vnder the yoke, as *Aspinus Claudius* wryteth in the olde Monumentes. *Labienus* the Lieftenant ouercame these *Tigrians*, the reste *Caesar* subdued, and the *Triconians* helpyng them. Then he conquered the *Germanes* with *Arioui sto*, whose greatnesse passed the greatnesse of all other: they haue moste fierce maner, hardy in giuyng battayle, not afrayde of death, for the hope to ryse agayne. They can abyde colde and hunger when néede requireth: their horses many tymes are fed with shrubbes, yet they were, as is thought, not very paynefull in warre, nor goyng to it by order, but in rage lyke brute beastes, and so they were conquered by the *Romanes* patience and sufferaunce: for they woulde runne about the *Romanes* battayle with great violence, and the *Romanes* kéepyng order, after the discipline of warre, easily ouercame thē, and at tymes, killed. lxxx. thousande of them. After them *Caesar* inuaded the *Belgians* with whome he mette at a passage, and killed so many of them, as he made a bridge of their bodies. Notwithstandyng the *Nerui ans* made him once goe backe, coming vpon hym sodainely, and killyng many of his people, for they slewe almoste all the Capitaynes and Leaders, and besieged him in an hill, where he was driuen with his Garde: but when the tenth legion came on their backes, they killed lx. thousande of them, whiche were of *Teutones* and *Cymbrians*.

Aemilianus.

Lucetians, Heluetians, Tigrians, nowv *Zurick*, put the *Romanes* vnder yoke.

Labienus.

Ap. Claudius.

Germanes passe in greatnes despising death in hope to liue agayne.

Triconi.

Belgæ, is from Scalde to Sequane.

Nerui, be people about *Tornay*

Teutones Germanes.

Cimbrians Danes

Caesar

Cæsar also did ouercome the *Allabrogians*, nations of the *Vsipetans* and *Tantherians*, some of them good in the warre, and some not: the *Sicambrians* with fiue hundreth horse put to foyle fiue thousande of *Cæsars* by a suddaine onset, but they were plagued for it. *Cæsar* was the first that passed the riuer of *Rhene*, and caried his armie into *Britaine*, the greatest Ile in the earth, where was no feare of him: he passed at the flodde, and first had losse by sea, and was tossed with the waters, which were first calme, and after violent, so as he got into *Brytaine* by great payne and sufferaunce.

Allabrogians Sauoyans.
Vsipetans, Tantharians.
Sicambria Gelderians.

Cæsar had losse in the lowe countreys, and sayled into England.

There is no more founde of this matter.

¶ Faultes escaped in the Preface.

The first side. Line. 16. Maræa. line. 22. Palæstines. line. 21. Arabians. line. 24. put out pert Minaris, and say P. Imyrians.

The secõd side. Line. 12. Thracius. line. 15. Axenus.

The third side. Line. 3 Danubius. line. 6. Moesiæ. line. 7. Myrtoo. line. 13. seme. line 22. the sentence beginneth at Two hundred yeares.

The fourth side. Line. 21. the sentence beginneth at But after. line. 27. sentence beginneth at But they had great. line. 28. sentence beginneth at The dominion. line. 30. ye. line. 25. sentence beginneth at, For the.

Line. 3. Cyprus.

The fifth side. Line. 10. sentence beginneth at and this Booke, for

The seuenth side.

Faultes escaped in the forren warres.

FOlio. 1. line. 28. Thracius. folio. 5. line. 25. make the cõma at succeeded. folio. 6. line. 21. stooke. folio. 6. line 29. put out and. fol. 8. line. 29. Pericles. fol. 26. line. 26. a full poynt at remayning. fol. 28. lyne. 25. Sylla. fol. 29. line. 7. Chalcida. fol. 60. lyne. 19. Chotenians. fol. 70. lyne. 20. Magnopolis. fol. 70. lyne. 28. Triario. fol. 40. lyne. 8. Colchians. fol. 61. lyne 17. allyance. fol. 51. lyne. 14. Tigranes. fol. 7. lyne. 14. sette. fol. 73. lyne vlt put out ciuill. fol. 74. lyne. 34. Granata. fol. 76. lyne. 24. otters. fol. 26. lyne. 32. Zenobius. fol. 87. lyne. vlt. sentence beginneth at Asdrub. II. fol. 93. lyne. 12. Sophonisba hys wyfe fol. 95. lyne. 8. vxcept. fol. 97. lyn. 8 of. fol. 101. lyne. 15. by. fol. 113. lyne. 30. and. 32. Cæpio fol. 98. lyne. 21. Blesius. fol. 115. lyne penul. Numantines. fol. 119. lyne. 12. companyons. fol. 49. lyne. 25. Antolycus. fol. 119. lyne 5. dispensation. fol. 51. lyne. 14. Tigranes. fol. 127. lyne. 3. kill. fol. 158. lyne. 2. Manlius. fol. 189. lyne. 12. Adrumentũ. fol. 19. lyne. 29. Dimochetes. fol. 197. line. 28. Asdrubal. fol. 28. lyne. 24. Dorilaus. fol. 173. lyne. 6. she. fol. 129. lyne. 16. χοιλη. ibid. 20. one. fol. 131. lyne. 22. Fumenes. fol. 137. lyne. 25. Romanes. fol. 141. lyne. 17. Manius. fol. 140. lyne 2. one. fol. 149 lyne. 29. India. fol. 157. lyne. 18. Leucra. fol. 168. lyne. 12. Queene. fol. 176. lyne. 24. adde to. fol. 205. lyne. 10. τιτυρισαι. that. fol. 224. lyne. 3. tong. fol. 261 lyne. 31. deiecting. fol. 265 line 6. legiõ. fol. 257 lyne. 4. rodes. fol. 233. lyne. 29. Hipparetũ. fol. 269 lyne. 3. Phraates. fol. 269. fol. 10. Arsacides. fol. 82. lyne. 27. Getes. fol. 138. lyne. 14. adde at Larissa. fol. 262. lyne. 10. Orode. fol. 3. lyne. 17. Temples. fol. 280. lyne 1. put out famine. fol. 289. lyne. 32. Pyrilleas. fol. 249. lyne. 22. was. fol. 223. lyne. 31. Xoth. fol. 256. lyne. 30. Acharus. fol. 175. lyne. 2. Zantippus. fol. 179. lyne 15. he. fol 216 lyne. 28. vse. fol 244. lyne vlt. Crassus. fol. 363. lin. 17. then. fol. 273. lyne. 3. made. fol. 206. passer fol. 270. lyne. 25. Phraates fol. 258. line. 29. Agbarus. fo. 285. lyne. 10 Corfu. fol. 233. lin. 24. Massabales. fol. 164. line. 15. Nicator. fol. 295 lyne vlt. put out and. fol. 88. line. Promota. 294. fo. 64. lyn. 17. Xiphares, fo. 72. li. 28. Triario. fo. 250. li. 24. thou.

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